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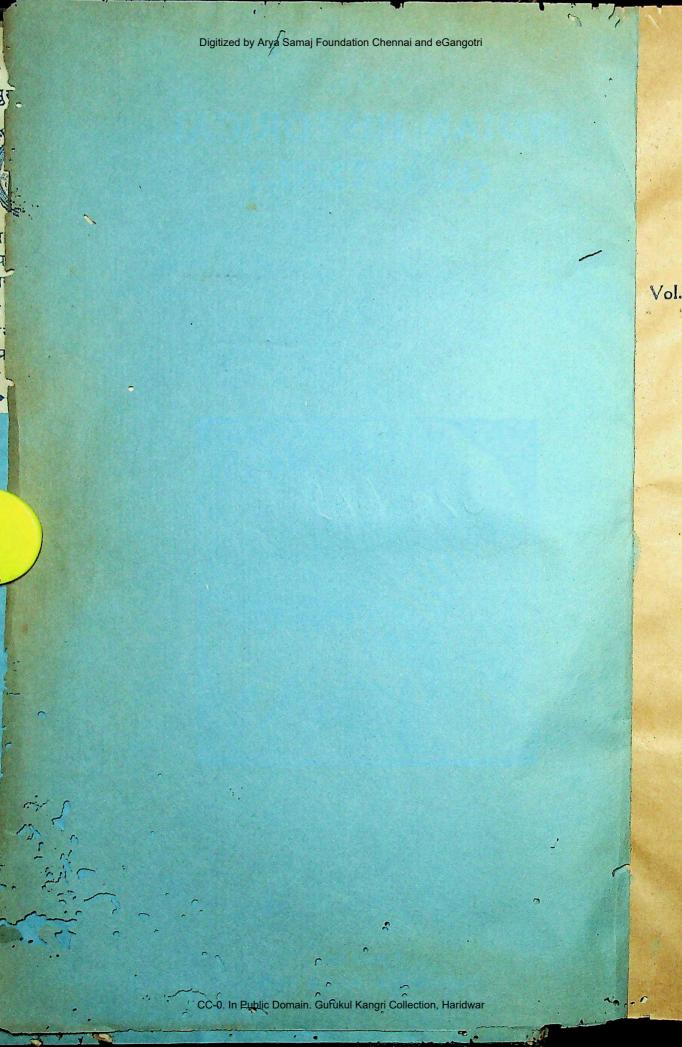
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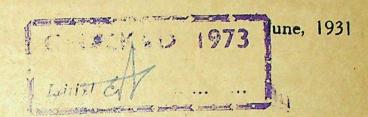




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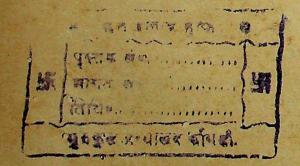
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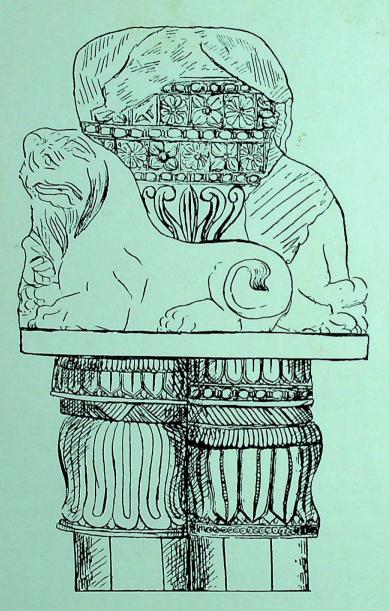


Fig. 1
Clustered Capitals
From—Torana Pillar, Bharhut

1.H.O., June, 1931.

## THE

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No. 2

## Origin of the Bell-Capital

In his note on the origin of the Lotus Capital (I.H.Q., VI, pp. 373-375 & pl.) Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy states the case for the Indian origin and symbolism of the lower member of the Mauryan Capital and its derivation from the Lotus symbol, which he traces in the Vedic literature.1 Similar views have been held for the last half a century. They derive their plausibility from the resemblance of the bell capital to the calyx of a flower reversed, to which also its supposed Persian prototype has much similarity. Of 'the drooping foliations of the Capitals,' Dr. Rajendralala Mitra wrote as early as 1875 that, "to an Indian they appear very like the pendant filaments of the lotus after the petals have been removed from the receptacle, or the reverted petals of a lotus bud,-forms which are peculiarly ornamental and beautiful, and which have been employed ornaments in a variety of ways and in different places."2 That was why he did not admit the supposed similitudes between the Asoka and the Assyrian (?) pillars to be conclusive. It is noteworthy that his conjecture involves only the decorative theme of the capital and not its solid shape, which have been confused in recent mystic interpretations of the motif. The distinction seems to have been maintained by Mr. Purna Chandra Moo-

Art, pp. 8, 13-14, and 17; Eastern Art, vol. I, no. 3, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> R. L. Mitra,—Antiquities of Orissa, vol. I, p. 17.

kerjee<sup>1</sup> who described the 'bell-shaped' Rumindei capital as exhibiting 'the usual festoons in the face of the big cyma,' the last-named moulding being translated by him as "Padma."

Dr. Coomaraswamy's interpretation of the capital as the mystic lotus support is founded firstly, upon the occurrence of certain lotus supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, secondly, on the morphological affinities between the Mauryan capitals and the said lotus supports, and thirdly, on the significance attached to the lotus symbol in the Vedic literature. We proceed to discuss these in the following paragraphs.

I

## The Lotus Symbol in the Bharhut Reliefs

That the Indians attached some sort of mystic significance to the lotus is implied by certain legends according to which the flower is said to have sprung up at the feet of Siddhārtha when he walked seven steps after his birth.<sup>2</sup> The flower is also represented on the soles of a Buddha image at Sārnāth,<sup>3</sup> dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. The design of a lotus springing up from another in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails, recalls the representation of the Śrāvastī miracle in Gupta art. From the absence of differentiating emblems on figures of Indra, Agni and Brahmā in the coins and monuments of the Śuṅga period, it would appear that the iconography of Śrī usually appearing on a lotus was probably of non-Brāhmanical origin.<sup>4</sup> The representation of 'Sirimā Devatā' on the Bharhut rails without the flower indicates that this mark of Śrī was not rigidly adhered to. That she was not the only deity associated with the flower is proved by the figure of the girl with a lyre, standing upon it, on one of the

<sup>1</sup> P. C. Mookerjee,—A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, Feb. and March, 1899, pp. 32-34.

<sup>2</sup> Sahni,—Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914, pl. xx. Lefmann,—Lalitavistara, Adhyaya 7, p. 83: 19-21; p. 84: 18-19; p. 93: 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> Sahni, -op. cit., p. 38, B (a) 6.

Ramaprasad Chanda, —Mūrti-O-Mandir, pp. 4-5. Coomaraswamy,—History of Indian and Indenesian Art, p. 31; Eastern Art, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 175-89 and plates.

pillars (unpublished). The man and the woman riders, appearing on lotus-supports on either side of a medallion, and again at other places carrying the *Garudadhvajas* without that appendage, taken together, denote that the lotus seat or pedestal was not an invariable attribute of divine figures in Sunga art. Following is the list of figures on the lotus-supports in the chamfer reliefs of the Bharhut rails:—

- and left of the same medallion (Mithuna); women raising a hand to grasp a flower or a necklace hanging from a flower placed above; or holding a ball-like object or a flywhisk in the uplifted hand; the other hand descending to the girdle or pointing to the breasts, or holding lotuses.
  - 2. Beasts: Winged horses and elephants.
- 3. Birds:—Swans craning their neck: peacocks with expanded plumes: the parrot pecking at the mango.
  - 4. Flowers: -Two lotuses, one springing from the other.

If the lotus supports of Bharhut had been meant to represent pillars like the Mauryan and Sunga 'Silāstambhas,' we should expect to find all the foregoing figures on contemporary columns. This is, however, not the case. The custom of setting up anthropomorphic figures on the top of columns did not, in fact, begin till a much later date. A tripartite lion in the Bharhut reliefs, supporting an anthropomorphic figure of which only the feet survive, 1 is to be explained as a carrier (vāhana). And if not of totemistic origin, the birds and animals on the lotus supports must have been designed with decorative intent on the lines of the Srīs and the Mithungs in which the lotus may have an iconographic significance. The elephant on the lotus is probably derived from the 'Abhiseka' type of Śrī, wherein its decorative significance is obvious. The swan found on the vase and lotus (Bhadraghata) medallions of Bharhut and also in the 'Abhiseka' type of Śrī, as represented in the Orissa caves, have no more import than its association with the lotus pool.2 The lotus in the hands of some of the figures need not necessarily have been an icono-

I Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (nenceforth abbreviated as A.S.I.R.) for 1925-26, p. 151, pl. lvii, fig. (a).

<sup>2</sup> Cf, इंसमे पीरचितरमना निलपद्मा निलपः। Meghaduta, II, 3.

graphical attribute.<sup>1</sup> The significance of the flower being thus proved to be indeterminate and the decorative character of some of the figures on the lotus supports being obvious, the latter cannot be held to represent the supposed symbolic Mauryan bell-capitals carrying animal figures.

#### II

#### The Morphology of the Lotus Supports and the Bell Capitals

The morphological similitudes between the lotus supports of Bharhut and the campaniform capitals of the Mauryan pillars suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy can be hardly reconciled to facts. The fillet moulding in the lowermost part of the Gutiva,<sup>2</sup> Rumindei<sup>3</sup> and Allahabad<sup>4</sup> capitals, as well as the cable and the bead and reel mouldings below the Basarh,<sup>5</sup> Sankissa<sup>6</sup> and Nandangarh<sup>7</sup> capitals cannot be derived from the lotus supports. In shape as well as in the form of the petals, the bulb-shaped lotuses of the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut do not resemble the campaniform

Meghadūta, II, 2.

7 Id., pl. IV.

I Smith,—The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura, pp. 12-13, plate VI. Herringham,—Ajanta Frescoes, plate II, fig. 3; plate XI, fig. 13; plate XIV, fig. 16; plate XVII.

Cf. इस्ते लीलाकमलमलके वालकुन्दानुविद्धं नीता लोधुप्रसवरजसा पास्डुतामानने श्री:। चूड्गपाभे नवकुरवकं चाककर्ये शिरीषं सीमन्ते च लदुपगमजं यत नीपं वधूनाम्॥

O. M. Dalton,—The Treasure of the Oxus, 2nd edition, gold plaques, nos. 49, 74, 89, 92, 93. Plates XIV, XV, no. 103, pp. 26-27, plate XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Mookerjee, - op. cit., plate XVI, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Id., Plate XVI, fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fergusson,—History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (London, 1876), fig. 3, p. 53.

<sup>5.</sup> Dr., Ludwig Bachhofer, -Early Indian Sculpture (Paris, 1929), vol. I, epl. III.

<sup>6</sup> Id., pl. VIII.

capitals with their characteristic ornamentation. In the lion capitals of Sārnāth1 and Rāmpurva,2 the transition between the bell and the abacus is partly effected by the undecorated torus, which has its precedent in the Achaemenian pillar-base and cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. In the Sanchi, Sankissa and Rampurva (bull)3 capitals its place is taken by a corded torus or cable moulding, the history of the ornament going back to much earlier times and having nothing to do with the said stamens. Its occurrence below the Basarh, Sankissa and Nandangarh capitals cannot be otherwise explained. That the corded torus does not represent the stamens of the lotus is demonstrated by the simultaneous appearance of the two forms on the lotus capitals of the 'torana' of Bharhut (Fig. 1), the former intervening between the bell and the lotus-shaped abacus, and the latter falling on the shoulder of the bell, respectively. The fillet appearing above the torus in the Sanchi, Sarnath and Rāmpurva (lion) capitals has no counterpart in the lotus growing in nature or as represented in the chamfer reliefs of Bharhut. No resemblance can be imagined between the thalamus of the lotus and the square abaci of the Basarh lion capital, the Mathura elephant capital of the reign of Huviska, the 'Makara's and 'Kalpavrksa's capitals of Besnagar and the lotus capitals of the Garuda poles in the Bharhut reliefs, as well as the abaci of the Garudas and the fan-palm capitals of Besnagar, which are square above, and round and octagonal, respectively, below.

The other type of lotus supports occurring in two instances in the Bharhut reliefs, not described by Dr. Coomaraswamy, comprise a cup-shaped flower with petals rising upwards and supporting an

I Bachhofer, -Early Indian Sculpture, vol. I, pl. V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' (Memoirs of the A.S.1. no. 30, pl. II(b).

<sup>3</sup> Id., pl. III(a).

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, A.S.R., vol. III, p. 20, pl. V.

<sup>5</sup> Id., vol. X, pp. 42-43, pl. XIV.; A. S. I. R., 1913-14, pp. 189-90, pl. LIV, figs. (a) and (b).

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, A.S.R, vol. X, pp. 43-44, pl. xv.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham,—The Stupa of Bharhut, pl. xxxii, figs. 5 and 6; A.S.I.R., 1925-26, pl. lviii

<sup>8</sup> A. S. I. R., 1913-14, p. 188, pl. lii (a) and liii.

<sup>9</sup> A. S. R., vol. X, pl. XIV, p. 42.

abacus decorated with beads, or with beads and the cable moulding (Figs. 2 & 3). The juxtaposition of these ornaments with the lotus owes its inspiration to the artists' familiarity with the lotus capital which appears twice on the *Garuda-dhvajas* and twice<sup>1</sup> on isolated columns supporting the elephant as well as on structural pillars in the pseudo architecture of the Bharhut reliefs. The dissimilarity between the bell capital and the second type of lotus support is too obvious to need further comment.

#### III

#### The Vedic Lotus Symbol

Before postulating a connection between the Vedic lotus symbol and the bell-capitals, of which our earliest specimens come from the Mauryan 'śilāstambhas', it is necessary to ascertain whether the said symbol can have any bearing on the significance of the pillars. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra was of opinion that the Mauryan pillars "were used as mere monuments erected singly in distant places to bear only inscriptions".2 The presence of stupas and temples in the vicinity of some of the columns led Fergusson to surmise their association with religious edifices.3 This was rightly contested by Dr. Mitra who pointed out that "the Tirhut pillars, which are still in situ, have no mound or ruin of any kind in their close proximity to bear out this supposition." Fergusson, nevertheless, appears to to have guessed the religious significance of the pillars. In the Aśokāvadāna of the Divyāvadāna, the memorial monuments erected by Asoka on the sacred sites of Buddhist history are described as 'cihna's or emblems.4 The Rumindei pillar inscription, in enumerating the erection of a pillar on the birthplace of Buddha as one of the royal acts of Asoka,5 indicates that the columns are included among the 'cihna's. But the Sānchi column, standing at a place not connected with the personal history of Buddha, proves

I Cunningham, -Mahābodhi, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> Mitra, -op. cit, p. 15 and footnote.

<sup>3</sup> Fergusson, -op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>¿</sup> Cowell & Neil, - Divyāvadāna, p 389 and footnote.

<sup>5</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka (Corp. Ins. Ind.), vol. I, pp. 164-65.

that all of these columns are not commemorative in character. Its capital has the same design as that of the Sārnāth column. The symbolic character of the lions which crown the latter has been long recognised. 1

In my paper on Mauryan Art, I attempted a chronology of the Maurvan bell capitals on morphological grounds,<sup>2</sup> and this has been since corroborated by Prof. Chanda on the strength of certain passages in the edicts of Aśoka mentioning columns standing at the time of their promulgation.3 This implies that not all of these columns did appertain to Buddhism. That one at least belonged to another cult is shown by the pillar of Lauriya-Ārārāj, which had been crowned with a Garuda capital. Prof. Chanda is thus justified in concluding that these columns are animal standards intended for worship, the crowning animals being emblems of different gods. As the carrier system does not appear in a standardised form in the Bharhut reliefs dating a century after Aśoka, the interpretation of the animals' figures as symbols of divine beings with whom they came to be associated later in Brahmanical mythology as suggested by him, is however open to question. Nevertheless, the association of Garuda with Visnu in the second century B.C. is established by the inscription mentioning Vasudeva on the Heliodoros column.5 The capitals of the Sānchi and Sārnāth columns (BC. 242-31) were evidently caused to be designed by Asoka when he had already become a Buddhist, as fitting emblems for the founder of his religion, on the analogy of animal-crowned pillars already existing at that date.

In its portable form, the animal standard is represented by two Garuda dhvajas carried by two riding figures on the Bharhut reliefs.

I Sahni, op. cit., p. 16. 2 I. H. Q., III, pp. 548 53.

<sup>3</sup> Chanda,—The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India (Memoirs of the A.S.I., No. 30), pp. 31-33,

<sup>4</sup> In the Mbh., I, 3, Airāvata, the Nāga king, appears as a Bull of extraordinary size, whose excreta is Amṛta. It is ridden by a man of uncommon stature. Also Agni appears as a Horse with Indra as rider.

<sup>5</sup> In Jaina iconography Garuda is a Yakṣa having the Boar its mount. It is also the mount of the Yakṣa Tumburu and of the Yakṣiṇī Cakreśvarī.—Puran Chand Nahar, Jaina Mūrtitattver Saṃkṣipta Vivaraṇ, a paper read at the Radhanagar Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Sammilan (Sam. 1331), pp. 6, 5, 8.

The Garuda pole appears on the obverse of a rectangular copper coin of the second century B.C. (Nahar Collection, Calcutta) with the legend 'Maso' on the right top corner of the field and 'Senapatisa Nitahāso' on the reverse; as well as on certain types of Gupta coins.1 A standard surmounted by a crouching bull facing left, appears on the coins of Narendraditya.2 Similar standards are known to have featured in the religion of the Indus Valley civilisation. A threesided prism of faience discovered at Mohenjodaro<sup>3</sup> shows a procession of four men carrying as many standards of different types. One of these is crowned by a featherlike emblem, while another is surmounted by the figure of a bull facing right and standing on a horizontal member supported on a rod. It is significant that the bull. the elephant and the tree represented on the Indus Valley seals appear also on the Mauryan and Śunga pillars. So it is probable that some connection might have existed between the cults of the animal-standard in the Indus Valley culture and the Mauryan and Sunga pillar cults as suggested by Prof. Chanda.4 The Vedic lotus symbol cannot possibly have any bearing on these cult objects.5 It

Samudra Gupta— { Standard type...pp. 1-5, pls. i, ii (1-5). Archer , ...pp. 6-7, pl. iv (1-7). Candra Gupta II. — Archer , ...pp. 24-33, pl. vi (1-7, 10-18),

pl. vii.

Kumar Gupta I.— { Archer , ...pp. 61-67, pl. xii (1-12), Pratāpa , ... p. 87, pl. xv (15) (15-18). Skanda Gupta— { Archer , ...pp. 114-19, pls. xix, xx (12). King & Lakṣmī

Pura Gupta (pp. 134-35, pl. xxi. 23-26).

Prakāśāditya (pp. 135-36, pl. xxii, 1-4). Narasimha Bālāditya (pp. 137-39, pl. xxii, 7-12). Kramāditya (p. 140-43, pl. xxii, 13-15, xxiii 1-5). Ghatotkaca (149. xxiv. 3).

2 Id., p. 149, pl. xxiv, no. 4.

3 A.S.I.R., for 1925-26, p. 87, pl. xlv, fig. 22.

4 Chanda,—Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley (Memoirs of the A.S.I., no. 41), pp. 34-35.

5 The use of the yupa emblem on one of the chariot standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see Appendix) apparently controverts this view. It should be borne in mind, however, that the above standards, emblems of power and victory, are mostly connected with

J. Allan, -- Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum. London, 1914.



Fig. 2
Lotus-support, Bharhut, Pillar No. 41 (8) a
Indian Museum

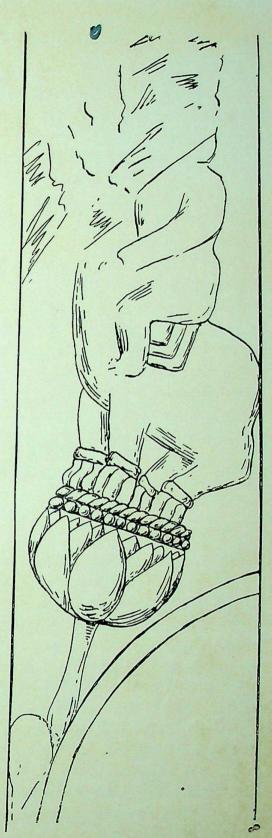


Fig. 3 Lotus-support, Bharhuf, Pillar No. 5 (17) b Indian Museum

I. H. Q., June., 1931.

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is, therefore, unwarranted to assume that the campaniform capital of these animal pillars represents the Lotus of the Vedic ritual.

C 12 IV

The Composite Mauryan Capital

The composite Mauryan capital from Pāṭaliputra, a recent discovery made by Mr. Ramlal Sinha of Bankipore, which I am permitted to announce, affords light on the origin and significance of the Bell capital (Fig. 4). It is now only 1'2" high, polished and made of buff coloured Chunar sandstone. Its lower portion has disappeared and the carvings survive only in part. It is said to have been originally discovered in course of some diggings at Lohanipur. but was found lying near a Bania's shop, not far off Govind Mitra Road, Moradpur. Its abacus, 5 1/2" high, has the form of a lotus with its petals turned downwards, the stamens being represented on its upper edge, at the foot of the moulding at the top (ht. I"). This type of lotus-shaped abacus is found on the clustered capitals of the 'Torana' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1). Below the abacus is a bead and reel moulding which cannot be derived from the stamens of the lotus. The bell proper, now only 61/2" high, differs from the standard Mauryan type in having flat ribs decorated with the spiral and several leaf patterns, disposed between the arrises, so that each arris appears between a pair of ribs decorated with the same ornament. Another polished Mauryan bell with ribs decorated in much the same manner has been discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sārnāth (Fig. 5).1

I.H.Q., JUNE, 1931

kings or men of the ruling caste and that the  $y\bar{u}pa$  standard in the Epic is compared to the  $y\bar{u}pa$  of the Rājasūya rite, a royal ceremony. Both the  $y\bar{u}pa$  and the standard entail the use of a pole or post, and in that Rāmāyaṇa I, 14, 22-27, the worship of  $y\bar{u}pas$  having gold decorations, with garments, flowers and scents is described (cf. Indradhvaja in the Appendix). Evidently because of their sharing such a common feature the two could combine happily. Similar conditions do not appear in the case of a Vedic love. There is no hint of a parallel feature in the standard of the manabhārata so far as I am aware.

I A.S.I.R., for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 105.

The morphological differences between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member of the composite capital indicates that the architects of the Mauryan school recognised the difference between the lotus form and the form of the lower member, to which most modern archæologists give the name 'bell' in consideration of its solid shape. This composite capital with its upper member designed on the model of a lotus, controverts the theory of the lotus origin of its lower member and reduces the application of the term 'lotus' thereto to an absurdity.

The difference between the lotus shaped abacus and the lower member is further accentuated by the emblishment of the so-called bell, the form and decorative theme of which have no resemblance to a lotus, and which by its divergence from the standard design clearly shows that to the Mauryan architects the capital was merely a decorative and architectural element.

#### V

#### The Significance of the Bell-Capital

An analysis of the various uses of the capital in early Indian architecture confirms the above conclusion regarding its significance. In the Mauryan silāstambhas it happens to be carved on the same block of stone as the crowning animals, so that it is not a true capital and its purpose is only decorative. Its peculiar shape conveys the impression of carrying down the superincumbent weight instead of propping it up from below. Nor can its crowning animals conveniently accommodate the beams of the superstructure. The capital is, therefore, ill-suited to structural purposes. If it were employed at all in the hypostile hall at Kumrahr and the palaces of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra described by Fa Hien, we do not know what devices had been adopted by the architect to remedy its defects. The architects of the subsequent times tried to appropriate it to structural purposes (i) by placing on its top a rectangular animal capital

i Legge, - Travels of Fa Hien, p. 77.

surmounted by a cubical block, an impost or a volute capital on which to place the beams (Northern India); (ii) by adding short props, curved or perpendicular, rising from its shoulder to the corners of the rectangular capital above (Sānchi); and by supplementing it with a double capital having an upper row of volutes (Bharhut). They also created an altogether new order by enclosing the corded torus above the bell in a rectangular frame, the vertical lines of which create the impression of effectively supporting the abacus comprising tiers of projecting slabs and the crowning figure sculptures (Western India). None of these devices have any mystic significance, so that none is necessarily implied in the campaniform lower member which serves in a purely architectural capacity.

Various monuments may be cited to show that like the Mauryan architects who had designed the above mentioned capitals from Sārnāth and Pāṭaliputra, those of post-Mauryan times were fully alive to the decorative significance of the bell capital. The undecorated capitals of the baluster pillars of the 'Torana' of Bharhut, of those in the reliefs of Sāñchi 'Toranas's and in the Nasik' and Kanheri¹o caves are instances in which the campaniform member has

I A. S. I. Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1918-19, p. 45 and pl.; Smith, V. A.—op. cit, pl. xlv, L. (fig. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Id., pls. xliii, xliv and xlvi (fig. 1); Cunningham,—The Stupa of Bharhut, pl, x.

<sup>3</sup> Waddel,—Report on the Excavations of Pātaliputra, pp. 17-40, pl. ii.; Sahni,—op. cit., p. 246, (Dg), pl. v; A. S. I. R. for 1914-15, p. 117, no. 104, pl. lxvii (nos. 12, 14 and 21-29); Cunningham—Mahābodhi, pl. iv, p. 9.; Mitra,—Buddha Gaya. pl. L.

<sup>4</sup> K. de B. Cordrington,—Ancient India, p. 32, fig. 10 C, p. 34; Bacchofer,—Early Indian Sculpture, vol. I, pl. 59 (right).

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham,—The Stupa of Bharhut, pls. xxx, fig. 3 & xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> Bacchofer, -op. cit., vol. ii, pls. 66, 69, 70.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham, -A. S. R., vol. v, pl. xlvi.

<sup>8</sup> Bacchofer, -op. cit., vol. 1, pls. 49, 50, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Fergusson & Burgess,—Cave Temples of India, pls. xxii; xxiii (figs. 3 and 4).

<sup>10</sup> Id., p. 350, fig. 62.

been treated as an abstract shape and divested of all ornament according to necessity. The type is noted also at Amarāvatī.¹ In the pilasters of the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave² and the Kankali Tila pillars,³ the solid shape of the capital has been modified according to exigencies of design or limitations of the quarry. The fluted capitals of the Caitya cave at Karle⁴ indicate that the decoration of the capital could be intelligently subdued in subordination to the entire design.

The Lotus capitals of the 'Toraṇa' pillars of Bharhut (Fig. 1) illustrate the invention of new themes of decoration, though the scheme is still vertical. Some of the lotus capitals of the Bharhut reliefs, on the other hand, are set off with lotus petals and festoons in two parallel rows, which shows that the scheme of decoration was already changing from the vertical to the horizontal during the second century B. C. In the Kṣatrapa Kuṣāṇa pillars of Mathura, in those of the Amarāvatī reliefs and in the pilasters of the Ananta Gumpha and the Pitalkhora Vihāra cave, the new scheme of decoration appears perfected by the division of the surface into parallel horizontally disposed zones, and by the introduction of diverse new motifs of ornament, including the acanthus leaf.

#### VI

## The Problem of Origin

Except for the Indus Valley standards described above, our knowledge of the morphological character of the pre-Mauryan animal

I A. S. I. R. for 1908-09, pl, xxix, figs. (c) and (e).

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson & Burgess, -op. cit., pp. 244-45, pl. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Smith,—op. cit., pls. xliii, xliv, xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Fergusson & Burgess, -op. cit., p. 234, pl. xii, fig. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, -op. cit., pls. xliv, xlvi (1), li (fig. 2).

xxix, fig. (d). Fergusson,—Tree and Serpent Worship, pl. lxxxix, no 3, pl. lxxxiii, fig. 2. Codrington,—ob. cit., p. 37, fig. 12/C; pl. 25, fig. (b).

<sup>7</sup> Mitra, -op. cit., vol. ii, pl. xxiv.

standard is derived from references in the Mahabharata, etc. so that it cannot be taken for granted that the Mauryan and Sunga animal standards, monumental or otherwise, do accurately preserve the pre-Maury an forms. No bell or lotus capital appears on the Indus Valley standard. None are mentioned in connection with the chariot standards of the Mahābhārata. Nor can any be recognized on the Garuda and Bull standards of the Gupta coins, and this is all the more remarkable, as the capital was fairly popular with the Gupta architects, appearing, as it did, also on the Dhvaia stambhas of the period. On the other hand the square abacus of the Basarh capital has its parallel in the horizontal member of the Indus Valley standard. This type of abacus is ill-suited to its place on the top of the campaniform capital of the Mauryan columns which finally appear with the circular form. So that it is doubtful whether the said capital had any place in the original pre-Mauryan standard. The above consideration lead to the conclusion that the campaniform capital was an intrusive element and its adoption was but an incident in the long history of the animal standards.

Poles and standards of wood, bamboo and metals are known to have featured in the battles and the religious observances of the Indian peoples from ancient times.<sup>2</sup> In translating such cult objects into lithic and monumental forms, the architect must have felt the necessity of adding appropriate decorative features, and there was nothing to hinder him from borrowing the themes from foreign sources. But such borrowings must be substantiated.

The type persists in the square abaci mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> For battle standards, etc., see Appendix. Their forms could have been hardly monumental.

The Marhia pole of the Khonds, with its crowning elephant, which featured in human sacrifices, and the Marhai poles of the Ahirs (C.P. & Berar), one with peacock's feathers (probably representing a peacock) and another with a white cock tied to the top as well as a pole crowned by a clay image of a parrot, which are worshipped with ceremonial dances, are some modern examples.

See J. G. Frazer,—The Golden Bough, part V, vol. I, pp. 246-48 (Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild). R. V. Russell,—The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of Inaia, vol. II, pp. 32-33.

# The Diffusionist Theory

For the diffusionist theory it is claimed that the chain of evidence for the Persian origin of the Mauryan campaniform capital is complete. In its latest form, the theory rests upon the resemblances between the shape and decoration of the Mauryan capital and the Achæmenian pillar base<sup>2</sup> as it occurs at Susa and Persepolis, supported by a mass of historical facts.

## The Assyrian Origin

None of the above are accounted for in Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis3 that the features of the Mauryan column such as the bell shaped capital, smooth unfluted shafts and lustrous polish are all adopted from the Assyrians, but directly, and not through the Persians,' In fact except for Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's statement that "the drooping foliations of the capitals . . . certainly belong in common both to the Asoka and the Assyrian pillars,"4 a statement not supported by citation of specimens, there is nothing to support Dr. Bhandarkar's thesis on the Assyrian origin of the Bell Capital. The whole trend of Dr. Mitra's argument is to refute an imaginary thesis of Assyrian influence on early Indian architecture. beyond making anthropological speculations as to the Vedic Asuras being the Assyrians Dr. Bhandarkar neither adduces evidence nor cites parallel features from Assyrian architecture, such as might have led him to this conclusion.

### The Persian Origin

The affinities of form and technique noticeable between Mauryan and Achæmenian architecture have to be considered, first, in the

I A. K. Mitra,—'Mauryan Art', (I. H. Q., vol. III), No. 3, pp. 544-45, 48-49; Chanda, 'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India'. "Memoirs of the A, S. I., no. 30,) pp. 29-30.

Von Heistrich Gluck, Ernst Diez,—Die Kunst Des Alten Persien, plate 36.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar, - Aśoka, pp. 212-15.

<sup>4</sup> Mitra, -op. ĉit., vol, I, pp, 27-18.

background of the cultural relations existing between India and her western neighbours during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. Perrot and Chipiez were of opinion that the said affinities were due to the migration of Persian forms into India during the Achæmenian occupation of the Indus Valley.1 A scaraboid of steatite, 'exhibiting a winged stag, in the cutting of which the drill has been freely used,' and which recalls similar works of Achæmenian art, has been found in the pre-Hellenistic strata of the Bhir mound at Taxila.2 More evidence of the same character may be expected from further excavations of the Bhir mound and the ruins of other cities of the Punjab and the Indus Valley raided by Alexander. 'The Indian punch-marked silver coinage struck on the Persian perhaps represented the standard Achæmenian coinage for India'.3 But the penetration of Achamenian art beyond the Punjab at this period has yet to be proved. So that references to pre-existing stone columns in the edicts of Asoka cannot be interpreted as denoting their existence 'much earlier than the reign of Asoka or the Mauryan period',4 though some of them may be assigned to the two preceding reigns.

#### India and the Hellenistic Orient

On the other hand, under the Mauryan empire, there existed considerable facilities for a more intimate cultural intercourse between India and the West. Parapanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia came to be included in the Mauryan empire as the result of Candragupta's treaty 'jus connubii' with Seleucus. During the third century B.C. the caravan route from India<sup>5</sup> reached Seleukeia

I Georges Perrot & Charles Chipiez,—History of Art in Persia, pp. 339-40.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. I. R., part I, 1919-20, p. 23, plate XI, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge Ancient History, vol. VI, 1927 p. 402; Cambridge History of India, vol. I, 1922, pp. 319-44.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington, -op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Tarn,—Hellekistic Civilisation, chap. VII, pp. 193-214; Pierre Jouguet,—Macedonian Imperialism, pp. 93-107; 353, 358.

on the Tigris via Candahar, Persepolis and Susa, while another, 'an old main road' ran via Candahar, Herat, Hecatompylos, Ecbatana, Seleukeia, and was joined by the Taxila-Cabul-Bactria road'. Taxila was then the seat of Mauryan province and communicated with Pataliputra by a great highway. The Aramaic inscription of Taxila which refers twice to marana Privadars' is accounted for by the above relations with the old Achæmenian provinces. Indian sea-borne trade was carried to Seleukeia along the Persian gulf and up the Tigris and also to Egypt through Arabian intermediaries. The opening up of these trade routes appears to have resulted in arousing and increasing interest in India and in the Hellenistic world about each other. Candragupta is said to have been accustomed to offer sacrifices upon Alexander's altars on the Hyphasis in Hellenic fashion.2 A few drugs were also sent by him to Seleucus. The Rock Edict XIII of his grandson Asoka betrays his knowledge of the Greeks.4 From the Rock Edict II we learn that Asoka, who evidently felt drawn to the Hellenistic world, arranged for the medical treatment of men and cattle in the dominions of Antiochus Theos and his neighbours. His description of himself as 'Privadarsi' the beloved of the gods, recalls the deification of kings prevailing amongst the successors of Alexander the Great in the Orient. The world that he claims to have conquered by 'Dharma' was mainly the Hellenistic world and he seems to have been inspired by Alexander's vision of Eurasiatic empire based on a union of hearts (homonoia) and a joint Commonwealth of Macedonians and Persians, no less than by Achæmenian imperialism. His appointment of Tuşaspha, a Yavana (Persian?) to the governorship of an imperial

I Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 9, 77-78, pl. XIII (a); Herzfeld, E. I., vol. XIX, pt. VI, April, 1928, pp. 251-53 and plates.

<sup>2</sup> Perrin Bernadotte, Plutarch's Lives, vol. VII, pp. 401-03. Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed., pp. 80-82 & fn.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge History of India, vol. I, 1922, p. 431.

<sup>. 4</sup> Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka (Corpus Ins. Ind., vol. I), pp. 44-47.

<sup>5 •</sup> Id. pp. 2-4.

<sup>6.</sup> Id., pp. 66-70.

<sup>7</sup> Tarn, op. cit., pp. 69ff.

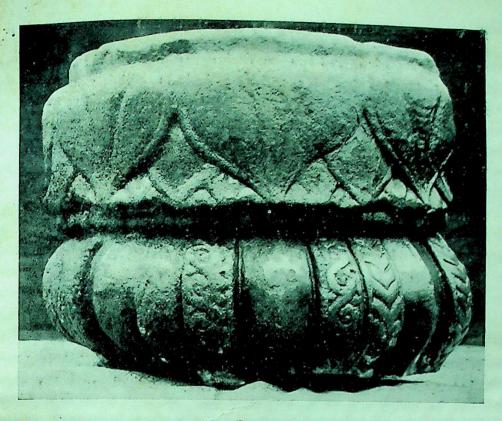


Fig. 4

A composite Mauryan Capital (height 1'2"). From Pataliputra.

(By kind permission of Swami Avyaktananda, of the Ramkrishna Ashram, Bankipore).

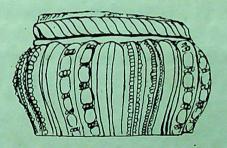


FIG. 5
Mauryan Capital, Sarnath.

(FRAGMENT)

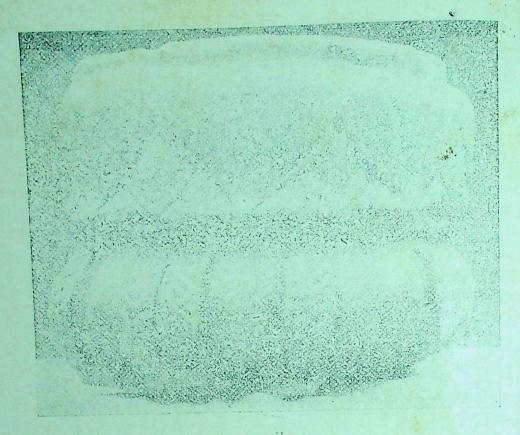
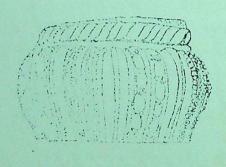


Fig. 4
A composite Manryan Capital (height 1'2"). Fron P

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province, has numerous parallels in the history of Alexander, whose policy in this respect was imitated by Antigonus I and the Seleucids, though but sparingly. Like the Macedonian Conqueror who stood in the magnificently appointed tent of Darius and wondered, this, as it would seem, is to be a king!", both Candragupta and Asoka appear to have been impressed by the dignity and splendour of Achæmenian imperialism as indicated by the Persian ceremonies prevailing in the Court of the former and by the forms of the edicts of the latter resembling those of Darius.

#### Achæmenian art and Indian Antiquities of the Mauryan Period

The said affinities have to be considered, secondly, in relation to the history of Indian art and architecture of this period, which reflects the results of the above cultural intercourse in diverse ways. An authentic case of the importation of Achæmenian objects of art into India is recorded in 326 B.C. It is stated by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Arrian that Alexander's presents to the king of Taxila included many vessels of gold and silver and a vast quantity of Babylonian and Persian embroideries from the store-house of the old Persian kings. The upper strata of the Bhir mound (4th or 3rd century B.C.) at Taxila has yielded 'a scaraboid of Chalcedony' graved mainly with the drill in the Achæmenian fashion', which is 'probably of Persian provenance' (depth 2' below surface). A few minor antiquities found in the same strata reflect the influence of Achæmenian art. Among these are four bangles<sup>8</sup> of thin beaten gold shaped on a core of

I E. I., vol. VIII, pp. 36-49; vol. X, Appendix (Luders), p. 99, No. 965. Tuṣaspa is credited with the construction of certain sluices in the dam of the Sudarśanā lake at Girnar.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Jouguet, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, op. cit., pp. 110-11.

<sup>4</sup> Perrin,—Plutarch's Lives, Vol. VII, pp. 281-83.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, Persian influence on Mauryan India-FA., 1905, pp. 201-3.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge History of India, vol. I, 1922, p. 357; Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed., pp. 65-66.

<sup>7</sup> A. S. I. R., part I, 1920-21, pp. 17-18, 20, pl. XVII, fig. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Id., p. 20, pl. XVII, fig. 27.

shellac with their ends terminating in lions' heads (depth 9" below surface), which recall Achæmenian gold armlets from Susa and in the 'Treasure of the Oxus'. Of special interest is a fragment of pottery from the side of a vase, decorated with the conventional leaf design (Fig. 6)..... reminiscent of the capitals of the well-known Asoka pillars'(depth 1'3" below surface sq.25×51). Another vase from the same mound 'shaped like a modern marthan, is 'stamped round the shoulder with bead and reel mouldings and bands of floral patterning', among which is the ring of leaves enclosed between festoons (cf. the Quasi-Ionic Capital of Pāṭaliputra) of Persian design.

From Sārnāth, about 800 miles S. E. from Taxila as the crow flies, comes a polished sandstone head wearing a crenellated crown which recalls the one on the figure of Darius above the Behistun inscription. The Tytler statues from Patna have on their hands coiled armlets decorated spirally and terminating in dragons' heads which recall Achæmenian ornaments. Their waist-cloth, which is worn without the usual Indian 'kaccha' is reminiscent of the Persian garb and also recalls Alexander's experiments with the Persian dress. All these point to the source from which the Mauryan architect was likely to borrow his themes.

#### Mauryan Architecture

The Mauryan architect would appear to have been indebted to Medo-Persian sources, too, for certain architectural features from as early as the reign of Candragupta. The latter's palace at Pāṭali-putra comprised halls, their gilded pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. Fragmentary remains of golden vines have

I O. M. Dalton, op. cit., p. xiv, fig. 1; p. xv, fig. 2; p. xvii, fig. 3; and pp. 32-39 with plates.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. I. R., part I, 1920-21, p. 20, plate XVI, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. I. R., 1924-25, p. 48, pl. viii, fig. (d).

<sup>4</sup> Bachhofer,—op. cit., vol. I, pl. 13.

<sup>. 5</sup> Dalton,—of. cit., p. 1, fig. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Chanda, The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India (Memoirs of A. S. 1., No. 30), p. 34, pl. iv.

<sup>7</sup> Daiton, -op. cit., nos. 118, 138, pl. xvii, no. 132, plate xx.

<sup>8</sup> Id., p. xlvi, fig. 28.

been discovered in the excavations of Kumrahr at Patna.¹ Polybius (x, 27, 9-10) mentions a temple at Aena which was surrounded by porticoes having entirely gilt columns.² The golden vines of the pillars 'recall the one overshadowing the royal couch of Darius', a gift of the Lydian Pythias and the product probably of some Ionian workshop.³ The halls of Sandracottus may be compared in descriptions with those of Ecbatana, which were constructed of cedar and cypress and sheathed in silver and gold. "Neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour", says Aelian, "nor Ecbatana with all its magnificence can vie (with them), for methinks only the well known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison."

From consideration of the bull capitals of the columns in the portico of the Sanctuary at Delos, Perrot and Chipiez arrived at the conclusion that "drawings of the oriental buildings eulogised by the companions of the Macedonian may have existed and were handed about in the days of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ."5 This is borne out by the fact 'that the tablets dating from as late as the reigns of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopater, etc. found by Loftus at Warka are sealed with rings engraved with Persepolitan subjects.'6 A similar ring engraved with the Persepolitan bull capital (addorsed) which 'should probably be assigned to the 5th century B. C.', has been obtained at Rawalpindi. The fragment from the side of terracotta vase from Taxila, described above, which is decorated with arrises and festoons in the manner of the Persian pillar base and the Mauryan capital, points to the eastward migration of Persepolitan designs, in the same manner, during the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. The restored ground plan of the hypostile hall at Kumrahr shows the distribution of pillars in square bays according to the Persian design.7 Its pillars had been set up ten cubits apart from centre to

<sup>1</sup> A. S. I., Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1913-14, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, -op. cit., pp. 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> Id., pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle,—Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, pp. 141-42.

<sup>5</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, -op. cit., pp. 56-57.

<sup>6</sup> Dalton, -op. cit., pp. xlvi, 29; No. 106, fig. 55, pl. xvi.

<sup>7</sup> A. S. I. R., 1912-13, pp. 53-86 and plates. A. S. I., Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1912-13, pt. II, chap. II, pp. 55-61; 1913-14, pp. 45-74.

centre measured by the Indian cubit of 18", whereas in Darius' Hall of hundred columns they are 21' or nearly ten cubits apart measured by the Persian unit of 25,1/3". A mason's mark at the bottom of one of these pillars which has luckily escaped destruction from the conflagration which devastated the building, strongly resembles a similar mark from Persepolis. Dr. Spooner's explorations of the site disclosed the existence of an elevated platform (of earthwork) resembling that at Persepolis. Further excavation only can show whether the mounds at Kumrahr actually contain ruins corresponding in their relative positions to the complex of structure at Persepolis.

The silicious varnish appearing on the Mauryan monuments, for which Mr. K. P. Jayaswal advocates a prehistoric origin on the evidence of a polished neolith, had been applied to the Behistun rock inscription, "apparently to give a finish and durability to the writing.......to give a clear outline to each letter, and to protect the surface against the elements" (Rawlinson).

Evidence is, therefore, not wanting to show not only the migration of Achæmenian arts including Persepolitan designs to India during the Mauryan period, but also the popularity of plans of Persepolitan buildings and characteristic Persian techniques in the capital city of of the empire. The Persepolitan capitals of some of the pillars in the Yusufzai reliefs and of Gandharan pillars of masonry work as the Surkh Minar and the Minar Chakri² denote that motifs of Achæmenian architecture continued to be a persistent source of inspiration to the Indian architect long after the downfall of that dynasty.

### The Campaniform Moulding in Persia

Thirdly, the antecedents of the campaniform moulding are well-known in Persia and render it impossible that the Indian bell capital could have originated elsewhere. So far, no moulding corresponding to it is known to have been discovered in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. A short ring of pendant leaves terminating in a festooned border, bulging in outline, and distributed over Western Asia and Mesopotamia with marked local differences, appears to have inspired

I. J. B. O. R. S., vol. v, pp. 104-05; J.R. A. S., 1847, pp. 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham,—A. S. R., vol. v, pp. 185-89, pl. xlv; Fergusson,— History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 1876, p. 56.

the design of the lower member of the second order of Persian capitals.¹ But the Persian base, though decorated with petals disposed between festoons like the said member, differs from it in its characteristic shape and in the design of its petals, consisting in each case of a sharp ridge or arris enclosed between the usual festoons. It is held to be an indigenous product of Persia,² 'suggested to the architect by the rude stone block the rustic constructor was driven to employ, so as to save the wooden post of his humble house from coming in contact with the damp earth.....The form maintains a physiognomy which is neither Assyrian nor Egyptian nor yet Greek. Nowhere else are the component parts exactly adjusted as these, and above all, turned in the direction we find them here. The decorative theme, the solid shape to which it is applied, every feature is original.'

# The Mauryan Capital and the Persian Base Compared

The Mauryan bell has the same type of petals as the Persian base, the resemblance extending to the short leaves occurring between the festoons at their lower end. It differs mainly in not having a ring of leaves falling on its shoulder, the enrichment being obviously considered unnecessary at a height whence it could not be grasped by the eye. The Sunga architect, who must have been aware of the transposition of the Persian pillar base to the top of the Mauryan column, obviously lacked the judgment which made the Mauryan architect eliminate the ring of leaves and revert to the original Persian design, e.g., on the capital of the Heliodoros column. Another difference is in the higher accentuation of the curves of its outline, which it owes to its decorative function on the top of a pillar carrying no superincumbent weight. Its broader festoons and the bold execution of its petals must have been intended to throw the whole design into relief in the blazing Indian light, by inviting shadows in the hollows between the arrises and festoons. The resemblances between the Indian and the Persian mouldings, therefore, conclusively establish the indebtedness of Mauryan art to the Achæmenian. The divergences are only due to the fresh and living inspiration of Mauryan art, which deliberately adapted the Persin motif to Indian climate and purpose.

I Perrot & Chipiez, -op. at., pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-90, 118-19.

## Hellenistic Influence

Finally, the Hellenistic treatment of some of the sculptures crowning the Mauryan columns constitutes a sort of birth mark for the capital themselves. For, as denoted by the fragmentary handle of the above-mentioned vase from Taxila (depth 1'3" below surface, sq. 25×51'), which is decorated with the head of Alexander the Great in the lion's skin (Fig. 7) and also by the laurel wreath represented below the mural crown on the Sārnāth head, the traditions of Hellenistic and Achæmenian arts had been migrating to India, during the Mauryan epoch, in the same current along trade routes which started from Hellenistic cities as Ephesus, Antioch and Seleukeia on the Tigris and passed through Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis to India,

Evidence for the presence of Hellenistic influences in the art of the Ganges Valley at this period is afforded by two terracotta heads from Sārnāth³ and Basarh⁴ respectively, of distinctively Greek appearance, But in view of Nearchus' statement that 'the Indians quickly learnt to make Greek articles such as the scrapers and oilflasks used by atheletes,5 it may not be warranted to trace such minor works of art to actual Græco-Bactrian artists. Two terracotta heads representing smiling children with quaint head-gears, done in a realistic manner, from Patna6 and Basarh7 evidently belong to the same class. The laurel wreath and rams' horns which decorate the Mauryan heads discovered by Mr. Hargreaves at Sarnath (1914-15) are also Greek motifs. The chief contribution of Hellenistic art in the formation of that of the Mauryan lay in the 'advanced power of visualizing,' must have been acquired through the study of western plastic works by the Mauryan artists (Bachhofer). To such study is due the plurifaciality attempted in the sculptures. The animal figures of Mauryan art convey a sense of internal structure of bones and muscles, which is unmistakably Hellenistic. This applies also to the figures on the abacus of the

<sup>.,</sup> I A.S.I.R., pt/I, 1920-21, p. 20, pl. xvi, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot Smith, - Human History, pp. 474-80.

<sup>3-&</sup>amp; 4 Bachhofer,—op. cit., vol. I, p. 12, pl. 13.

<sup>5&#</sup>x27; Cambridge History of India, vol. I, 1922, p. 418.

<sup>6</sup> A.S.I.R., ptc I, 1917-18, p. 27, pl. xvi, fig. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Id., 1913-14, p. 182, no. 791, pl. xliii, fig. (h).

Sārnāth capital,¹ which appear sloping off into the background without casting strong shadows so that their style can hardly be taken as 'purely Indian,' as supposed by Dr. Vincent Smith.² Dr. Bachhofer points out Hellenistic influences in the treatment of certain details of form, viz., the cheekbones, moustaches and the deeply imbedded eyes of the lions. The comparative freedom in the rendering of the manes of the Sārnāth lions as compared to the totally schematic and conventional representation of the same feature in the Sāñchi and Rāmpurvā lions is also significant. The most convincing proof of Hellenistic treatment is the entasis characterising the shaft of the Sāñchi column,³ a distinctive feature of Greek architecture. A sandstone capital carved in low relief with the acanthus leaf is stated to have been discovered at Bankipore,⁴

Hellenistic tradition, affected no doubt later Achæmenian works as indicated by the Susa frieze of lions; but the Mauryan lions differ from the Persian in their comparatively restrained naturalism, and in the suave treatment of their surface, which denote a fresh Hellenistic inspiration at work. On the other hand, a certain lifelessness is common to them and the Mauryan lions generally have their manes rendered in schematic and conventional manner. Again, the sense of volume and linear composition of the Sanchi and Sarnath capitals may be considered to be Indian traits. As the ratios of these columns differ from those of the Greek orders, they would seem to constitute an independent order by themselves. The variations noticeable in the said ratios and in the arrangements of the mouldings of the capitals imply that the 'style' cannot have 'taken centuries before it was brought to the state of perfection in which we find it at the time of Aśoka,' as maintained by Dr. Rajendralala. The conclusion is irresistible that Mauryan art and architecture represent a fusion of the Persian, Hellenistic and Indian traditions which

I Bachhofer, -op. cit., vol. I, pp. 6-7, 12-13, pl. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Smith,—A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 2nd Edn. (Codrington), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham,—The Bhilsa Topes of Buddhist Monuments of Central India, pp. 193-95.

<sup>4</sup> Smith,—Imperial Gazetteer of India, 'The Indian Empire' vol. II, p. 109. Cf. R. Mitza,—op. cit., vol. I, p. 16; Bhandarkar,—Aśoka, 1925, p. 214.

dates from the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. I have elsewhere tried to show that this original synthesis took place in the Gangetic plains.1 Hence, if no monuments like the above have been as yet discovered on Bactrian soil,2 it does not necessarily follow that Hellenistic influences had not been independently operating on the origins of the Mauryan art in the Ganges Valley. The latter, indeed, do not appear to have been virile enough to stamp out the Persian and Indian forms flourishing by their side. Their simultaneous presence in the same art and archtecture is, nevertheless, indicative of their correlation. Therefore, the undoubtedly Indian elements being left out of account, if the Hellenistic touches in Mauryan art are admitted to be imported features,3 the same admission has to be made for the campaniform capital, due regard being had to the cultural relations existing between India and Persia at the time, to the Achæmenian influence generally noticeable in the Indian arts and architecture of those days, as well as the close affinities between the capital and the Persian base, the latter being a characteristic product of Persia (549-330 B. C.).

#### The Theory of Collateral Origin

When in 1875 the theory of the lotus origin of the bell capital was first formulated by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, he simply rejected the supposed similitudes between the so called Aśokan and Assyrian capitals as inconclusive in character. Since then our knowledge of Mauryan art and architecture has been considerably enriched by various archæological discoveries and the resemblances between the Persian and Mauryan forms are obviously too close to be ignored. Hence, while claiming a non-Iranian origin for the bell capital, traceable to the Vedic lotus symbol, Dr. Coomaraswamy has tried to explain away the said resemblances as due to their collateral origin. According to him the two forms are cognate, parallel derivatives from older forms current in Western Asia; Northern India having

I I.H.Q., Vol. III, p. 548; vol. V, pp. 697-99.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar/-op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>. 3,</sup> Cf. A. W. Lawrence,—Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East & West, pp. 77-79.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Codrington,-op. cit., p. 19.

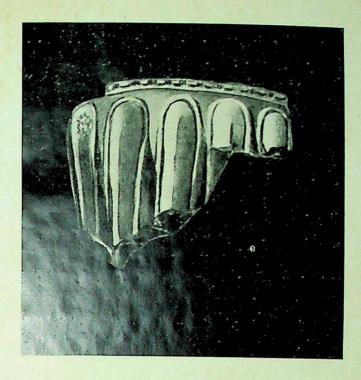


Fig. 6
Fragment from the side of a Terracotta vase (ht. 7").
From—Taxilla.

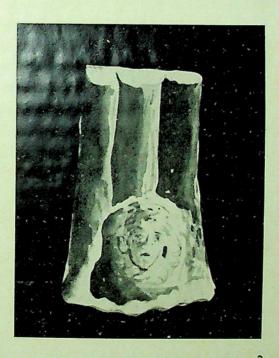


Fig. 7

Fragment of the handle of a Terracotta vase (ht. 53/4")

showing Alexander's head in lion's skin.

From—Taxila.

I. H. Q., June, 1931.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

long formed a part of the Western Asiatic Culture complex': or common inheritances from an Ancient Eastern Culture that extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges Valley......which may well have had a continuous history extending upwards from the stone age.' The moulding being thus admitted to be of W. Asiatic origin, the learned critic only arbitrarily rejects the data for its Achæmenian derivation and antedates its diffusion to India on totally inadequate grounds.

The above theories of the independent and collateral origins of the bell-capital are apparently supported on the plea of continuity of tradition in art. It is maintained rightly by Dr. Coomaraswamy that the whole group of motifs of Western-Asiatic aspect appearing in early Indian art need not be supposed to have been introduced by Aśoka's Persian crastsmen en bloc. Indeed, it is not improbable that these motifs were introduced in Indian art at different points of time and through different agencies. Hence the converse proposition that the whole group of the said motifs is derived from a common Eastern culture once distributed over India and Western Asia is equally open to objection. Consequently, each case of similitude between Indian, Persian and Western Asiatic motifs has to be considered individually and by itself, as well as in relation to the entire group of such motifs.

The survival of wooden forms and techniques in early Indian architecture certainly points to the existence of a contemporary or older wooden architecture. But until specimens have been discovered it is premature to maintain that it resembled Mauryan and Sunga architecture in every detail. Strictly speaking, archæology is neither in a position to define what was the state of pre-Mauryan arts, nor to enumerate the exact repertory of their decorative themes. The previous existence of decorated wooden rails, deduced by Prof. Chanda¹ from the ancient Indian Tree and Stūpa cults, is rendered doubtful by the absence of ornament on the earliest railings of stone construction,² such as the monolithic rail of Sārnāth,³ the ground balustrades of the Great Stūpa of Sānchi,⁴ as well as those surrounding the open court or hall no. 36 at Sārnāth, which have come down in some frag-

I Chanda,—'The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India,' Memoirs of the A. S. I., No. 30, pp. 3-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cunningham,—A. S. R., vol. III (1871-72), pp. 23 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sahni, -op. cit., p. 3. :

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Marshall,—A Guide to Sanchi, p. 34, Plates I & II.

I.H.Q., JUNE, 1931

#### ORIGIN OF THE BELL-CAPITAL

ments bearing inscriptions in characters of the second century B.C.1 In these circumstances Dr. Coomaraswamy's assumption that "the bell-capital must have been a common element of the craftsman's repertory under the Nandas as in the time of Asoka," is hardly justified.

#### APPENDIX

#### Standards in the Mahābhārata and Their Significance

The standards described in the Mahābhārata are distinctive, and are chiefly of the war chariots (III. 173, 37; VI. 19, 27; VII. 105, 1-29 etc.)2: they are also mentioned in connection with the battle elephants3 (VIII. 22, 14-15; 77.8; 81. 14, 34 etc.) and the horsemen4 (VIII. 19, 45 etc.). In the war chariots, the standard consisted of a pole hoisted on the "upastha" part of the vehicles, crowned by an emblem or emblems of gold, silver, or inlaid work. Lower down were hung bells, garlands and flags of variegated colours, also bearing various emblems.

The standard was set up in position on the chariot on the eve of a battle (IV. 31, 18-22; 37, 25-26; 46, 1-7; V. 47, 102; 111, 3-5; VII. 2, 25 etc.), or of a journey (II. 24, 21-26; V. 82, 20). As in

Sahni, -op. cit., pp. 3, 210-12, 214-15, Nos. D/a 13-20, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārata edited by Pratap Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Sakābda 1809-11. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, II. 67, 30 etc.; Matsya Purāṇa, 173, 1-6; 174, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Fergusson,-Tree and Serpent Worship, pls. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, and xl.; Sahni, - Sarnath Museum Catalogue, pl. v; Hamid, Kak and Chanda, - Sanchi Museum Catalogue, 1922, pl. x.; Coomaraswamy,-Indian and Indonesian Art, pls. viii, xiii, fig. 48, xvi, fig. 54; O. M. Dalton,-The Treasure of the Oxus, 1926, pp. 52-53, pl. xxviii, figs. 199-200; Herringham, - Ajanta Frescoes, pl. xviii.

The riders carrying the Garuda-dhvajas on the Bharhut rails are examples. For ordinary standards, see Coomaraswamy,op. cit., pls. xii, fig. 42 and xix, fig. 70 ; Cunningham, -Mahabodhi, pl, viii, 3.

the Rg-veda (VII. 85, 2; X. 103, 11), it was a part of the warfare to pierce or cut down the enemy standards. It is interesting to note that the Kauthemi grant of Vikramāditya V of the Saka Samvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9), mentions 'ranastambhas' set up by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka III which were cut asunder in battle by the Western Calukya king Taila II.3

The following are some of the standards:-

#### I. Of gods and goddesses:-

Vaijayanta (= Indra), of bamboo (?) with golden decorations and of the colour of the blue lotus (III. 42. 8). Bull (=Siva, VIII. 34. 41). Cock (=Skanda, III. 228. 32). Peacock's feathers (=Durgā, IV. 6. 14). The hoisting of the *Indradhvaja* (1. 63. 17-29) constituted an important cult stated to have originated in the kingdom of Cedi. According to the Mahābhārata it consisted in planting a bamboo pole on the ground for the celebration of Indra's worship. The next day......it was decked with golden cloth, scents and garlands and various ornaments.

I Macdonell and Keith, - Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārata, IV. 57. 39; 58. 59, 78; 61. 31; 64. 6-7; VI. 54. 25, 62; 80. 13-15; 93. 39; 96. 75; 120. 23, 50; VII. 14. 41, 52; 92. 31, 37, 64; 97. 30; 107. 31; 108. 9; 123. 16, 32-33; 125. 21, 70; 146. 56; 156. 82, 157; 162. 18; 168. 5, 22; 169. 6, 40; 170. 14; 189. 18-21; 192, 14; 201. 42; VIII. 15. 38; 16. 7, 12; 20. 8; 21. 18; 22. 15; 24. 40; 25. 6-8, 21; 30. 22; 48. 27; 53. 7; 56. 35-36; 61. 20, 45-46, 51, 55; 77. 65; 78. 21, 22; 79. 71, 77, 78; 81. 5; 82, 12, 18; 89. 25-26, 64; 91. 33-38; IX. 10. 31; 12. 56-58; 16. 38-39, 63; 17. 61; 21, 21; 28. 53-54, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet,—C. I. I., vol. III, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matsya Purana, 133, 61.

<sup>5</sup> This feature may be noted in connection with the  $y\bar{u}pa$  worship described in the Rāmāyaṇa (see ante). Possibly herein we have a clue to the significance of the rosettes, palmettes, honeysuckles etc., carved on the abaci of the capitals of the Mauryan Lats, unless they were of purely decorative character. The worship of pillars with garlands is represented on some bas-reliefs of the Stūpa II at Sānchi (Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. XLIII) and some railing pillars at, Sārnāth (Sahni, Sarnath Museum Catalogue, Pl.VI). Garlands are carved on certain fragmentary shafts of pillars, of late Mauryan date, from Sārnāth (A. S. I. R., 1914-15, pl. lxviii, nos. 16, 21). Cf. Bas-reliefs on the gateways and corner pillars of the Mahābodhi raiis; also A.S.I.R., 1914-15, pl. lxvii, nos. 11, 12, and Mudrārākṣasa, act III, para 3.

offered, in the form of a swan.' Kings celebrating this festival were said to secure happiness, prosperity and victory for their kingdoms. The celebration took place in the autumn and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 10-13 seems to show its connection with the harvest festival.¹ In the Kālikā Purāṇa the pole is a trunk of the Arjjuna, Aśvakarṇa, Priyaka, Dhava, Audumbara, Deodar or the Sal tree, selected by the priest with elaborate ceremonies, and set up by the king, properly coloured, clothed and embellished with bells, flywhisks, gems, garlands, flowers, scents, etc.² According to the Matsya Purāṇa it is an evil omen to dream of the Śakradhvaja falling down (242. 9). Dreams about embracing the same dhvaja foretells victory in quarrels, at dice and in battle (242. 24-25).

II. With effigies of gods and other emblems: Dharma, Māruta, Šakra and the Aśvins (= 5 sons of Draupadī by her five consorts, respectively, said to be descended from the above gods, VII, 23, 85). The Sacrificial Post (=Saumadatti, VII, 105, 22-24, compared to the post erected in the Rājasūya ceremony). Kamanḍalu (=Droṇa, IV, 55, 45). Altar (=Droṇa, IV, 57, 2; 58, 3-4, VI, 17. 24-25). Fire (=King of Kalinga, VI, 17. 35). The Moon with planets and two drums (=Yudhiṣṭhira, VII, 23, 81-82). Malaya (=Pāṇḍya, VII, 20, 20). Plough (=Śalya, king of the Madras, VII, 105, 18-20).

III. With trees: Palm and the sun and stars (= Bhīṣma, IV, 55, 56-60; VI, 16, 23; 17, 18; 46, 50). Palm (= Baladeva, IX, 37, 20 XVI 3, 6). Karṇikāra (= Abhimaṇyu, VI, 47, 7-8).

IV. With birds, animals, etc.: Garuda (= Kṛṣṇa, I, 33, 13-18; II, 2, 15; 24, 22-23, V, 82, 20, VII, 79, 36-37; VIII, 40, 14; X, 13, 4-5; XII, 46, 34; XVI, 3, 6). Vulture (= Ghatotkaca, VII, 23, 87; Alambuśa, VII, 168, 18). Peacock (= Vṛṣasena, VII, 105, 17-18). Swan (= Sahadeva, VII, 23, 84). Śarnga (= Abhimanyu, VII, 23, 86). Sāranga (= Pāṇḍya, VII, 23, 69). Śarabha (= Nakula, VII, 23, 83). Elephant and peacocks (= Śalya, VII, 105, 24-25). Elephant (= Duryodhana, IV, 55, 51-52; VI, 17, 26; VII, 105, 26-27; VIII, 56, 35-36).

I Visnu Purana, Wilson (Edited by F. Hall), 4, 308-9.

<sup>2 -</sup> Radhakanta Bahadur,—Śabdakalpadruma, Kānda VII, Calcutta, Sam, 1934, pp, 46994701, quoting Kālikā Purāna, chap. 88. See also pp. 4696-4698, quoting Devī Purāna, chap. 21.

Elephant's rope (= Karna, IV, 55, 54-55; VII, 2, 25; 105, 12-13; VIII, 12, 17; 56, 87-88; 86, 5; 87, 87-93). Bull (= King of Magadha VI, 17, 28; Gautama, VII, 105, 14-16). Lion (= Uttara, IV, 37, 25-26), 46, 2; 67, 13; Bhīma, VII, 23, 80; Sātyaki, VII, 112, 57-58). Lion's tail (= Aśvatthāmā, VI, 17, 21; VII, 105, 10-12). Boar (= Jayadratha, king of the Sindhus, VI, 17, 30; 93, 39; VII, 105, 20-21). Monkey¹ (= Arjjuna, I, 227, 1-17; III, 151 15-18; VI, 46, 3-6; 53, 4, 5, 27; 66, 28; 67, 13; V, 47, 102; 53, 13; 55, 7-12; 137, 5-6; 141, 3-5; VI, 50, 43-44; 71, 2-4; monkey with lion's tail, VII, 88, 26; 100, 36; 105, 8-10; VIII, 40, 14; 46, 51-55; flags with bells, the sun, the moon and stars, 53, 7-9; 76, 27; 87, 88-93; IX, 4, 16; 62, 12).² Jackals (= Alāyudha, VII, 177, 19).

Various beliefs relating to the Standard: The standard appears to have been regarded as an auspicious emblem (V, 85, 18; XIV, 70, 15, etc.).<sup>3</sup> Bhīṣma refuses to fight at the sight of an inauspicious standard (VI, 108. 79). The falling down of standards forebodes evil unto the Bharatas (II. 80. 24). The imminent death of kings is prognosticated when the standards tremble and give off smoke and when crows perch on them (VI, 3. 42-45). The trembling of the standards when Karna goes out to battle is evidently an evil omen (VIII, 37. 8).<sup>4</sup>

Some of the chariots and standards are stated to have been gifts from the gods or else made by the celestial craftsman, e.g. the chariot of Vasu and the Indradhvaja worshipped by him (I, 63. 13-29); of Arjjuna (I, 227. 1-17, etc.); of Jarāsandha (II, 24. 11ff,), and the standards of Skanda (III, 228. 32) and Kṛṣṇa (X, 13. 4-5). On the termination of the battle of Kurukṣetra, Arjuna's chariot is mysteriously consumed by flames and the Monkey with the standard disappears (IX, 62. 12). The chariot of Kṛṣṇa vanishes when the doom of the Yādavas is imminent. The standards of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are also removed by the Apsaras at that time (XVI. 3. 5-6).

I Cf. Monkey Pillar from Konārak, Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, vol. II, pp, 113-14.

<sup>2</sup> Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 281-82, describes the 'Asvaratha' and 'Hastiratha' rites in which the dedication of chariots having the lion and the Garuda standards is enjoined for propitiating Divākara and Mādhava respectively. Cf. Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, pp. 18-19, 79.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, II, 6, 13; 7, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matsya Purāņa, 230, 3; 243, 11-12.

Arijuna's standard is the most powerful of all and Yudhisthira is considered the stronger for its possession (V, 53. 13; 137. 5-6; VI, 19,-29). The circumambulation of the chariot and the standard (I, 227. 17; IV, 46, 6, etc.) recalls the similar worship of the Buddhist Stupas. The Palm and the Garuda standards were worshipped by Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa respectively (XVI, 3. 6). The latter, about to perform a journey in the car of Jarasandha, reflects on Garuda which appears at once with the Spirits that dwell in the standard and takes its usual place on the flagstaff (II, 24, 22-23). Arjjuna will not fight under the standard of Uttara; but by pursuing the magical rites formulated by Viśvakarman invokes the Monkey and propitiates the Firegod, who at once bids the Spirits to their place on the standard (IV. 46, 3-6). The Monkey appears on the flagstaff, only to disappear with the spirits after the battle is over (IV. 67, 13). The standard urges Arjjuna on to war (V. 47, 102). The Monkey with its host of Spirits, gaping and of fierce mien, setting up terrific roars, is time and again described as overawing the enemies.1 The standard emblems of Karna and Arjjuna combat each other when their owners engage in battle (VIII. 87, 87-93). The legend associating Hanumat with the Monkey standard is rather unskilfully woven into the context and might be a later accretion (III, 151, 15-18).

The standards mentioned in the Mahābhārta are thus not only associated in some cases with the cults of Siva, Skanda and Durgā, with tree worship and the harvest festival, but also appear independently with a characteristic body of beliefs, which point to the prevalence of their independent worship as some period of antiquity.

The inclusion of the Yūpa or sacrificial post (compared in the text to that of the Rājasūya ceremony, among the standard emblems, the occurrence of the Dhvaja in the Rg-veda in the sense of banners used in battle as stated above, as well as the mythical association of some of the chariots and standards with Vedic gods, viz., Indra and Agni, indicate that the Vedic people might have been a factor in the diffusion or the elaboration of the trait. Further, its minor importance in the

pillar once frightened the Brahminical opponents of the Buddhists by giving a great roar.—Legge, Travels of Fa Hien, pp. 50-51. The function of the Spirits is clearly defined in the Mahābhārata, v. 141.4.

Rg-veda as denoted by the small number of references, considered together with its existence in the Indus Valley culture, would make it appear that the Vedic people had imbibed the trait from among their neighbours. The animal standards mentioned in the Mahābhārata, not subordinated to other cults, are best explained as ultimately derived from an older culture, surviving in a modified form, in that of the Kuru-Pañcāla country.

It is noteworthy that the distribution of the early Indian monumental pillars considerably overlies that of the chariot standards of the Great Epic and a connection between them may be reasonably postulated. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that during the Gupta period when the 'Dhvaja-stambha' had been long in the services of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahminism, something of the old significance of the standards appears to persist in the custom of recording 'Praŝastis' of kings who had won fame and victory in arms,

For standards used by the princes of the Sindhu and the Madra kingdoms of the Epic which lay in the zone of the Indus Valley culture, see ante. Though domesticated, the elehpant does not appear on the few Indus Valley standards, so far known. On the other hand, the domestication of the animal is noted only in later Vedic literature. See Cambridge History of India, vol. I, 1922, pp. 100-137; Macdonell & Keith, - Vedic Index, 1912, vol. I, 'Nāga', p. 440; vol. II, 'Hastin', p. 501. But the people of the Gangetic plains must have been accquainted with the animal from much earlier times. A rock painting depicting the elephant at Mirzapore and a terracotta elephant and rider toy discovered at Bhita in the Allahabad District, dateable at the circa 8th century B. C., are noteworthy in this connetion. See, Mitra, - Prehistoric India, plate facing p. 154; and A.S.I.R., 1911-12, pp. 71-72, no. 1, pl. xxii, fig. 1. The accredited origin of the Indradhvaja in the Cedi country shows how the worship of new 'dhvajas' had been springing up.

The palm and the Karnikāra standards of the Mahābhārata and the palm and the Kalpa Vṛkṣa capitals of Pawaia and Besnagar offer interesting parallels to the prehistoric tree ensigns and the nome emblems of Egypt, the XXth and XXIst nomes being represented by the Palm tree. Moret,—The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation, pp. 40-59.

The Eran pillar of Budhagupta is described as "Dhvajastarabha" janārddanasya" in line 9 of the record on the shaft.—no. 19 of Fleet,—C.I.I., vol. III.

on the shafts of the pillars, e.g., the Allahabad pillar of Samudra Gupta, the Bhitari pillar of Skanda Gupta, the Eran pillar of Budha Gupta, the Meherauli pillar of Candra, the Mandasor Lion pillars of Yaśodharman and the Pahlādpur pillar.<sup>2</sup> The lines nos. 29-30 of the Allahabad pillar inscription and no. 9 of the Mandasor pillar inscription leave no room for doubt that the pillars were intended as emblems of victory gained in war.

It is the standards mentioned in the Epic, therefore, and not the Vedic Lotus symbol nor the Lotus supports of Bharhut, that can throw any light on the morphology and significance of the 'Dhvajastambhas'. So far our knowledge goes, the lotus is not mentioned in connection with any of the above standards. Due regard being had to the case for the migration of the campaniform moulding from Persia to India, the probability lies, therefore, that the said moulding was not of Indian origin and was taken over for enhancing the decorative effect of the dhvajas and the structural pillars which had all been assuming lithi and monumental forms with the rise of early Indian art and architecture. The morphological and functional divergences of the moulding from the Achæmenian design, as well as the many variations in form and decoration that appear during its long history as an element of ancient Indian architecture, are explained as due to the natural modification of a trait in course of diffusion.\*

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

I It was originally a Mauryan pillar, but was re-used for incising inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, -op. cit., nos. 1, 13, 19, 32, 33, 34 and 57.

<sup>\*</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Bajra Kumar Bhattacherjee, M. Sc. for his kind help in preparing this appendix and to Prof. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., PH.D. of the University of Calcutta and Dr. Provash Chandra Basa M. Sc., M.B. of the Bose Institute for many useful suggestions. My thanks are also due to Mr. Matimohan Gupta for the drawings accompanying this paper.

# Topography in the Puranas

#### Venkatācala

In the Caitanya Caritāmṛta (ii. 9) it is said that Caitanya after visiting Purī crossed the river Godāvarī, passed through various tīrthas, and subsequently, arrived at Venkaṭācala. Venkaṭācala appears to have been a very sacred place; it is worth while, therefore, to see what information the Skanda Purāṇa furnishes us with, regarding the location of that tīrtha. The first canto of the second volume (Viṣṇu Khaṇḍa) of the Skanda Purāṇa describes the māhātmya

Venkatācala in the Skanda Purāņa, of Venkațācala. The identification of the hill, however, is not very difficult if the inaccuracies which have crept into the passages concerned are eliminated, but considerable difficulties seem to lie in the task of

reconciling the present position of Venkațācala with the position given in our Purāṇa. Thus in ii, i, i, 43-44, 46 is given the topograhical details of Venkaṭācala as follows:—

Hastiśailāduttarataḥ pañcayojanamātrataḥ,
Suvarṇamukharī nāma nadīnām pravarā nadī. 43
Tasyā evottare tīre Kamalākhyam sarovaram,
Tattīre Bhagavānāste Śukasya varado Hariḥ. 44
Kamalākhya sarasa uttare kānanottame,
Krośadvayārddhamātre tu haricandana-śobhite,
Śrīvenkaṭācalo nāma Vāsudevālayo mahān. 46

Here it is said that there is a saila called Hastisaila, on the north of which is a river called Suvarnamukharī. On the north of that river is a sarovara called Kamala, on the north of which stands Srī Venkaṭācala, seven yojanas in length and one yojana in height. That Venkaṭācala lay on the north of Kamala sarovara, on the south of which the river Suvarnamukharī was flowing is made further clear in ii. 19 where it is said that one Rangadāsa, wishing to visit Venkaṭācala from Pāṇḍya country, arrived on the bank of the river Suvarnamukharī where he bathed. He then crossed it (19) and came to the sacred Kamala sarovara where he again bathed and performed pūjās. He crossed it (20-21) and gradually advanced towards Venkaṭācala. All these clearly show that

Veńkaţācala was situated on the north of Kamala sarovara, by the south of which flowed the river Suvarṇamukharī, keeping Hastišaila on the south.

Hastisaila is perhaps still to be found in modern Kālahasti, a small range of hills, an off-shoot of the Nagari hills, spreading from Kalahasti on the north to Candragiri on the south-west in the North Arcot district (Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 368; vol. III, pp. 116, 240) of the Madras Presidency. On the north of this range of hills from Kāla-hasti to Candragiri still flows a river called Svarnamukhī, which is undoubtedly the river Suvarnamukharī of our Purāṇa (ii, i, 113). It can, therefore, be said that the Puranic Hastisaila and Suvarnamukharī are occupying the same position with regard to each other as they possibly occupied at the time of the Purana. The river Suvarnamukhari rising from the Velikond range (southern spurs) of the Madras Presidency flows in a north-eastern direction and falls into the Bay of Bengal. But somewhere at a place on the north of the modern Kāla-hasti railway station of the M. & S. M. Ry., it bifurcates and one branch flows first southwards by the western side of the Kāla-hasti railway station and then takes a southwestern course by the northern side of the off-shoots of the Nagari Hills. Thus we see that the river Suvarnamukhari or Svarnamukhī flows by the north of Hastiśaila as stated in the Purāņa.

But there are some inaccuracies regarding the course of the In ii. 1, 22, 33-4 of the Skanda Purana it is said that Agastya Aśrama was on the bank of the river Suvarnamukhari. Again in ii. 1, 33, 18 & 31 it is stated that the Agastya-śaila falls in Daksinasagara. Daksinasagara nating from refers to the Bay of Bengal as has been found in many cases, and so the river Suvarnamukharī falls in the Bay of Bengal. The other statements of the Purana, however, are highly improbable. There were many Agastya-Aśramas, but if it was the Aśrama of the Nasik division of the Bombay Presidency, it is not possible that the river Suvarnamukharī flowed as the far as Bombay Presidency to meet the Agastya Aśrama, The river in question does not reach the western part of the North Arcot district, not to speak of the far western part of the Bombay Presidency. Agastya-Aśrama may also probably be the Agastya-Saila, wherefrom the river originated as stated But Agastya-Śaila is the Agastyaabove. kūţa " mountain Tinnevelly district in the Madras of the Presidency. But this is also highly improbable for the river Suvarna-

mukhari does not flow even beyond the Madras Presidency. These inaccuracies, which have crept into the Purana, either through textual corruption or on account of the ignorance of the compilers, must be eliminated in order to find out the true position of the river. A similar mistake occurs again in ii, 1, 30, 24 where it is said that Bharadvaja-Asrama was on the bank of Suvarnamukhari. Evidently the river could not have flowed northwards up to Prayag where the Asrama was situated (Ramarana, Ayodhyā k., ch. 54). Again in ii. 1, 34, 25f. it is said that the river Suvarnamukhari after its confluence with the river Venā flowed northwards with great force by the side of many tirthas, through many dense forests and through the Udakhala country, until its confluence with the river Vyagrapada after which it flowed towards Vṛṣabhācala. There are various Veṇās but taking it to be the river Kṛṣṇā which is nearest to Svarnamukhī, no such confluence can be found. The river (Svarnamukhi) has not even joined the various southern branches of the river Penner which flows on the immediate north of it, not to speak of the far more northern river Kṛṣṇā and also the river Kālindī, with which a confluence of the river Suvarnamukhari is also described (ch. 25). These are some of the inaccurancies which must be eliminated to find out the real course of the river. It is impossible to think of a river, which flowed through Tinnevelly, Nasik and Madras and at the same time extended up to the United Provinces to meet the river Yamuna.

So the statement of the Purāṇa that Suvarṇamukharī flows by the north of Kālahasti is a geographical fact. It is said that on the north of the river Suvarṇamukharī was a sarovara called Kamala sarovara. About 3 miles to the north of the Suvarṇamukharī there is a town called Tirpadi or Tirpati or Tripati in the district of North-Arcot, 72 miles north-west of Madras, and at a short distance from the Renigunta Railway station of the M. & S. M. Ry. Between Tripati and the river Svarṇamukhī there are still about 32 ponds and large tanks, the most famous of which is Svāmī puṣkariṇī. It is therefore probable that one of these ponds was called Kamala in those days. It is said that on the north of that Sarovara lay Venkaṭācala. On the east of Tripati at a distance of about six miles there stands a range of mountains called Tirumala giri consisting of seven ranges, running from north to south and the northern range is called Venkaṭagiri. The Padma

Purāņa (Uttara kh., ch. 90) also mentions Venkaţa hill. But it gives no topographical details. Venkațagiri is also called Seșacala in the Purāņas and nowadays it is also known as Śeṣādri (Ep. Ind., vol. III, p. 240). In the Skanda Purāņa (ii, I, I, 51 f.) it is said that there are many tīrthas in Venkatācala such as Ākāśagangā. Pāpanāśana, Kumāradhārikā, tīrtha. The Tīrthas are Pāndava all to be found more or less near the Venkatagiri i.e. the first (north) range of the Tirumali hill, although Akāśagangā and Kumāradhārikā are now called Viradgangā and Kumāravārikā. On the top of the Venkatagiri there is the celebrated image of Nārāyana called Venkatesvara or Bālāji Visvanāth. It was also visited by Caitanya (Cai. Carita. ii. 1) so it can be that the first (northern) range of the Tirumali hill which is still called Venkațagiri is the Venkațacala of our Purana situated on the north of Kamala sarovara. On the south of this hill is the river Svarnamukhī (Suvarnamukharī), flowing by the northern side of Kāla-hasti. So we see that the position of Venkatācala as described in the Purana exactly coincides with the present position of the same hill; on the north of Venkatācala therefore flowed the river Penner which was known in ancient times as the river Pinākinī (Sewell's Arch. Surv. of S. India, vol. 1, pp. 123, 129). That in ancient times it occupied the very same position is corroborated by the following description of the journey of Arjuna from Indraprastha to Ven-Arjuna's kaţācala (Skandapurāņa, ii. i. 29): Arjuna pillgrimage. arrived at the river Bhagirathi, and then pursuing a along her bank gradually passed through Gangadvara, course and Kāśikā, and arrived at the Daksinasāgara (39-40). He gradually advanced and by crossing on his way the famous river Mahanadi he came to the sacred place Purusottama and thence to Simhācala (41). Afterwards he came to the bank of the river Godāvarī, crossed it and after seeing the river Malāpahā on his way, arrived at the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā-Veṇī (42-44). He then came to Śriparvata (45). After passing that Parvata he crossed the river Pinākinī and arrived at Venkatācala, the abode of Nārāyana. After alighting from the highest peak of Venkatagiri, he advanced towards the river Suvarnamukharī (48).

This survey of the position of Venkațācala from the north exactly coincides with the position of the same as surveyed from the south by the route of pilgrimage of Rangadāsa. Arjuna, it seems, started from Indraprastha i.e., modern Delhi and came to Gangādvāra i.e., Māyāpurī,

which included Hardwar (Mbh., Vana, 84). The Kur-P. also says (ii, 42) that Gangadvara and Haridvara are identical. The Vamana (4&34) and Linga Purānas also seem to testify to this (e.g. i, 100). So from Haridvāra, Arjuna pursued a course along the banks of the Ganges and came to Prayag i.e., Allahabad and then came to Kāśikā i.e., Benares, From Kāśikā it is said that he arrived at a place close to Daksinasāgara. i.e. the the Bay of Bengal. Travelling southwards from that corner of India Arjuna crossed the river Mahānadī and came to Purusottama Ksetra i.e. Purī.2 From Purī he came to Simhācala, a place (hill) which still now bears that ancient name.3 To come to Venkațācala from Simhācala, he had to cross the river Godāvarī. Then it is said that he crossed one river Malapaha and then the river Kṛṣṇā-Veni. Kṛṣṇā-Veni. must be the river Kṛṣṇā itself, which flows by the south of Godāvarī. and as such it must have intervened Arjuna's way. It appears therefore that the river Malapaha lay between Godavari and Krsna. It is probable that the river Muner which meets Krsna at Kondapalli is the same as Malapaha. It should be noticed that from Bezwada to the Sea, Kṛṣṇā becomes wider and wider, and so perhaps Arjuna had to abandon the coastal route and go further up the river Krsnā to cross it which he could not do without crossing the river Muner which lies between Godavari and Krsna. After crossing the river; Muner or Malapaha, he crossed the river Krsnā-Venā i.e. Krsnā, and then came to Śrīparvata and subsequently to the river Pinākinī. The river Pinākinī is the river Penner on the south of which Nellore is situated, Śrīparvata therefore might be a mountain on the north of Penner and south of Kṛṣṇā. On the immediate south side of the river Kṛṣṇā there is a Saila called Srī Saila in the Karnal Country in the Balaghat ceded districts (De, Dict., p. 193). This Śrīśaila is also called Śrīparvata and Parwattam. Caitanya visited that hill (Ca-Ca. ii. 9). It was perhaps a sacred place and it is but natural that Arjuna would visit that hill, and more so because the parvata lay almost on his way to Venkațācala from the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus he passed through the Śriparvata and then crossed the river Pinākinī or Penner. After

I Daksina Prayaga means the Triveni on the north of Hugli in Bengal (Br-Dharma-P., i, 6; A.S.B., vol. VI, 1910, p. 613).

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed topographical description of Puri, see Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1929, p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> A railway station of the B. N. Ry, some five miles to the north of Waltair, also bears this name,

that he arrived at Venkațācala which as shown above was on the south of the river Pinākinī. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in the description of Arjuna's pilgrimage evince a fairly good geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Skandapurāṇa.

We have further evidences regarding the corroboration of the present position of Venkatācala. In chapter 79 of the tenth canto

Baladeva's pilgrimage to Venkatācala. of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, is described a journey of Baladeva. It is said that Baladeva first arrived on the bank of the river Kauśikī and then went to that Sarovara wherefrom the river Sarayu has sprung.

He then travelled along the banks of Sarayu and subsequently arrived at Prayāg. There he visited the Pulahā Āśrama. From that place he continued his journey, bathing on his way in the rivers Gomatī, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāśā and Śoṇa, till he arrived at Gayā where he performed Pitr worship. From Gayā he came to Gaṅgā Sāgara Saṅgama, whence he travelled southward and reached the Mahendra Parvata. From Mahendra Parvata he respectively passed through the rivers Sapta Godāvarī, Veṇā, Pampā and Bhīmarathī and then arrived at Śrīśaila. Travelling south from Śrīśaila he arrived at Venkaṭagiri.

The river Kausiki is perhaps the river Kusi or Kausaki mentioned in the Ramayana (Adi, 34) and also in Var. P. (140). All the Puranas agree that the river has taken its rise from the Himālayas and so probably had a course through the United Provinces. It can be supposed therefore that the river Kauśiki of Baladeva was the river Kośi, which now flows through the Rampur state of the United Provinces. So from the Kośi river of Rāmpur, Baladeva started and arrived at the Sarovara, wherefrom the river Sarayu originates. rises in the mountain of Kumaun, but the traditional belief is that the river issues from the Mānasa Sarovara (Mbb., Anuśā., 155). it seems that Baladeva went straight north from the river Kośi and arrived at the Manasa Sarovara. From that lake he followed a course along the bank of Sarayu or Gogrā as it is called nowadays, and then came to Prayag i.e. modern Allahabad. It is said that there he visited Pulahāśrama. The Var. P. says (143) that Pulahāsrama and Salagrama are one and the same place. to Pad. P. (Pātāla, kh. 78) and Bhāg. P. (v. 7) Sālagrāma is placed hear the source of the river Gandak where rsi Pulaha performed asceticism. It is not reasonable to think that Baladeva travelled northwards as far as the slopes of the Himalayas from Prayag and

then again descended southwards to bathe in the river Gomati which was his next halting station from the Pulahāśrama. The inclusion of Pulahāśrama in the list is therefore a textual corruption which should be eliminated. So it stands that from Allahabad, Baladeva marched along the northern bank of the river Ganges, and then reached probably Bhitri where the river Gomatī joins the Ganges, and crossed it after bathing there. From that place he continued his march for Gandaki. Gandaki is the present river Gandak which joins the Ganges flowing from the north, at Sonepur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar. And so when it is said that Baladeva bathed in that river, it follows that after crossing the river Gomatī near Bhitri he journeyed through Ballia and Saran and then came to Sonepur, which seems to be the shortest way from Gomati to Gandak. Probably, at Sonepur, Baladeva bathed in the river Gandak. It is said that he also bathed at Vipāśā. Vipāśā or the Beas or the Hyphasis of the Greeks is in the Punjab. This inclusion of Vipāśā in the list is therefore essentially a textual corruption like the Pulahaśrama which is placed near Allahabad. So if we omit Vipāśā from the list it stands that Baladeva after bathing in the river Gandak, bathed at Sona, which was regarded as a sacred river and then marched straight east to Gaya. From Gaya he went to Gaiga Sagara Sangama, which probably meant a place somewhere near the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, like Arjuna's Daksina Sagāra. So from Gaya, Baladeva probably marched southwest and arrived somewhere near the mouth of the Ganges in the Bay of Bengal and then followed a coastal route and reached the Mahendra Parvata. Mahendra Parvata was used by the ancient Indians as a sort of generic term denoting the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura. It probably meant the hill of Kalinga (see Raghuvamsa, vi, 54) and the Uttara-Naisadhacarita (canto XII, 24) also supports it. However, Baladeva arrived at Kalinga and then came to Sapta Godavari. It was a place of pilgrimage and is mentioned often in the Puranas (Fad., Svarga, 19). According to the Rajatarangini, (bk. viii, s. 34449, Dr. Stein's trans., vol. ii, p. 271) it meant the modern Dowlaishwerani 6 miles to the south of Rajahmundry. We have seen Baladeva following coastal route and so it is but natural that he would come to the mouth of Godavari, and cross it at Sapta Godavari or Dowlaishewerani as it was considered a sacred place. After crossing the river Godavari, it would have been the easiest route for Baladeva to cross

the river Kṛṣṇā and come directly to Śriśaila which was to the immediate south of the river. But we have seen that Arjuna, after crossing the river Godāvarī, avoided a strictly coastal route and so was entangled in the crossing of the river Malāpahā or the river Mener, before he could cross the river Kṛṣṇā. Baladeva also avoided a coastal route after crossing the river Godāvarī and came across the rivers Veṇā, Pampā, Bhīmarathī before he could reach Śriśaila. It appears therefore that Baladeva was entangled in a South-western route instead of following a strictly southern route. There are many Veṇās, one is Veṇī, a branch of the Kṛṣṇā itself (Padma, Uttara, 74) which rises in the Western Ghats. But it is impossible to think that Baladeva went as far as the Western Ghats to cross it in view of the fact that there are other Veṇās which lay near him.

There is another river called Venā or Venvā or Vengā or Veni-gangā which is identified with the river Wain-Ganga of Central Provinces, being a tributary of the river Godavari (Mbh., Vana, 85; Padma, Adi, 3). It rises from the Vindhyapada range. But we have seen that Baladeva arrived at the mouth of the Godavari and probably crossed. So no longer perhaps it was possible for him to retrace his steps north-west up to the northern border of the Hyderabad State to meet the river Wain-Gangā. Venā of Baladeva was therefore the Kṛṣṇā itself. Pampā has still retained that ancient name being a tributary of the river Tungabhadra. It flows by the side of Kampli in the district of Bellary (Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. II, p. 369). The river Bhīmarathī is the river Bhīmā of the Hyderabad State which joins Kṛṣṇā near about the Kistna railway station of the G. I. P. Ry. But it appears that the rivers are not placed in proper setting so far as their geographical position is concerned. For once Baladeva crosses the Venā, i.e., Kṛṣṇā and Pampā, than he comes to the Bellary district and then again reverts northwards as far as Kistnā to cross Bhīmā in the Hyderabad State, seems improbable specially in view of the fact that after crossing the river Pampa his aim was to go to Śrīśaila. The rivers might therefore be placed in this order, Bhīmarathī, Veṇā and Pampa. So it appears very certain that after crossing the river Godavari, Baladeve instead of following a strictly southern route Journeyed westward through the Hyderabad State and arrived at the confluence of the rivers Bhīmā and Kṛṣṇā or Veṇā. Then he continued his march in a south-western direction through Madras Presidency, by crossing the river Tungabhadra, which of course is not mentioned, and perhaps by the western side of the

Anagundi hills. This took him to the Bellary district, and he was thus face to face with the river Pampa in order to go to Śrīśaila. Naturally, therefore, Baladeva crossed the river Pampa and probably took a direct eastern course which took him to Śriśaila standing, as we have pointed out, on the south of the river Kṛṣṇā. Thus we see that Baladeva was entangled in a very round about course, only because he abandoned the coastal route. It is said that from Sriśaila he arrived at Venkatagiri and so from Śrīśaila Baladeva took a direct southern route and arrived at the first (northern) range of the Tirumalagiri which is called Venkatagiri. It thus clearly follows that the topographical records contained in this description of the journey of Baladeva, with the exception of some few textual corruptions, and the literary evidences adduced in this paper to locate Venkatācala from Hardwar on the one hand and Pāndva on the other evince the fairly good geographical knowledge of the Hindus regarding the upper and middle portion of India.

SASHI BHUSAN CHAUDHURI

# Dvaidhibhava in the Kautiliya

When a king takes to dvaidhībhāva, he enters into sandhi with one hostile power, and proceeds to meet another. The sandhi may be a hīna-sandhi, i.e., by which the hostilities are ended; it may also be an alliance which takes place before any war is waged between the king and the enemy. The hina-sandhi is humiliating to the weaker party proposing the peace. But if the king be powerful and be attacked by two enemies simultaneously, he can defeat one of them causing him to enter into a humiliating hina-sandhi, and turn his energies against the other enemy. The mere cessation of hostilities on one side, be it through hina-sandhi or an alliance, is a source of of relief and the removal of a handicap in his operations against the other hostile power. The alliance however may be of such a form that the enemy is won over not merely to stop his hostile activities but to render positive help by giving him army and bearing losses of various descriptions. All this assistance may be rendered in exchange for a material gain present or future. The ways in which this alliance may take place and the means by which one party may take advantage

over the other party, and such other topics, will now be dealt with. The sambhuyayana mentioned by K. has resemblance to an aspect of dvaidhībhāva. In the former, a sandhi precedes the joining of the combination by a king invited to do so on terms settled by him and the convener of the combination. In the latter also, sandhi takes place between the king and the dvitīyā prakṛtil (the second rajaprakrti i.e., a king in the zone next to the kingdom of the king who makes the sandhi); this sovereign in the first zone is. according to the Kautiliya, a 'natural enemy' of the former, and hence dvaidhībhāva from sambhūone of the features distinguishing yayana is the presence of at least two hostile kings attacking a third king, while in sambhūyayāna, there may be only one enemy, and the king making the combination enters into an alliance with another king who need not necessarily be an enemy. In sambhūyayāna again, active help of the party to the sandhi is in the forefront, while in dvaidhībhāva, the cessation of hostility between a king and one of his enemies is most wanted, no matter whether or not the latter actively co-operates with him in facing the onrush of the other enemy.

Some of the advantages, one or more of which can be had by a sovereign, who wants to have recourse to dvaidhībhāva, from a sandhi with a neighbouring king as mentioned already, are: The king entering

Some advantages of a sandhi in dvaidhībhāva. into the sandhi will be prevented thereby from attacking the sovereign's kingdom from the rear; will resist an invader from the rear; will not join the other enemy of the sovereign; the strength of the sovereign will be

doubled by the sandhi; the transport of supplies and the receipt of help will be facilitated, while those of the enemy will be obstructed; the party to the sandhi will overcome the various obstacles on the way; will guard, with his own army, the army of the sovereign while marching from one fort to another or through forests; will facilitate the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the enemy in case anything unexpected and detrimental to the interest of the sovereign comes to pass; or will, at the conclusion of the operations when he has received his share in the gain, or his remuneraton for the labours undergone by him, speak well of the sovereign and thereby enlist in his favour the confidence of other neighbouring kings.<sup>2</sup>

I For the definition, see K., XV. ch, 1, p, 430.

<sup>2</sup> K., VII. ch. 7. I have here followed the text of the Kautiliya as settled in the Trivandrum edition. The explanations of Mm. T.

If, however, the sovereign, wanting to have dvaidhībhāva, has any reason for suspecting that a sandhi, by which an army can be had for money, or money in exchange for an army, will work better with a king than his personal co-operation, he should have recourse to same.

In this connexion, the Kauṭilīya speaks of sama-sandhi, viṣama-sandhi and ati-sandhi. When a king superior in power (jyāyas) gets a consideration that is deserved by one who is equal to or inferior in power to the sovereign taking to dvaidhībhāva, it is called viṣama-sandhi. It is also viṣama-sandhi when a king equal in power to the aforesaid sovereign

gets the share deserved by a superior or an inferior power, as also when an inferior power happens to receive a remuneration or a share in the gain proper for a king of equal or superior strength. The sandhi is called sama when the remuneration or the share in the gain allotted to a party to the sandhi is commensurate with his status as a power. When a party to the sandhi gets an advantage in his remuneration or share in the gain, not noticed by the other party to the alliance, it is called ati-sandhi.

A king of inferior strength intending to adopt dvaidhībhāva can offer different shares in the gains or different remunerations to the

parties to the alliance according to their status, and also according to the circumstances in which each of them may happen to be at the moment. He can, for instance, offer a sovereign of superior power a

consideration deserved only by one of equal power for entering into the sandhi, if the sovereign of superior power be in calamities, too much addicated to hunting, drinking, etc. jeopardising his health and life, and has acquired such wealth as has created enemies and for these reasons weaker than what he should be normally.

If, on the other hand, the king of inferior strength finds that he is almost sure to have the expected gain, and that for recuperating his

lost power and increasing his influence or for protecting the rear of his kingdom, a sandhi with a king of superior strength is needed with the offer of a visista (special) consideration i.e., more than sama (commensurate with

the power of the party invited into the alliance), he should do so.

Ganapati Sastri have thrown much light on the intricacies involved in the inter-state relations comtemplated in the text.

The king of inferior strength should offer a king of superior power, for entering into a sandhi, a consideration less than what is commen-

surate with the latter's power if it be found, on the one hand, that he is in calamities and his subjects have grown disaffected and disloyal, while, on the other, the king himself is well-circumstanced so far as fortresses and

friendly kings are concerned, will have to march only a short distance to fight the enemy, and is sure to have complete victory over him.

In the sets of circumstances described above, the party to the sandhi to whom terms are offered being an amitra, he can accept them if he thinks them advantageous, or reject them carrying on the hostility (vikrameta) if he thinks otherwise, and at the same time, be powerful enough to do so.

A king offering same gain to a share in the gain proportionate to the power of a same gain to a same king of equal status, when he finds that the latter is able to cope with the army of the enemy or that of the ally of the enemy, or with the enemy's troops recruited from among wild tribes, and is well acquainted with the topography of the region which is difficult to negotiate, and through which the army will have to pass or upon which the fight is likely to take place, or can guard the rear of his kingdom during his absence.

When a king finds that in adopting dvaidhībhāva, he has to enter into a sandhi with another king of equal power, who is in calamities and whose subjects have grown disaffected, then he can offer a remuneration or a share in the gain less than what would have been otherwise commensurate with

his status.

If, however, the king having recourse to dvaidhībhāva be himself in calamities and with subjects grown disloyal but has to increase his military strength to avert the present danger, which cannot be accomplished without the help of an ally, then he should offer a special remuneration or a share in the gain to a king of a status equal to his to utilize his co-operation.

In the three cases mentioned above, the offers of the king should be accepted by the other parties who are of course amitras, if he be found to be well-meaning; otherwise, the hostile actions may be continued (vikrameta) if strength permits. An offer of a special gain may be made by a superior king adopting dvaidhībhāva to an inferior king to attract him into a sandhi with him

A jyāyas king offering a višista gain to a hīna king. with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy. There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his

enemy or by realizing from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved. The Kautiliya cautions the king of inferior rank against such a contingency, and asks him to continue his hostile operations (vikrameta) as an amitra if he finds himself strong enough to do him harm and at the same time feels that the sinister motive is at the back of the offer made to him. Otherwise he may accept the terms. Other alternatives open to him in the former case are either to join the powerful king's enemy against whom the preparations are being made or to send to the powerful king in return for the consideration only the portion of the army that is recalcitrant or is composed of men captured or obtained from an enemy and therefore unsubmissive.

A king of superior power taking to dvaidhībhāva can offer to a king of inferior strength a remuneration or a share in the gain commensurate with the latter's status as a power, if the former be in calamities and his subjects be recalcitrant.

If a king of superior power adopting dvaidhībhāva finds that the king of inferior strength whom he wants to enter into a sandhi with him is in calamities and has to deal with recalcitrant subjects, he can offer the latter a remuneration less than what his rank deserves.

The kings in the last two cases, amitras as they are, were advised to continue their hostile operations (vikrameta), if they find themselves strong enough to do so. Otherwise, the offers are to be accepted.

There may be occasions when it is advisable for a well-meaning and peace-loving superior king to accept a share in the gain (offered by a hīna king) less than his position demands. Such occasions are:

(I) When the superior king, whose subjects are not disloyal and who is not addicted to drinking, etc., wishes to involve his enemy (who also happens to be the enemy of the hīna offerer), engaged in ill-commenced works, in further losses of men and money, (2) when he wishes to send away the recalcitrant portion of his army, (3) when he wishes to bring to his side the recalcitrant portion of the army of his

enemy, (4) when he wishes to cause trouble to his pīdanīya (oppressible) and ucchedanīya (exterminable) enemy with the help of the hīna offerer.

There may also be occasions when irrespective of the relative positions of the king taking to dvaidhībhāva and the king to whom offer is made by the former to enter into a sandhi with him, the latter may demand a very large remuneration or share in the gain for the help rendered. One or more of the reasons that actuate the latter to demand a very large consideration or to enter into the alliance are: (1) the offerer is in calamities with his subjects grown disloyal, and therefore this is the opportunity for ruining him, (2) the well-commenced works of the offerer sure to be crowned with success can be destroyed, (3) the latter can be attacked within his kingdom or during march towards the enemy, when the king accepting the offer comes near unsuspected. and (4) there is the chance of having a large gain from the offerer's enemy (yātavya) to be attacked immediately. The offering party is also advised to accede to the aforesaid demand to have a very large consideration for the military help in view of (I) the protection of his army from annihilation, (2) the prospect of destroying the impregnable fortress of the enemy, and crushing the forces sent to the enemy by his ally for his assistance as also the enemy's forces composed of wild tribes, (3) the chance of the loss and expenditure that will have to be borne by the party to the sandhi on account of the long distance to be traversed and the long time that will be required for the various purposes, (4) the acquisition of the help of the yātavya (the enemy against whom he is now about to march) after he is subdued, enabling the offering king to bring to book the party who is demanding such a large consideration for rendering him assistance, and (5) the prospect of capturing the troops of the enemy with the help of the party to the sandhi.1

#### NARENDRA NATH LAW

I For the passages relating to the sandhi in dvaidhībhāva followed by vikrama, see K., VII, ch. 7. Here vikrama is not the component of dvaidhībhāva called vigraha; it is the vikrama (i.e., prakāsa-yuddha, kūṭa-yuddha, or tuṣnīmyuddha) of the party invited to help the king taking to dvaidhībhāva. It should be borne in mind that the party so invited is an amitra who carries on the hostility if he does not accept the terms of an alliance. (See also K., VII, ch. 6, pp. 280, 283).

# Bodhisattva Pratimoksa Sutra

Prātimoksasūtra of the Hīnayānists

The Pratimoksasutra forms the keystone of the disciplinary literature of the Buddhists. It is fortunate that not only Pātimokkhasutta of the Theravādins in Pali but also the Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins in Sanskrit are available for study. latter has been discovered by the Pelliot mission in the ruins of Douldour-âquor at Koutcha, and edited and published by Monsieur É. Huber in the Journal Asiatique (1913) along with a French translation of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the work. This has been supplemented by Prof. La Vallée Poussin and Herr E. Waldschmidt. Prof. Poussin has published a fragment of the Pratimoksa inanuscript and the Sanskrit "Kammavācā" belonging to the Stein Collection, as also a fragment of the Sanskrit Bhiksunī Karmavacana (Oxford Sanskrit Ms. 1442) in collaboration with Miss C.M. Ridding, while Mr. Waldschmidt has brought out with ample philological and comparative notes the Bhiksuni-Pratimoksa and Bhiksuni-Vibhanga of the Sarvastivadins from the fragmentary manuscripts discovered and collected by the Prussian Turfan-expedition. The manuscripts of the Bhiksuni-Prātimokṣa were found in Qyzil and Sangim, while those of the Bhiksunī-Vibhanga were traced in the collection of paper manuscripts at Murtuq. The Chinese and Tibetan sources have also furnished us with ample materials for an exhaustive study of the Pratimoksasūtra, and therefore, of the Vinaya of the various Hīnayānic schools. Waldschmidt has fully utilised the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Bhiksuni-Prātimoksa and Bhiksuni-Vibhanga in his work mentioned above. The editions of the Pratimoksa-sutras have greatly advanced our knowledge inasmuch as they have thrown light on the question of the probable form and language of the original Pratimoksasutra of the 4th or 3rd century B. C., and have thus served to suggest a solution of the knotty problem as to the language of the original Tripițaka,2

Stein. JRAS., 1913, p. 843 ff: Nouveaux fragments de la collection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Sylvain Lévi, JA., 1912; Hoernle, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan, pp. 173-5.

### Prātimoksasūtra of the Mahāyānists

Though our knowledge of the Hīnayānic Prātimokṣasūtras has made a fair progress, we are yet in the dark about the Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāyānists. It is only through the citations made by Śāntideva in his Śikṣāsamuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra that we are aware of the existence of a Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣa-sūtra. Very likely it is this Sūtra that corresponds to the Chinese Sūtra no. 1500 (Pu-sa-chieh-pen) of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (vol. xxiv) which treats of Pārājikā and such other offences falling within the scope of a Prātimokṣa-sūtra. The only other Mahāyānic book that can be treated as a Prātimokṣa-sūtra is the Chinese Brahma-jāla Sūtra, of which we have a French translation (Le code du Mahā-vāna en Chine) by De Groot.

At the Library of the Cambridge University, there is a manuscript entitled Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra in the collection made by Bendall from Nepal. Through the courtesy of Dr. E. J. Thomas I have been able to take a rotograph of the manuscript. It contains only ten leaves with six lines in each page. The size of the leaves is 10 inches by 2 inches. The right-hand end of almost every leaf is so much damaged that the last word of almost each line is either lost or illegible. In the appended edition I have supplied the words as far as possible in the light of their Chinese translations where available as also of their context, and the manner of wording usual in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

In line I of the last leaf (obverse side) of the ms., we find "Iti Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣaḥ" (see the attached plate) showing that the writer wanted to call the work a Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra. Whatever may be the writer's intention, it is evident from the contents that the present manuscript has very little to do with the Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra cited in the works of Śāntideva.

### The Present Manuscript

This manuscript is divided into two parts, of which the first is intended to serve as a manual for the initiation of devotees, lay or recluse, into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and the second is a dissertation on the āpattis (offences) and anāpattis (non-offences) of a

I For further particulars, see my Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism etc., pp. 293-5.

The whole manuscript is really a compilation of Bodhisattva, extracts from different works, two of which evidently are the Bodhisattvabhumi and the Upālipariprechāsutra. The citations from the Bodhisattvabhumi appear in the first part and have been marked in the appended text. The Upālipariprechāsūtra commences from leaf 5 (reverse side—see the attached plate). Judging by the contents, the first part should be called a Karmavākya, corresponding to the Kammavācam of the Burmese and Ceylonese Buddhists, and not a Prātimokṣa Sūtra, the second part being a supplement to it. The first part corresponds roughly to the first chapter (Ordination service) of the Kammavacam, detailing the formalities through which a candidate is to pass to undertake the discipline of a Bodhisattva. In the Bodhicaryavatara we have an account of the ceremony of initiation of a Bodhisattva but it is written not in the characteristic form and style of a manual of initiation—the form and style in which the present ms. is written. It is in this manuscript that we for the first time come across the formal requests and announcements necessary for the initation of a devotee into the Mahāyānic rules of discipline, and I think, this is the earliest book of its kind so far discovered.

## Probable age of the Ms.

The ms. is written, as will be seen from the attached plates, in Rañjā character, a very old script prevalent in Nepal about the 11th or 12th century A.D. Prof. Bendall has rendered easy our task of fixing the dates of Nepalese manuscripts by furnishing us with the tables of letters and numerals from dated mss. of various times from the 9th to the 18th century A.D. 1 If the present manuscript be placed by the side of this table, it will be apparent that its letters and numerals are similar to those of the Cambridge University Library Mss. Nos. Add. 1693 and 1686, both of which have been dated by Bendall to be 1165 A.D. Of the letters, the following may be particularly mentioned as bearing the closest resemblance to those of Ms. No. 1686:-e, ja, tha, dha, sa, sa and sa. Of the numerals, 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 are exactly similar to those of Ms. No. Add. 1693, and 5 and 6 to those of Ms. No. Add. 1644. The date of the former ms., according to Bendall, is ... 1165 A. D. and that of the latter is 1139 A.D. Hence, we shall not be wide of the mark if we put the date of the present manuscript as

I Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts,

I.H.Q., JUNE, 193 In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

the 12th century A.D. and its composition, say, about a century or two earlier, i.e., about the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The Ceremony of Initiation in Some of the Late Works

The ceremony of initiation is described incidentally not only in the Bodhicaryāvatāra but also in two other late works, viz., the Advayavajrasangraha and the Kriyāsangrahapanjikā.

In the Kudṛṣṭinirghātana, a section of the Advayavajrasangraha recently edited by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, there is a reference to the ceremony of Poṣadha (Uposatha) performed by a lay-devotee. It is exactly similar to the practice still current among the Hīnayāna Buddhists in Chittagong, Burma and Ceylon. On some Uposatha days, a lay-devotee, after taking Triŝaraṇa, takes the vow of observing eight of the ten śīlas for one day or more.¹ Usually a lay-devotee of the Hīnayāna school is required to observe only five śīlas. The Advayavajrasangraha² also prescribes the same³ for Gṛhapati Bodhisattvas. To this it, however, adds the mantric rituals which included among other things not only a reference to the practice of Maitrī (Love), Karuṇā (Compassion), Muditā (Joy), and Upekṣā (Indifference), but also to Pāpadeśanā, Anumodanā and Bodhicitta. It is this additional ritual that gives a Mahāyānic or Mahāyāna-Tāntric garb to the Hīnayānic ceremony.

In the Kriyāsangrahapanjikā (A. S. B. ms.) there are not only directions for the selection of building sites for monasteries, etc. but also an account of the duties of the Ācārya and the Upādhyāya towards their disciple and vice versa, and of the formalities for receiving a candidate into the clerical order. Mm. H. P. Šāstrī has facilitated our work by reproducing in full in his Catalouge of Buddhist Manuscripts (pp. 123-6) the passage containing the rules of ordination. The passage may be summarised as follows:—

Pravrajyā and Upasampadā ordinations are to be given by an Ācārya and an Upādhyāya. The bhikṣus did not know how to confer

I Advayavajrasangraha, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.—गृहपतिबोधिसत्त्वस्तु रत्नत्रयशरगापुरःसरं प्रागाितिपातात् श्रदत्तादानात् काममिथ्याचारात् मृषावादात् प्रकृतिसावद्यात् मद्यपानात् च पञ्चभ्यो विरतः।

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

an ordination, so they enquired of Buddha, who gave the following directions:—

- (i) The candidate should be first questioned as to whether he had any of the disqualifications debarring him from reception into the Buddhist Order.
- (ii) If he is found fit, he is to be imparted the *Upāsakasamvaras* (disciplines meant for lay-devotees), viz., *Trišaranagamana* and five Śikṣāpadas.
- (iii) He is then to choose his Acarya and Upadhyaya,
- (iv) Next he is shaved (leaving a tuft of hair) and asked whether he is still resolute to retire from household life.
- (v) He is then given a new name after the school (nikāya) to which he belongs and made to take again the Trisaranas in his new name.
- (vi) He is now to take the vow of observing the ten Śikṣāpadas.
- (vii) He then takes the robe, bowl and the student's waterpot by uttering suitable mantras. And
- (viii) Lastly he promises to observe the Uposathas and attain the five groups of acquirements, viz., sīla, samādhi, prajītā, vimukti, and vimuktijātānadarsana.

Mm. H. P. Sāstrī is of opinion that this was the form of ordination followed by the Mahāyānists, his supposition being based on the fact that the manuscript belongs to one of the last developed schools of Mahāyāna. The ceremony summarised above is, in fact, Hīnayānic without any indication which would give it a Mahāyānic tinge except that a Mahāyānic school has adopted it as its own. The absence of mention of 'Sarvabuddhas' and 'Bodhisattvas', not to speak of the high sounding promises and aspirations of a Bodhisattva, leads us to the belief that the work may have belonged to the later Mahāyānic period, but the rules of initiation given in it are taken in toto from some Hīnayānic book of rituals, probably a Sanskrit Karmavākya.

I For the meaning of these terms, see Visuddhimagga, p. 234; Milinda, p. 98; Mādhyamikavrtti, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> H. P. Śāstrī, op. cit., p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhikṣuṇīkarmavacana, a fragment of which has been published by Miss M. Ridding and L. de la Vallée Poussin; for the Pali Kammavācam, see /RAS., vol. VII (Ns.), pp. 1f.

In the manuscript of the  $Kriy\bar{a}sangraha^1$  (leaf  $36b = Panjik\bar{a}sangraha$ , graha, leaf 198b) preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, there is a passage containing a description of Sanvaragrahana written in the same style as that in the present manuscript. It runs as follows:

एवं विशितप्रकारपूजािभः सर्वतथागतान् संपूज्य आत्मानं निर्यातयेत्। आत्मानं सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यो निर्यातयािम । सर्वदा सर्वकालं प्रतिगृह्णन्तु मां महाकाक्णिका नाथा महासमयिसिद्धिश्व मे प्रयच्छन्तु।

तच कुरालमूलं सर्वसत्त्वसाधारणं कर्तन्यम्। अनेन कुरालमूलेन सर्वसत्त्वाः सर्व-लौकिकलोकोत्तरविपत्तिविगता भवन्तु। सर्वलौकिकलोकोत्तरसम्पत्तिसमन्विताश्च सहैव सुखेन सहैव सौमनस्येन बुद्धा भगवन्तो भवन्तु नरोत्तमाः।

अनेन चाहं कुरालेन कर्मणा भवेयं बुद्धो, न चिरेण लोके देशयेयं धर्मं जगतो हिताय, मोचयेयं सत्त्वान् बहुदुःखपीड़ितान्। नित्यानुत्तरायां सम्यक्सस्बोधौ परिणामयेत्।। इति बोधिचित्तोत्पादः।। उत्पादयामि परमं बोधिचित्तमनुत्तरम्।। इति संवर्ग्रहणस्।।

(Translation: After worshipping all Tathāgatas in twenty different ways, one should offer himself up, saying "I dedicate myself to all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Accept me always and for all times, O Merciful Lords, and give me the Mahāsamayasiddhi (lit. perfection in the great doctrine).2

He should wish that the merits thus acquired be shared by all beings, and thereby may all beings be free from their calamities, worldly or transcendental, and be possessed of prosperity, worldly or transcendental, and may they, easily and happily, become Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, the best of men.

By this good action may I become a Buddha, and soon preach the doctrine for the benefit of the world, and rescue beings from their many sufferings. Thus he should always direct his merits to the imcomparable highest knowledge. This is called the 'Development of Bodhicitta'. This is acquiring 'Bodhisattva-discipline'.

This passage is preceded by a formulary ending with the remark इति पापरेशना and is followed by a description of the ceremony with the ending इति अिवार्याभिषेक:

I It is a part of the Panjikāsangraha, commencing at leaf 163.

of which see Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, p. 176.

In this description, the rituals for Samvaragrahana occur in the following order:—

- (1) Pāpadešanā,
- (2) Pūjana and Vandanā,
- (3) Parināmanā,
- (4) Bodhicittotpāda and
- (5) Ācāryābhişeka.

In the Bodhicaryāvatāra also, Śāntideva treats of the formalities to be undergone by a Bodhisattva for initiation. As they have been dealt with at length in my book, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism (pp. 302-5), I shall mention here only the rites composing the ceremony:

- (1) Vandanā and Pūjana (worshipping Buddhas and Caityas);
- (2) Saranagamana (taking refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Sangha),
- (3) Anumodanā or Puņyānumodanā (expressions of sincere approval of others' good deeds),
- (4) Adhyeṣaṇā or Yācanā (entreating Buddha to be the guide of all beings ignorant as they are),
- (5) Parināmanā (offering up one's merits to all beings for the sake of bodhi)<sup>1</sup> and then
- (6) Bodhicittotpāda (development of Bodhicitta).

### First Part of the Ms.

The contents of the first part, in short, are as follows:—An adept approaches a qualified Bodhisattva, and entreats him in set words for initiation into the disciplinary rules of a Bodhisattva. Then he confesses his sins (pratidesanā) formally and takes refuge in the Triratna by uttering the Trisaraṇa formulæ. He now develops Bodhicitta, and transfers (pariṇāmanā) the merits so far acquired by the above rites to all beings of the world and takes the vow of looking upon all beings as his very near kith and kin. He then formally chooses (ācāryābhiṣeka) his Ācārya who presents him to all the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas and announces before them that so and so has been ordained by him called so and so.

<sup>ा</sup> Cf. Sutralankāra, p. 147: ज्ञिप्राभिसंबोधे सर्व पापं प्रतिदेशयामि थावत भवत मे ज्ञानं संबोधायेति प्रतिदेशनाऽनुमोदनाध्येषणा परिणामना ।

It adds that if an adept cannot find a qualified Bodhisattya to give him the initiation, he should present himself before the image of a Tathāgata and declare his intention. He should then proceed with the ceremonies described above.

From this account it is apparent that the present manuscript served only as a manual of ordination, containing as it does, the formulæ for the rites mentioned in the Mahāyāna works noticed before. The rites mentioned above are arranged thus:—

- (1) Yācanā (entreating a Bodhisattva for initiation),
- (2) Pāpadešanā,
- (3) Saranagamana,
- (4) Parināmanā,
- (5) Bodhicittotpāda,
- (6) Ācāryābhiṣeka, and
- (7) Vijuapti (= Pāli: Natti = Announcement).

#### The Second Part of the Ms.

The second part, as stated above, is made up of extracts from the Upālipariprechāsūtra, from which citations are found in the Mādhyamikavṛtti, Śikṣāsamuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra.

In leaf 5b, line 5, it is stated that Upāli had some doubts in his mind regarding the Vinaya of the Mahāyānists and wanted to have them removed by the Teacher. His request to Buddha "vyākarotu tathāgato vinayaviniścayam" leads us to identify the work with the Chinese translation Yiu-po-li-hwui or Fo-shwo-chive-tin-phi-ni-kin restored by Nanjio as Vinayaviniścaya Upāli Pariprechā [Nanjio, nos. 23 (24) & 36]. These two Chinese translations correspond to the Sūtra no. 325 [no. 310 (24)] of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vol. XII, pp. 37-42—Fo-shui-chiueh-ting-phi-ni-king. On a comparison of the Sanskrit text as given in the present manuscript with the Chinese translation (Taisho ed., XII, no. 325), we notice that it corresponds to the Chinese translation not from the beginning but from page 39, sec. iii, line 15 up to page 40, sec. iii, line 16, including the inquiry of Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta. This comparision reveals that the present ms. gives only extracts from the Upālipariprechāsūtra and not the

I Cf. Tib. Vinayaviniscaya Upālipariprechānāma (f. 220-243) of the Narthang edition of Kanjur (Ratnakūţa section), vol. XXIV.

whole of it. The original was larger and contained a versified portion, from which quotations are found in the Mādhyamikavṛtti (pp. 53, 121, 155, 191, 234, 256, 408). The last portion (Taisho ed., vol. XII, p. 41, sec. 2 to p. 42, sec. 3) of the Chinese version clearly shows that there were many verses in the original Sūtra towards its end. The quotations given in the Mādhyamikavṛtti from the Sūtra are authentic because the Sanskrit verses agree with those of the Chinese, e.g., in page 155, the verse: Iha śāsani suramaṇīye etc. agrees literally with its Chinese version (p. 42, sec. i, last line & fol.).

Now, if we take into consideration the quotations found in the Sikṣāsamuccaya and the Bodhicaryāvatāra, we cannot have any room for doubt as to our manuscript presenting us only with extracts from the original Upālipariprechāsūtra. In three places, the Śikṣāsamuccaya has quoted the Sūtra. Two (pp. 164,\* 178) of the three passages appear in the present manuscript. On comparison it becomes evident that in the Śikṣāsamuccaya there is an attempt to put the quotations in an abridged form. The passage cited on pp. 168-9 of the Śikṣāsamuccaya¹ when compared with its Chinese version (p. 38, sec. iii, ll. 4 ff.) shows also that the quotation is given in a very concise form; so also is the citation² at p. 178.

The main object of the second part of the manuscript is to point out the two standpoints, from which the disciplinary rules were viewed by the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists.<sup>3</sup> In short, the pith of the disciplinary rules of the Mahāyānists lay in service to all beings, while that of the Hīnayānists was self-purification. This has been clearly brought out in the second portion of the manuscript, where we find the following comparisons:

- 1. That which is meritorious for a Bodhisattva is demeritorious for a Śrāvaka, and vice versa: To wit, a Bodhisattva desires for repeated births in order to be able to render service to all beings while a Śrāvaka cannot even for a moment cherish thoughts for rebirths.
- 2. The aim of a Bodhisattva is to work for the good of other beings (सानुरना शिना) but this is not necessary for a Śrāvaka (निरनुरना शिना).

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra, p. 139.

I Cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra, pp. 153-4.

<sup>2</sup> See text, leaf 7a, 1. 5 f.n.

<sup>3</sup> For further elucidation, see my Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, etc., ch. V.

- 3. If a Bodhisattva, after committing an offence, strives for a while to develop and maintain the Bodhicitta (=sarvajŭatācitta), he can absolve himself from the offence (सपरिहारा शिचा) but this is not possible for a Śrāvaka (नि:परिहारा शिचा), for the latter should always be on the alert to get rid of kleśas (afflictions) like a man whose headdress is burning.
- 4. A Bodhisattva may partake of worldly enjoyments but he should at the same time maintain the Bodhicitta, and try to get rid of his kleśas (afflictions) by undergoing many births and not one (दुरानुप्रविद्या शिन्ता). A Śrāvaka, however, should acquire all the kuśalamūlas (merit-roots) and be always vigilant like the man with a burning headdress (सावदाना शिन्ता).
- 5. If a Bodhisattva be guilty of actions done through rāga (attachment) and dveṣa (hatred), he is exonerated from sin in regard to those done through rāga but not in regard to those done through dveṣa, because rāga makes him attached to his fellow beings (सत्त्वसंप्रहाय वत्ते) while dveṣa makes him dissociated (सत्त्वपरित्यागाय वत्ते) from them, for a Śrāvaka, however, offences committed either through rāga or through dveṣa are equally blamable.

### The Third Part of the Ms.

We are at present unable to give any particulars about the third part of the manuscript as there are only a few lines of it on the last leaf. From these few lines, it is however clear that the writer wanted to explain here the Bodhicitta, Dharmanairātmya, etc. by commenting upon some texts. It is rather striking that in the manuscript of the Kriyāsangraha belonging to the Bibliotheque Nationale, there appears also a dissertation on Sūnya as similar to Ākāśa and so forth just after the ceremony of Samvaragrahana. Other scholars will, I hope, take up this clue in future and complete the work by tracing the missing pages at least its contents.<sup>1</sup>

A photoprint of the leaf where the comment is found is attached hereto.

### TEXT

# बोधिसत्त्व-प्रातिमोक्ष-सूत्रम्

Leaf 1b ॐ नमः सर्व्यबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः। ये च ते वोधिसत्त्वानां त्रयः शीलस्कन्धा

a[2]

उक्ताः। संवरशी[लं कुशलधम्मसंग्राहकशीलं सत्त्वार्थिकियाशीलं च ते]प्

\* The passages within brackets [ ] have been supplied by me as the ms. is either broken or illegible at these places.

I The passage, marked a-d (see leaf 2b), occurs almost verbatim in the Bodhisattvabhūmi (edition of Wogiliara—Tokyo 1930), pp. 152-3, where it is preceded by a detailed explanation of the three Śūlaskandhas, which, in short, are as follows:—

- (i) संवरशीलाः are all those disciplinary (Prātimokṣa) rules given in the seven (?) nikāyas and meant for the Bodhisattvas; they are to be practised by monks and nuns, male and female novices and lay-devotees.
- (ii) कुरालधर्म्मखंत्राह्कशीलाः are all those good deeds performed by a Bodhisattva, physically or verbally, for attaining the highest wisdom (mahābodhi) after taking the śilasamvaras (disciplines). To wit: a Bodhisattva after being wellestablished in śilas, applies himself to study and contemplation, meditation (श्रमथः चित्तं काग्रतालज्ञणः समाधिः Bodhic., p. 287) and insight (विषयाना—यथासूततत्त्वपरिज्ञानस्त्रभाता प्रज्ञा—Ibid.) and finds pleasure in loneliness; shows respects to his guru in time and so forth.
- (iii) सत्त्वानुग्राहकशीला:—These silas or good deeds are of eleven kinds, as follows:—
  - (1) rendering friendly help (sahāyībhāvaḥ) to beings in their various useful works;
  - (2) rendering friendly help to beings suffering from diseases and so forth;
  - (3) giving just admonition to persons through religious discourses, or discourses on ways and means in their mundane or supramundane objects;

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शिक्षितुकामेन गृहिणा वा प्रव्रजितेन वाऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ कृतप्रणिधानेन [3]
सहधार्मिकस्य बोधिसत्त्व[स्य¹ महापुण्यिनधा]नस्य ²वाग्विज्ञप्त्यर्थप्रहणावबोधसमर्थस्य³ पादयोर्न्निपत्याध्येषणा कार्य्य। तवाहं कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति

- (4) not only remaining grateful to a benefactor but also giving him a suitable return;
- (5) protecting persons from various causes of fear, e.g., lions, tigers, kings, thieves, fire, etc.
- (6) consoling persons suffering on account of loss of property or relatives;
- (7) offering justly (न्यायपतितः) all the necessary means of livelihood to persons who have been deprived of them;
- (8) correcting a body of persons by means of proper gifts and religious discourses (सम्बङ्गिश्रयदानतो धरमेंगा गगापरिकर्षणा)
- (9) pleasing others by conversations, exchange of greetings, timely visits, acceptance of others' invitations to food and drink, joining, if invited, the people's worldly celebrations, in short, to avoid all actions which might displease others and to gladden them by one's own qualities;
- (10) subduing, fatiguing, punishing and exiling people in order to turn them from evil to good actions by making patent to them things manifest or unmanifest and by good and tender inner will;
- (11) frightening people from evils and establishing them in Buddha's doctrine by showing them hells through supernatural power and thereby causing astonishment.
- 1 B. Bh., p. 152 reads :— सत्त्वस्य कृतप्रशिधानतया विज्ञस्य प्रतिबलस्य वाग्-।
- 2 Cf. Bodhic., p. 72 :--देशयामीति वाग्विज्ञसिमुत्थापयति । कृताञ्जलिरिति काय-विज्ञप्तिः ।
  - 3 B. Bh., p. 153 :--बोघाय इत्येवंरूपस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य पूर्व पादयोः-।

वाऽन्तिकात् <sup>1</sup> वोधिसत्त्व[शीलसं]वरसमादानमाकाङ्क्षाम्यादातुम् । तद्दर्स्य-नुपरोधेन मुहूत्त<sup>६ २</sup>मदनुकम्पया दातुं श्रोतुब्चेति ॥ त्रिरेवमध्येष्य<sup>३</sup> एकांस-[5] मुत्तरासङ्ग' कृत्वा [द]शसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां बुद्धानां भगवतां महा-

भूमिप्रविष्टानां <sup>4</sup> च <sup>5</sup> बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा तेषां गुणानामुखीकृत्य [6] [धन]रसं चेतःप्रसादं संजनय्य <sup>6</sup> नीचैर्जानुमण्डलेनोत्कुटुकेन वा स्थित्वा

तथागतप्रतिमां पुरतः संस्थाप्य संपूज्य पुरस्कृत्यैवं स्याद्वचनीयः। अनु-

Leaf 2a प्रयच्छ मे कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवरसमादानिमिति।

तत<sup>7</sup> एकायां स्मृतिमुपस्थाप्य चित्तप्रसादमेवानुवृ'ह्यत। न चिरस्येदानीं मेऽश्र्यस्याप्रमेयस्य निरुत्तरस्य महापुण्यनिधानस्य प्राप्तिर्भविष्यतीति। <sup>8</sup>एव-[3] मेवार्थमनु[वि]चिन्तयता तूष्णीं भवितव्यम्। तेन पुनर्व्विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन स तथा प्रतिपन्नो बोधिसत्त्वोऽविश्चिप्तेन चेतसा स्थितेन वा निषण्णेन वा

एवं स्याद्वचनीयः। शृणु त्वमेवन्ना[मन् कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् भदन्तेति वा<sup>10</sup>

- ा B. Bh., p. 153: अध्येषणां कृत्वा यथा तवाहं कुलपुत्रान्तिकात्।
- 2 1bid. ग्रस्मार्क। 3 1bid. श्रोतुच्चे त्येवं सम्बगध्येष्य।
- 4 महाभूमि evidently refers to the last of the ten bhūmis. Other names of this bhūmi are:—परमविहार, निष्ठागमन, तथागतभूमि, बुद्धभूमि, अभिषेक-भूमि।
  - 5 B. Bh., p. 153 adds here महाज्ञानप्रभावप्राप्तानां।
  - 6 Ibid. adds परीत्त' वा यस्य वा याचित शक्तिहेंतुवलं च स विज्ञो वोधिसत्तो नीचे।
  - 7 B. Bh., p. 153: इत्युक्ता। 8 Ibid, एतमेवार्थ।
  - 9 Ms. श्रायुष्मंत।
  - 10 B. Bh., p. 153: एवं नाम कुलपुत्र श्रम्मश्रातरिति वा।

बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधौ च कृतप्रणिधानः। तेन ओमिति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं। प्रतीच्छसि त्वमेवन्नामन् कुलपुत्रायुष्मन् पनरुत्तरि एवं स्याद्व[चनीयः।] भदन्तेति वा बोधिसत्त्वोऽसि बोधो कृतप्रणिधानो ममान्तिकात् सर्व्वाणि बोधि-सत्त्वशिक्षा[पदानि] सर्व्वञ्च बोधिसन्त्वशीलं संवरशीलं कुशलधर्मसंग्राहक-शीलं सत्त्वार्थिक्रयाशीलं च यच्छीलमतीतानां बोधिसत्वा[नामभूत् यानि च Leaf 2b शिक्षापदानि।] यच्छीलमनागतानां वोधिसत्त्वानां भविष्यति यानि च शिक्षा-पदानि। यच्छीलमेतर्हि दशसु दिक्षु प्रत्युत्पन्नानां बोधिसत्त्वानां यानि च शिक्षापदानि । येषु च शिक्षापदेषु येषु शीलेष्वतीताः सर्व्वबोधिसन्वाः शिक्षितवन्तः । अनागताः सर्व्ववोधिसत्त्वाः शिक्षिष्यन्ते । प्रत्युत्पन्नाः सर्व्ववोधि-स्] त्वाः शिक्ष्नते । तेन प्रतिगृह्वामीति प्रतिज्ञातव्यं ।। त्रिरेवम् ।।

समन्वाह्ररन्तु अमां दशदिग्लोकधातुसन्निषतिता बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधि-[4] [सत्त्वाः। स]मन्वाह्ररत्वाचाय्योऽह्मेवन्नामा यरिकिचित्कायवाङ्कानोभिर्बृद्ध-

<sup>1</sup> B. Bh., p. 153 omits b-c.

<sup>2</sup> B. Bh., p. 154 here has the following few lines: एवं द्विरिप त्रिरिप तेन च विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन वक्तव्यम्। तेन च समादापकेन बोधिसत्त्वेन यावत् त्रिरिप प्रतिज्ञातव्यं पृष्टेन। एवं हि तेन विज्ञेन बोधिसत्त्वेन तस्य परिग्राहकस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य यावत् त्रिरिप बोधिसत्त्व-गीलस्वरसमादानं दत्त्वा प्रतिज्ञां च प्रतिगृह्य व्युरिथता एव तस्मिं (sic.) प्रतिग्राहके बोधिसत्त्वे तस्या एव तथागतप्रतिमायाः and then as given in this text leaf 4a, line 4 up to बोधिसत्त्वशीलस्वरसमादानं समात्तमिति in leaf 4 b, line 3.

<sup>3</sup> For almost a verbatim correspondence of certain portions of this passage, see Siksāsamuccava, p. 170 Kangri Collection, Haridwar

बोधिसत्त्वान् मातापितरौ तदन्यान् वा सत्त्वान् समागम्येह[ज]नमन्यन्येषु वा
[5]
[जन्मां]तरेषु मयापायं कृतं कारितमनुमोदितं वा तत् सर्व्वमैकध्यमिसंक्षिप्य
[6]
पिण्डियित्वा तुलियित्वा सर्व्वबुद्धवोधिसत्त्वानामाचार्थ्य[स्य चा]िन्तकेऽप्रया
प्रवर्या प्रतिदेशनया प्रतिदेशयामि जानन् स्मरन् न प्रतिच्छादयामि।।
ित्ररेवम्।।²

Leaf 3a सोहमेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपा[दा]य आवोधिमण्डनिषदनात्

बुद्धं भगवन्तं महाकारुणिकं सर्व्वज्ञं सर्व्वदर्शिनं सर्व्ववैरभयातीतं महापुरुषम[2]
भेद्यकायमनुत्तरकायं धर्म्मकायं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्यम्।। सोऽह
मेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं दिवसमुपादाय आवोधिमण्डनिषदनाद्धर्मं शरणं
[3]

गच्छामि शान्तं विरागाणां प्रवरम्। सोऽह्मेवंनामा एवंदेशितात्यय इमं
[4]
दिवसमुपादाय आवोधिमण्डनिषदनाद्वैवर्त्तिकवोधिसन्त्रसंघं शरणं गच्छामि

गणाणां श्रोष्टम् ।। त्रिरेवम् ॥

### I Ms, प्रतिच्छादहयामि।

2 These few lines, omitted in the B. Bh., speak of the mode of confession (pāpadeśanā) adopted by the Bodhisattvas. See my Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc., pp. 304-5; Bodhic., p. 154; Śikṣā., pp. 160ff.; 168-9; Svayambhū P., pp. 116-8.

3 Ms. निषदाना।

4 For a parallel passage, see Kriyāsangraha-Panjikā, an extract from which is given in Mm. H. P. Sastri's Catalogue of Buddhist Manuscripts, p. 123.

5 Here we find the formula for Trisaranagamana of the Bodhi-sattvas. Cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra, p. 58:

बुद्धं गच्छामि शरणं यावदाबोधिमगडतः। धर्म गच्छामि शरणं बोधिसत्त्वगणं तथा॥

सोहमेत्रंनामा एवंदेशितात्ययस्त्रिशरणगतोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातृत्तारणायाभ्युद्धर[5]
[णाय] संसारदुःखात् परित्राणाय सर्व्यज्ञज्ञाने अनुत्तरे प्रतिष्ठापनाय। यथा
[6]
ते अतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्ना बोधिसत्त्वा बोधिचित्त[मृत्पाद्य बुद्ध]त्वमधिगतवन्तोऽधिगिमिष्यन्ति अधिगच्छन्ति च। यथा सर्व्यबुद्धाऽनावरणेन बुद्धज्ञानेन बुद्ध[1]

Leaf 3b चक्षुषा जानन्ति पश्यन्ति यथा धर्म्माणां [निःस्वभावताम (१)] नुजानन्ति।
तेन विधिना अहमेवंनामा एवंनाम्न आचार्य्यस्यान्तिकात् सर्व्यबुद्धशेधि[2]
सत्त्वानां च पुरतोऽनुत्तरायां सम्यक्सम्बोधौ चित्तमृत्पाद्[यामि।। त्रिरे]वम्॥²
इदं चाहमत्ययदेशनात्रिशरणगमनबोधिचित्तोत्पादज्ञनितं क्रशलमल-

इदं चाहमत्ययदेशनात्रिशरणगमनवोधिचित्तोत्पादजनितं कुशलमूल-[3] मनुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधौ परिणामया[मि<sup>3</sup> यदहं] छोके अशरणे अलयने

- I I am indebted to Mr. D. A. Dharmacarya for helping me in the decipherment of the first three leaves, before I received Mr. Wogihara's edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.
- 2 After Triśaranagamana, a Bodhisattva utters this formula for developing Bodhicitta. The commentator of the Bodhic. (p. 4) remarks that the बीधिसत्त्वशिकासमादानम् precedes बोधिचित्तग्रहण्म्।

The Bodhicitta consists in the candidate's taking the vow that he will attain bodhi not so much to save himself as to save the wordly beings from their wordly miseries and lead them ultimately to Buddhahood. See Bodhic., ch. 1; Śikṣā., pp. 5ff. Cf. Bodhic., p. 14:

## भवदुःखशतानि तर्ज्ञ कामैरि सत्त्वव्यसनानि हर्त्कामैः। बहुसीख्यशतानि भोक्तुकामैर्न विमोच्यं हि सदैव बोधिवित्तम्॥

By Pariṇāmanā a Bodhisattva transfers the merits acquired by him to all living beings; he should wish it from his inmost heart and not by words alone. See Bodhic., p. 79, quoting Vajradhvajasūtra and Sikṣā., pp. 29f. तचाध्याशयतः परिण्मयति न वचनमात्रेण। तचोदप्रचित्तः परिण्मयति । हष्टचित्तः प०। प्रसन्नचित्तः प०। etc.

अपरायणेऽद्वीपे त्राणं शरणं लयनं परायणं द्वीपो भवेयम्। सर्व्यसत्त्वाश्च्य [4]
भवाणंवादतीणांस्तारयेयम्। [अप]रिनिर्वृताननावरणेन धर्मधातुपरिनिर्व्विणेन
परिनिर्व्वापयेयम्। अनाश्चस्तानाश्चासयेयम्।। त्रिरिष्।।
[5]
सोहमेवंनामा ए[वमु]त्पादितवोधिचित्तोऽनन्तसत्त्वधातुं। यथा माता[6]
पितृभगिनीश्चातृपुत्रदुहित्रन्यतमान्यतमज्ञातिसालोहितस्थानीयांस्तथा प्रतिगृह्यामि।²
प्रतिगृह्य च यथाशक्ति यथावलं यथाज्ञानं अश्रलमूलं समारोपयामि।
इतः प्रभृति यत्किञ्चत् दानं दास्यामि शीलं रक्षिण्यामि क्षां[ति]
[1]
Leaf 4a संपाद्यिष्यामि वीर्यमारभ्य ध्यानं समापत्स्ये प्रज्ञया व्यवचार्यं उपायकौशल्यं वा शिक्षित्ये तत सर्व्यम्बर्वायाणि विकास स्वयवचार्यः

कौशल्यं वा शिक्षिष्ये तत् सर्व्वसत्त्वानामर्थीय हिताय सुखाय ॥ 5 [2] [उत्त]रां च सम्यक्संबोधिमारभ्य तेषां महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां बोधिसत्त्वानां

- I Ms. ग्रनन्त ।
- 2 Cf. Bodhic, p. 72: i.e. जानामि पश्यामि (op. cit).

One of the essential conditions for becoming a Bodhisattva is that he must not distinguish himself or his relatives from the other wordly beings, i. e. he must think himself as one with all the beings of the world. Just as one takes care of the various limbs of his body and do not distinguish the limbs from the body, so also a Bodhisattva must look upon all the beings as parts and parcels of his body and hence any of their sufferings is his suffering. See Bodhic., pp. 326 ff.; Śikṣā., p. 19.: तेन तथा तथा चित्तमुत्पाद्यितव्यं यथा यथास्य सर्व्यसत्त्वेई पुत्रप्रमागुगता मैत्रुवत्पद्येते।

- 3 Ms. यथाजामानं। 4 Ms. व्यवचारियय्य।
- 5 The formula of Parināmanā ends here. In the Kriyāsangraha (see Intro.) it will be observed that this is one of the many declarations necessary for developing Bodhicitta.

महाकारुणिकाणां महायाने सामिचीमनुप्रव्रजामि । अनु[प्रव्रज्य] बोधिसत्त्वोऽहं बोधिसत्त्व इति मामितः प्रभृत्याचार्य्यो धारयतु ।। त्रिरेवम् ।।

ततस्तेनाचार्थ्यण तस्याः प्रतिमायाः पुरतो दशसु दिश्च [बु]द्धबोधि-स्त्वानां तिष्ठतां भ्रियतां यापयतां; पादयोर्न्निपत्य सामिचीं कृत्वा एवमारो-चियतव्यम् । गृहीतमनेनेवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वे[न म]मैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्व-स्यान्तिकात् यावत् त्रिरपि बोधिसत्त्वशील्लंबरसमादानम् । सोहमेवंनामा [6] बोधिसत्त्व आत्मानं साक्षिभूतं प्रजा[नन्] <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> अस्यैवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्य परमार्थ्याणां विपरोक्षाणामपि सर्वत्र सर्व्वसत्त्वानां विपरोक्षबुद्धीनां दश [1]

Leaf 4b दिक्ष्वनन्तापर्य्यन्तेषु लोकधातुष्वा[रोच्यामि । अ]स्मिन बोधिसत्त्वशीलसंवर-समादानम् ॥ त्रिरेवम् ॥

एवं पुनः शीलसंवरसमादानकर्मसमाप्त्यनन्तरं धर्मता खल्वेषा यद्
[2]
दशसु दिक्ष्वनन्ता[पर्य्यन्तेषु लोक]धातुषु तथागतानां तिष्ठतां श्रियतां यापयतां
महाभूमिप्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां तद्रूपं निमित्तं प्रादुर्भवति येन तेषामे[वं

<sup>1</sup> Here we find the formula for आचार्याभिषेकः। Cf. Kriyāsangraha (Bibl. Nat. ms.), leai 44.

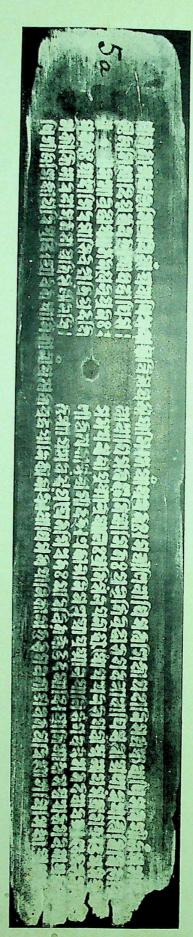
<sup>2</sup> From here, the B. Bh., (pp. 154-5) again corresponds up to समादानं समात्तमिति in the next page.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in B. Bh., p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted in B. Bh., p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> B. Bh., p. 154: अस्येतन्।





भवति । एवंनाम्ना बोधिसत्त्वेन एवंनाम्नो बोधिसत्त्वस्यान्तिकात् वोधिसत्त्व-शीलसंवरसमादानं समात्तमिति ॥ एवं तावत् परतः समादान[विधिरु]कः॥ यदि तैर्गणैर्युक्तः पुद्रलो न सन्निहितः स्यात् ततो तथागतप्रतिमायाः पुरतः स्वयमपि बोधिसत्त्वशी[लसंवर]समादाने वचनीयम्। एवं च करणीयम् । एकांसमुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा दशसु दिक्ष्वतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नानां बुद्धानां भगवतां महा[भूमि]प्रविष्टानां च बोधिसत्त्वानां सामीचीं कृत्वा दक्षिणं जानुमण्डलं पृथिन्यां प्रतिष्ठाप्य उत्कुटुकेन वा इदं स्याद्वचनीयम् । अहमेवंनामा Leaf 5% द्रासु दिक्षु [सर्व्वत]थागतान् महाभूमिप्रविष्टांश्च बोधिसत्त्वान् विज्ञापयामि। तेषां पुरतः सर्व्वाणि बोधिसत्त्वशिक्षापदानि सर्व्वं च बोधिसत्त्वशी समाद[दे]। यच्छीलमित्यादि पूर्व्वत् यावत् बोधिसत्त्वो बोधिसत्त्व इति। प्रभृति बुद्धा भगवन्तो बोधिसत्त्वाश्च धारयन्त्विति विज्ञप्तिः॥ ०॥

t B. Bh., p. 155 drops this line a-b.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence with the B. Bh., p. 155 ends here.

<sup>3</sup> The directions given in the following few lines are intended for one who cannot find a suitable Bodhisattva preceptor to give him formal initiation into the disciplinary conduct of a Bodhisattva.

<sup>4</sup> See before leaf 2b line 1 up to मामितः प्रभृतिः in leaf 4a l. 3. I.H.Q., JUNE, 1931

## [ विनयविनिश्चय उपालिपरिपृच्छा \* ]

[3] नमो बुद्धाय।। तेन खलु पुनः समयेनायुष्मानुपालिः प्रतिसंलयनात् व्युत्थाय येन भगवांस्तेनोपसंक्रामत्। उपसंक्र[म्य भ]गवतः पादौ शिरसाभि-वन्द्य 1त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्यैकान्तं न्यसीदत्। एकान्तनिषण्णश्चायुष्मानुपालिः भगवन्तमेतद्वोचत्। इह भगव[न्म]मैकाकिनो रहोगतस्य प्रतिसंलीन-चित्तस्यायमेत्रंरूपश्चेतिस चेतःपरिवितर्क उद्यादि। प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो भगवता प्रज्ञ[प्रश्चा]धिशीलशिक्षापरिशुद्धिः श्रावकयानिकानां प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानां च। बोधिसत्त्वयानिकानां तु भगवता <sup>३</sup>जीवितपरित्यागेऽपि <sup>३</sup>शिक्षा[प्यत्र परि-I Leaf 5b दे]शिता निर्दिष्टा। तत् कथं भगवतः परिनिर्वृतस्य तिष्ठतो वा श्रावकयानिकानां प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः। कथं प्रत्येकबुद्धयानिकानाम्। क[थं महाया]न-संप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां प्रातिमोक्षसंवरो वक्तव्यः। अहं भगवता विनय-पराणामयो निर्द्दिष्टः। तस्य मे भगवन् वि[ज्ञापयतूपा]यकौशल्यं सम्प्रकाशयतु भगवन् यथा भगवतः सकाशात् सम्मुखं श्रुत्वा सम्मुखं प्रतिगृह्य वैशारद्य-प्राप्तः पर्षत्सु विस्तरेण संप्रकाशयेयम्। अयं से भगवन्ने काकिनो रहोगतस्य प्रतिसंछोनस्यैवंरुपश्चेतिस चेतःपरिवितर्क उदपादि यत्त्वहं भगवन्तमुपसंक्र[स्य]

<sup>\*</sup> This heading has been supplied by me; it is not given in the ms. See the attached plate.

I Ms. त्रि for त्रिः

<sup>2</sup> Ms, जीवत

<sup>3</sup> Ms. सिन्ना

[5]
विनयविनिश्चयं परिपृच्छेयिमिति। तत् साधु भगवन् व्याकरोतु तथागतो
[6]
विनयविनिश्चयं विस्तरेण महती भिक्षुपर्षत् सन्निपति[ता] बोधिसत्त्वपर्षच ।

एवमुक्ते भगवानायुष्मन्तमुषालिमेतद्वोचत्। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले अन्येन Leaf 6a प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन आवकयानिकानां [शिक्षा]परिशुद्धिं वद्। प्रयोगेणान्येनाध्याशयेन महायानसंप्रस्थितानां शिक्षापरिशुद्धं वदु । कस्माद्धेतोः । अन्यो ह्युपाले श्रावक[या]निकानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः। अन्यो महायानसंप्रस्थितानां वोधिसत्त्वानां प्रयोगोऽन्योऽध्याशयः। तत्रोपाले या श्रावक-यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य वोधिसस्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यञ्च । या महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधि[सत्त्वस्य] परिशुद्धशीलता सा श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्य भ्व । तत् कम्माद्धेतोः । इहोपाले श्रावकयानिकस्तत्क्ष्णि[कचित्तेऽ]पि भवोपपत्ति² न परिगृह्णाति । इयं श्रावक-यानिकस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा महायानिकस्य वोधिसत्त्वस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परम[दौ:]शील्यञ्च। कतमोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य वोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्ध-Leaf 6b शीलता या श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परमदौःशील्यभ्व। महायाने संप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वोऽप्रमेयासंख्येयान् कल्पान् भवोप-पत्तिं परिगृह्णति अपरिखिन्नचित्तोऽपरिखिन्नमानसः । [इ]यं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य

I Ms. ऋध्यासयः

2 Ms. भावोत्पत्ति

## BODHISATTVA-PRĀTIMOKŅA-SŪTRAM

बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिशुद्धशीलता सा श्रावकयानिकस्यापरिशुद्धशीलता परम-दौःशील्यञ्च।

तस्मात्तर्हि [त्वमुपा]ले सानुरक्षां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । निरनुरक्षां शिक्षां आवकयानिकानां वद । सपरिहारां शिक्षां
[4]
महा[यानसं]प्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । निःपरिहारां शिक्षां आवकयानिकानां
वद । दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां वद । सावदानां
शिक्षां आवकयानिकानां वद ।

कथं चोपाले सानुरक्षा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां
[6]
[निरनुरक्षा शि]क्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्। इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन
परसत्त्वानां परपुद्रलानां हितमनुवर्त्तितव्यं न पुनः श्रावक[यानिकेन]।
[1]
Leaf 7a अनेनोपाले पर्यायेण सानुरक्षा शिक्षा महायानिकानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निरनुरक्षा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्।

कथं चोपाले सपरिहा[रा शिक्षा महा]यानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां निः
त

परिहारा शिक्षा श्र्यावकयानिकानाम्। श्रृहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिस[त्त्वोऽपि

[3]

सचेत पूर्वा]ह्रसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत मध्याह्नकाले सर्व्वज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो

- I Cf. Sutrālankāra, p. 130: सानुरत्तं परिजनस्वाविघातं कृत्वा अन्यस्मै दानात् ।
- 2 Ms omits it.
- 3 The passage marked a b is cited in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 178.
- 4 Šikṣā., p. 178 : काल्समये throughout.

विहरेदपर्यन्तः । एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्यः । सचेन्स-ध्याह्नसमये आपत्तिमापद्येत सायाह्न काले सर्व्यज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेद-एवं महायानसं[प्रस्थि]तस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः । सचेत सायाह्समये आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्याः पुरिमयामे सर्व्यज्ञताचित्तेनाविरहितो [विहरे]द्पर्यन्तः । एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः । सचेत Leaf 7b रात्याः पुरिमयामे आपत्तिमापद्येत रात्याश्च मध्यमयामे सर्व्यझता चि तेना-विरहितो विहरेदपर्यन्तः । एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलस्कन्धः । सचेत् रात्या मध्यमयामे आपितमा[प] द्येत रात्याश्च [पश्चिम]यामे सर्व्वज्ञता-चित्तेनाविरहितो विहरेदपर्य्यन्तः । एवं महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शील-एवं ह्युपाले [सप]रिहारा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां स्कन्धो वेदितव्यः। बोधिसत्त्वानाम् । तत्र बोधिसत्त्वेन <sup>2</sup>नात्र कौकृत्यपर्य्यत्थानमृत्पाद्यं नातिविप्रति-सारिणा भवितव्यम् । तत्रोपाले अ सचेच्छावकयानिकः पुनः पुनरापत्तिमापद्ये त नष्टः श्रावकयानिकस्य<sup>5</sup> शीलस्कन्धो वेदितव्यः । <sup>6</sup> तत् कस्माद्धेतोः । आदीप्त-शिरश्चैलोपमेन हे श्रावकयानिकेन भवितव्यं सर्व्वक्केशप्रहाणाय। एवं निः-परिहारा शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकस्य [ह्यपाले <sup>8</sup>प]रिनिर्व्वाणकामस्य।

I Śikṣā., p. 178 abridges the remaining few lines by saying एवं यामे यामे विधिरुक्तः।

<sup>2</sup> Śikṣā., p. 178 : नाति 3 Omitted in Śikṣā., p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Siksa., p. 178 : सचेत्युनः श्रावकयानीयः पुत्रलः

<sup>5</sup> Sikṣī., p. 178 : श्रावकेस्य पुत्रलस्य

<sup>6</sup> Here ends the citation of the Siksa., p. 178. 7 Ms. चिलो

<sup>8</sup> Ms. परिनिच्वान्त

कथं चोपाले दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां Leaf 8a सावदाना शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम्। इहोपाले महायानसंप्रस्थितो बोधिसत्त्वो गङ्गानदीवालिकासमान् कल्पान् पञ्चिभः कामगुणैः क्रीडित्वा रिमत्वा परिचार-यित्वा<sup>1</sup> बोधिचित्तं नोत्सृजति । [अयमुपाले म]हायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य शिक्षा वेदितव्या। तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। भविष्यत्युपाले स कालः स समयो यन्महायान[संप्रस्थितो बोधिस]त्त्वस्तेनैत्र बोधिचित्तेन सुपरिगृहीतेन स्वप्नान्तर-गतोऽपि सर्व्वक्केरौर्त्र संहरिष्यते। अपि च महायानसंप्रस्थितेन बोधिसत्त्वेन [नैकस्मि]त्र व भवे सर्व्वक्रेशाः क्षपयितव्याः। अनुपूर्व्वण बोधिसत्त्वानां क्रेशाः क्षयं गच्छन्ति । परिषक्कशलमूलेन च श्रावकयानिकेनादी[म-शि]रश्चेलोपमेन हि <sup>2</sup>तत्क्षणिकोऽपि भवोपपत्तिर्झोत्पादितव्या<sup>3</sup>। दूरानुप्रविष्टा शिक्षा महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वा[नां साव]दाना शिक्षा श्रावकयानिकानाम् ।

तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले सानुरक्षां सपरिहारां दूरानुप्रविष्टां शिक्षां

[1]

Leaf 8b महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां [वद । निरनु]रक्षां निःपरिहारां

सावदानां शिक्षां श्रावकयानिकानां वद । तत् कस्माद्धेतोः। महासंभारा

[2]

ह्युपालेऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिर्न सुकरा एकान्तिनि[विष्टेन] महायानसंप्रस्थितेन

बोधिसत्त्वेनाप्रमेथासंख्येयान् कल्पान् संधारियतुं संसरितुम्। इदं चोपालेऽर्थ-

<sup>1</sup> Ms. परिचायित्वा

<sup>2</sup> Ms. तत ज्ञाणिको

<sup>3</sup> Ms. नोपादितच्या

वशं सम्परयन् तथा[गतः सम्य]क्सम्बुद्धो महायानसंप्रस्थितानां बोधिसत्त्वानां नैकान्तिनिर्व्वेदकथां कथयित नैकान्तिविरागकथां कथयित नैकान्तसंवेग[4] कथां [कथ]यित । अपि तु खलु पुनः प्रीतिकथां प्रामोद्यकथां प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादसम्प्रयुक्तकथां कथयित । गम्भीरामसंक्षिष्टां सूक्ष्मां निः[कोकुत्यकथां]
कथयित । निःपर्व्युत्थानकथां कथयित । असङ्गामनावरणां शून्यताकथां कथयित । त इमां कथां अत्वाऽभि[रताः संप्राप्ता न प]रिखियन्ते वोधिसम्भार्च्य परिपृरयन्ति ।

अथ ह्यायुष्मानुषालिः भगवन्तमेतद्वोचत । या इमा भगवन्नापत्तयः

[1]

Leaf 9a काश्चिद्राग[संयुक्ताः काश्चित्] द्वेष[सं]युक्ताः काश्चिन्मोहसंयुक्ताः । तत्र कतमा

भगवन् महायानसंप्रस्थितस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य गुरुतरा आपत्तयः । 4 किं

[2]

रागसंप्रयुक्ता उताहो द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताः उताहो मोहसंप्रयुक्ताः । एवमुक्ते

क्ष्मिगवानायुष्मन्तमुषालिमेतद्वोचत् । सचेद्रुषाले 4 महायानसंप्रस्थितो

1 Ms. वसं

### 2 Ms. सपरयन्

- 3 Cf. the corresponding Hinayanic expression in Vinaya, I, p. 15; Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 141; दानकथं सीलकथं सग्गकथं कामानामादीनवमोकारं संकिलेसं नेक्खम्मे ग्रानिसंसम्प्रकासेसि। ग्रथ या बुद्धानां सामुक्कंसिका धम्मदेसना तं प्रकासेसि, दुक्खं समुद्रयं निरोधं मग्गम्।
  - 4 Sikṣā, p. 164: का पुनर्गुर्वी मूलापत्तिः॥ सामान्यतस्तु तत्रोक्तः। सचेदुपाले etc.
- 5 The portion marked a b appears in the  $\hat{Sik}$ , p. 164 with the undernoted variant readings.

[3] बोधिसत्त्वो [गङ्गान]दीवालिकासमा रागसंप्रयुक्ता अापत्तीरापद्येत याञ्चेकां द्वेषसंप्रयुक्तामापत्तिमापद्येत बोधिसत्त्वयानं प्रमाणीकृत्येयं वाभियो गुरुतिरा आपित्तर्येयं द्वेषप्रयुक्ता। तत् कस्माद्धेतोर्द्वेष उपाले सत्त्वपरित्यागाय रागः सत्त्वसंप्रहाय संवर्तते इति । तत्रोपाले [यः] हेराः सत्त्वसंप्रहाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य न छलं न भयम्। सत्त्वपरित्यागाय संवर्त्तते तत्र बोधिसत्त्वस्य छलञ्च भय[ञ्च]। तूपाले उक्तं पूर्व्वमेव रागो वबन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यो द्वेषः क्षिप्रविरागो महासावद्यः। तत्रोपाले यो बन्धविरागोऽल्पसावद्यः संक्रेशः [5.....] Leaf 9b बोधिसत्त्वस्य। यः क्षिप्रविरागो<sup>6</sup> महासावद्यः क्षेशः स<sup>7</sup> बोधिसत्त्वस्य स्वप्रान्तरगतस्यापि नैव युक्तः। तस्मात्तर्हि त्वमुपाले बोधिसत्त्वानां वयाः का[श्चिद् रा]गसंप्रयुक्ता आपत्तयः सर्व्वास्ता अनापत्तय इति धारय। तत्रोपाले येऽनुपायकुशला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आप[त्तिभ्यो वि]भ्यति न द्वेष-

<sup>ा</sup> Śikṣā., p. 164-वालिकोपमा रागप्रतिसंयुक्ता ।

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. कृत्य॥ पे॥ इयं।

<sup>3 1</sup>bid. संयुक्ता। तत् कस्य हेतोः। योऽयं द्वेष उपाले।

<sup>4</sup> I was feeling tempted to read it as dandha as opposed to kṣipra, but as the Chinese translation supports the reading bandha, I have retained it.

<sup>5</sup> नायुक्तः स may supply the sense here.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. यः न्नप्रतिरागो। 7 Ms. श।

<sup>8</sup> Šikṣā., p. 164 omits the portion marked b - c by putting पे।

### BODHISATTVA-PRATIMOKSA-SÜTRAM

संप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। ये पुनरुषायकुशाला बोधिसत्त्वास्ते द्वेषसंप्रयुक्ताभ्य आपित्तस्यो [4] विभ्यति न रागसंप्रयुक्ताभ्यः। अथ [खलु त]स्यामेव पर्पदि मञ्जुश्रीकुमारभूतः सिन्नपतितोऽभूत्। स निषण्णः भगवन्तमेतद्वोचत्। अत्यन्तिवनीतानां भगवन [5] सर्व्वधमर्माणां [बोधाय] विनयः। एवमुक्ते भगवान् मञ्जुश्रियं कुमारभूतमेतद्ववोचत्। सच्वेग्मञ्जुश्रीब्बीलपृथ्यजनाऽत्यन्तिवनीतान् सर्व्वधमर्मान् जानीयु-[6] [स्तद्रिष] न भूयस्तथागतो विनयः प्रज्ञप्येत । सत्त्वा न प्रीणन्ति तस्मात् तथा-गतोऽत्यन्तिवनीतानां सर्व्वधमर्माणां बोधाय विनयं प्रज्ञपयत्यनुपूर्वेणेति योनिशमु[1]
Leaf 10a पादाय।। ० ।। इति वोधिसच्चप्रातिमोक्षः॥ ० ॥

Here ends this book, and another commences. The scribe wrote only on one side of this leaf and then probably found out that it was a different book altogether. A photoprint of the leaf is attached hereto. I am giving below the reading as far as it has been possible for me to read, hoping that it will give clue to some other manuscript.

नमो बुद्धाय ।। बोधिचित्तविवरणं वक्ष्ये ।। चित्तविठिपताः सर्वधममी
[2]
इत्युक्तं भगवता । देवताविचत्तं निरुध्यते । किं स्वभाविमिति । आह । सर्व्वभाविगतं स्कन्धधात्वायतनप्राह्यप्राहकविज्ञतं धम्मिनैरात्म्यसमतया [...]
[3]
चित्तमाद्यनुत्पन्नं शून्यतास्वभाविमिति । कोऽस्य वचनस्यार्थः सर्व्वभाविगतमिति । भावशब्देन आत्मादय उच्यन्ते । एतदुक्ते ब्रुविति[...]आत्मासत्त्वजीवजन्तुपोषपुरुषपुद्गलमनुज्ञमानवकारकवेदकादिस्वभावं तिचत्तं न भवति । किं

I Ms. प्रीनन्ति

## BODHISATTVA-PRĀTIMOKŅA-SŪTRAM

[5] कारणम् । तेषामेवमादी[...]असंविद्यमानिक्रयालक्षणत्वात् । एवं तावदात्मा-द्यो भावा न विद्यन्ते प्रागेव तत्स्वभावं चित्तमिति । अतः सर्व्वभावविगतं [6] [...]तेन स्वभावं चित्तं भवतीत्याह । स्कन्धधात्वायतनप्राह्यप्राहकवितं भवति ।। स्वभावचित्तं भवति ।।[......].

NALINAKSHA DUTT

## The First Saka of Citod

Tradition informs us that Cītod, the mediæval capital of the Rajput principality of Mevad, was sacked by its Moslem enemies 'three and a half times.' In 1567, the Mughal Emperor Akbar captured this stronghold after a brief investment which was accompanied by circumstances unhappily not experienced for the first time in the life of this citadel. While its brave defenders died fighting against the enemy, their women and children immolated themselves into the fire, in accordance with the age-long custom of Juhar, to save themselves from dishonour. A still worse fate awaited those that survived, for, Akbar ordered a general massacre of those that were left. This incident is the traditional 'third saka' of Citod. Prior to this, in 1534-35. Bāhādur Shāh, Sultān of Guzrat, had also taken possession of the same fort, after a heroic resistance on the part of its defenders and the inevitable holocaust of men, women as well as children, which is therefore known as the 'second saka.' Just a year before this, in the winter of 1533-34, the same Sultan had attacked the place which had, however, saved itself at the cost of some of its most prominent heroes, so that Rajputs came to look upon this as the half 'sākā.' Exactly 130 years before this incident, again, it had undergone the experience of another blockade and its concomitant slaughter of fighters and non-fighters at the hands of Sultan 'Alauddin Khilji. This, being the first occasion when the Moslems were victorious over Cītod, is regarded as the 'first Sākā.'1

Around the history of the first Moslem conquest of Citod has developed in course of centuries a mass of romance which till quite recent times was looked upon as sober history. Quite recently, Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurisankar Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, has tried to examine critically and unravel the truth underlying the traditions.<sup>2</sup> Two other writers, Messrs. Haldar<sup>3</sup> and

I Col. Tod gives a slightly different version.

<sup>2</sup> Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa in Hindi by Mahāmahopādhyāyar Rai Bahadur Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha.

<sup>3</sup> Indian Antiquary, 1929 and 1930,

Qanungo<sup>1</sup> have followed in the footsteps of that eminent scholar and lent—the former fully and the latter partly—their support to his findings. But the matter cannot be said to have been settled beyond all doubt as the divergence in the views of Messrs. Ojha and Qanungo shows. Besides, an examination of the whole episode with reference to the original sources makes it clear that even in matters in which the above writers agree, they have not followed the earliest evidence faithfully.

Our earliest information of the incident is furnished by two Moslem writers-Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī. The former, 'the greatest of all the poets of India who had written in Persian,' died in 1325 A.D. Two of his works, so far as they are known now, supply information on the subject—the Khazainul Futuh2 (also known as Tārīkh-i-Ālāi') written after 1310 A.D., and the Ashikā3 (otherwise known as Dewal Rāni), written apparently after 1318 A.D. Ziyāuddīn Baranī finished his Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī4 about 1357 A.D. Both of them were contemporary writers, and what is more, Amīr Khusrau accompanied 'Alauddin Khilji in the expedition concerned, while Ziyāuddīn Baranī, in the course of his narrative, says, the events and affairs of the reign of Jalaluddin (Khilji) and from that period until the end of the work, all occurred under his own eyes and observation.' The accounts given by these two writers must therefore be accorded the foremost place of consideration in any attempt to reconstruct the history of this episode.

It is rather unfortunate that from the point of view of the Rajputs, the other and more important party in this affair, no account has so far been unearthed that can be placed in the same category with the above. The earliest Hindu version of the incident is that which can be gathered from the Kumbhalgadh Prasasti<sup>6</sup> of 1460 A.D. that

I Vide the Bengali monthly magazine, Prabūsī, Phālgun, 1337 B.S.

<sup>2</sup> For a correct translation of the relevant parts of this work see the Journal of Indian History, December, 1929, pp. 369-373. Elliot's rendering is extremely misleading. Elliot, History of India, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Also, Elliot, History of India, vol. III, p. 550.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, History of India, vol. III, p. 265. Also, JASB., vol. XXXIX. 5 Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>6 (</sup>page 3). This is still unpublished. I secured a copy of it through

is more than 150 years later. But, besides being the earliest Hindu reference, it deserves our serious consideration due to the fact that it was written at the instance of Rāṇā Kumbhā of Mevāḍ (1433-69) in whose time a careful investigation into the records of the state seems to have been made with a view to rectify the current inaccuracies in the early chronology of the family to which this prince himself belonged.

There are of course references to the same event in other and later works—such as the Padumāvat, the Aīn-i-Akbarī2, the Tārīkhi-Firishta,3 the Khyūta of Muhanote Nensi,4 the Rūjaprašastis and the Annals of Rajasthana.6 But it is admitted on all hands that these later records are based, more or less, upon traditions current in the time of the respective authors, and that, in the interval of 240 years, as in the case of the Padumavat, and more, in that of others, popular imagination tampered considerably with the original account, so much so indeed, that, truth has been thrown far into the shade. In spite of this defect, no one will deny that there is a kernel of fact in these later accounts, and the problem, therefore, is, how much of these latter we are to rely upon as authentic. Obviously, we cannot accept any portion of the later stories as historical if it is not corroborated directly or indirectly by the evidence furnished by the contemporary writers such as Amīr Khusrau and Zīyāuddīn Barani, or the earliest Hindu record on the episode, viz., the Kumbhalgadh Prasasti.

The vast difference between later tradition and early history will be evident to all, if a comparison be made between the version of the incident as contained in the Annals of Rājasthāna and that of the same as gathered from the epigraphic records which are contemporary, or nearly so, of the event they deal with. Fortunately, since Col. Tod wrote nearly a century ago, Indian epigraphy has made considerable progress and it is no longer possible to fall into the errors to which Tod was misled by the uncritical annals on which

the courtesy of Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur. The relevant verses are also quoted in the footnotes at pages 180, 81 of Ojha's Udayapur Rājya Kā Itihāsa.

I Written in 1540 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> About 1590 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> About 1612 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> C. 1650 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> Composed about 1675 A.D.

<sup>6 1829-32</sup> A.D.

he relied. Nobody will now maintain with Tod that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha, a minor, was the Rāṇā of Mevāḍ, and Bhīmasiṃha his uncle, regent, at the time when 'Alāuddīn Khiljī attacked Cītoḍ. It has now been definitely established with the help of inscriptions, supported by records earlier than the annals on which Tod relied that Samarasiṃha (1273¹-1302²) died leaving the state to his son Ratnasiṃha in whose reign the invasion of 'Alāuddīn took place.

Even the circumstances that induced 'Alauddin to undertake the Citod expedition have been misrepresented in the later records. Traditions current in Tod's time and even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century<sup>3</sup> attribute it to 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī, reports of whose extraordinary beauty had reached the ears of the Sultan. But, it should be noted that the contemporary writers like Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī do not refer to any such consideration as having at all influenced the determination of 'Alauddin. It is possible to argue that argumentum ex silentio is no conclusive proof. There is, however, independent evidence to show that other and contradictory causes prompted 'Alauddin to undertake the expedition. Ziyauddin Barani mentions that some time in 1297 A.D., the Sultan urged on by his ambition of world conquest sought the advice of his Kotwal when the latter replied that the conquest of Hindusthan, 'of such places as Ranthambhor, Citor, Canderi, Malwa, Dhar, and Ujjain' 'ought to receive attention before all others.'4 It is clear that the idea of the conquest of Cītod had been formed more than five years before the expedition took place, and, as we know from the inscriptions, at a time when Samarasimha, father of Ratnasimha, was ruling over the principality. This precludes the possibility of the Padminī episode as having effected 'Alāuddīn's determination which is stated by this contemporary writer to have been actuated solely by his overwhelming ambition,

The Sultan did not sleep over his scheme of conquest. By the year 1302, the whole of North India, except Mevad acknowledged

I Cirwa Inscription of Guhila Samarasimha, Vienna Oriental Journal, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished Cītod inscription quoted by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his work. Vide p. 178, fn. 1.

<sup>-3</sup> The Padumāvat and the Āīn-i-Akbari.

<sup>4</sup> Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī. Elliot, History of India, vol. III, p. 171; also, [ASB., vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.

the supremacy of the Sultān and that state itself was surrounded by a ring of states subject to his authority when one by one Malwa, Canderi, Marwar, Guzrat, Jalor, Nagor etc. had been conquered. The Sultān was now casting his ambitious looks upon the virgin lands of South India. Here, it must have been apparent to him that before his army could be sent to that quarter, Mevāḍ, which had so long defied attacks, must be crushed lest it afforded to others the example of defiance and created troubles in the rear of his army. Accordingly, in 1303, 'Alāuddīn, says Firishta,' 'sent an army by way of Bengal to reduce Warungole while he himself marched towards Chittoor.'

Moreover, the rulers of Mevād seem to have furnished him with causes of grievance. While the Rajput states were crumbling before 'Alāuddīn's attacks, refugees from them as well as other refractory subjects sought shelter at Cītod which still remained independent. Thus, a tradition preserved by the bards of Rajputana mentions that after the capture of Ranthambhor by 'Alāuddīn, the son of the Hindu Rājā of that place fled for protection to Mevād.<sup>2</sup>

Thus ambition was primarily responsible for the expedition. It is possible that political necessity and the desire of crushing a party which gave shelter to his enemies might also have induced 'Alāuddīn to make up his determination.

Having thus resolved on the conquest of Cītod, the Sultān started with his army from Delhi on January 28, 1303, and after some time reached 'the confines of Cītod'. The imperial pavilion was pitched up in that territory between the two rivers', probably the Berach and

I Briggs, Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, vol. I, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Māhārānāyaŝaprakāśa, pp. 14, 15. The collector and editor of these old bardic poems regarding the rulers of Mevāḍ is unwilling to accept the accuracy of the information contained in the piece referred to. But there is no reason to discredit it. On one occasion in reply to 'Alāuddīn Khiljī's question, what gratitude would he evince if the King should command his wounds to be immediately healed to a rebel Mughal who had been captured after the fall of Ranthambhor, the Sultān was told, 'I will put you to death and raise the son of Hammir Deo to the throne'. This shows that Hammir Deo's son was still alive and apparently had taken shelter somewhere, most likely at Cītoḍ according to the tradition. JIH., 1929, p. 365 n.

the Gambhīrī. The fort itself stood on the further side of the latter river. It is clear that the rivers presented no obstacles to the invading army, for, Amīr Khusrau clearly indicates that both of them were 'fordable'—it being the end of the winter. 'Alāuddīn now sent 'the two wings of the army which were ordered to pitch their tents on the two sides of the fort.'

The first plan of the Sultān was clearly to overpower the defence and wrest the place by direct attack. This policy was persisted in for two months without success. 'For two months' says Amīr Khusrau, who accompained the expedition, 'the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher.' The strength of the fort and the gallant defence offered by the garrison evoked the praise of this eye-witness of the incident. 'Wonderful was the fort which even hailstones were unable to strike'. Allowing one month for the march of the army from Delhi to Cītoḍ and two months for the unsuccessful direct assault, we may assume that the first stage of the operations was over by the end of April, 1303.

The failure of the direct attack led 'Alāuddīn to revise his policy and adopt a new plan which consisted in a regular investment of the place. Catapults were raised so that stones and other missiles might be thrown at the besieged. No detailed account of the progress of the siege during the last four months is, however, given in the Khazainul Futuh. Amīr Khusrau after referring to the construction of the catapults says abruptly that on August 26, 1303, the Sultān accompanied by the author 'went into the fort'. 'It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rai struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword'.2

I The quotations, except where otherwise stated, are all taken from the Khazainul Futuh, for which see the Journal of Indian History, 1929, pp. 369ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Elliot puts it as 'the Rai fled, but afterwards surrendered himself, and was secured against the lightning of the scimitar'. The original has been entirely misunderstood. Ojha, having followed the inaccurate translation by Elliot, has fallen into a great blunder as is shown later on. Messrs. Haldar and Qanungo have only reiterated Ojha's mistake.

'On the day the Rai sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the swords, the great Emperor was still crimson with rage. But though the Rai was a rebel', 'royal mercy' was conferred upon him. 'The storm of the emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels, He ordered that wherever a Hindu was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.'

Although the name of the Raya who surrendered to 'Alauddin is not mentioned by Amīr Khusrau, it will be clear from what follows that he was none other than the ruling prince Ratnasimha. The Khasainul Futuh clearly indicates that the person who surrendered was the Raya or ruler of Cītod who had been defending himself against 'Alauddin. Now, all our relevant authorities agree in saying that the hostilities commenced when Ratnasimha was the ruling prince and that they continued till the time of Laksmanasimha who maintained the defence of the fort after Ratnasimha. Apparently, therefore, the person who surrendered must have been either of these two princes. But since the Kumbhalgadh Prasasti distinctly states that Laksmanasimha died along with seven of his sons at the hands of the Moslems, it must have been the latter who tendered his submission to 'Alauddin Khilji. Curiously enough, while the above inscription applies the clause 'departed for heaven' to indicate the termination of Laksmanasimha's career, regarding Ratnasimha the same authority uses the phrase 'tasmin gate,' which should therefore be understood in the literal sense of 'after he had gone' and not 'after he had died.'1

I Ojha has translated the words 'tasmin gate' as 'after he had died,' and Haldar and Qanungo have accepted his translation. Although in inscriptions the verb 'gam' is sometimes used in the sense of 'to die,' yet, under the circumstances mentioned above, it must be taken to have been used in the literal sense. Ojha seems to have been misled by the incorrect translation of the Khazainul Futuh by Elliot. Qanungo, following Ojha, opines that the Rāya who fled (?) was Ajayasimha, who alone of the several sons of Lakṣamaṇasimha is said to have escaped the sack of Cītod, and, supports his contention by saying that Amīr Khusrau must have committed a mistake. But are we justified in finding fault with the evidence of the contemporary writer in the absence of other stronger

But here we are faced with a great difficulty. In Amīr Khusrau's version of the story, the Rāya (who, as we have just seen, was Ratnasimha) surrendered, after the Sultān had 'appeared on the summit of the hill,' that is to say, after the fort had been practically won. But, the inscription of 1460 clearly indicates that even after the departure of Ratnasimha, Lakṣmaṇasimha maintained the defence and that he died fighting against the Moslems; after which, presumably the fort was captured. Thus the chronology of the events that took place in Citod might appear to be differently given in the two records. There is however no real difficulty in reconciling the two versions.

We must remember that Amīr Khusrau wrote his Khazainul Futuh at least seven years (if not more) after the incident and it is only reasonable to infer that when he wrote he did so from his memory. It is very likely, therefore, that though all the facts are there, yet, writing from his memory, he failed to observe the exact chronological sequence of the events. Hence, the surrender of Ratnasimha which really took place during the course of the siege is inadvertently put as having taken place after the capture of the fort itself. That although a contemporary writer, such mistakes were not only possible but actually committed by him will be clear from a comparison between the account of the conquest of Cītod as given in the Khazainul Futuh and that in his other work, namely, the Dewal Rani or the Ashikā. In the latter work the author says, 'the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in two months,' whereas in the former we are told that it took him at least six months to capture the fort.2

Besides, there is evidence in the Khazainul Futuh itself to show that there was a confusion of chronology in Amīr Khusrau's mind. The Rāya is said to have 'flown' 'towards the imperial pavilion,' after 'springing out of the stone-gate'. The reference to the imperial pavilion clearly points to the camp from which Alāuddīn was directing the blockade. Again, we are also told that the Rāya himself was pardoned,

reasons? As pointed above, the Rāya who surrendered was the person who led the hostilicies against the Sultān.

of India, vol. III, p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> The Sultan started on his expedition on Monday, the 8th Jamadussani, 702 A.H. (January 28, 1303) and captured it on Monday, 11 Muharram, 703 A. H. (August 26, 1303).

but the other rebels, 'thirty thousand in number' (who must have been the Rāya's followers), were ordered to be put to the sword. To accept this version of the story is to be drawn into the rather illogical conclusion, viz., that the arch-culprit secured pardon but the rank and file of his followers were punished.'1

On the above considerations, it is clear that we must rearrange the chronology of the expedition as it is recounted in the *Khazainul Futuh*. Otherwise, we cannot possibly explain the inconsistencies of Amīr Khusrau himself and reconcile the Hindu version of the story with that of the Moslem.

The most probable account of the operations would therefore be as follows. When attacks had failed, 'Alāuddīn, by the end of April 1303, ordered the place to be put under blockade. Catapults were accordingly raised. This new development dismayed Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, and coming 'out of the stone-gate', he 'sflew towards the Imperial pavilion' and surrendered himself to the Sultān. This of course meant submission of that Rajput prince and, consequently, a cessation of hostilities. That there was a temporary cessation of hostilities is also indicated by Amīr Khusrau. After describing the futile attacks of the first two months, the author says: 'Nevertheless.....the fort.....would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the Maghrabi stones. But Jesus from Baitul Ma'mār sent the good news of the building of Mohammad's faith; consequently, the stones......remained intact.'

The learned translator of the above piece explains it as follows:

'Though the attack sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddīn's power to knock down the fort with his Maghrabis. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later'.

This truce following upon the surrender of Ratnasimha no doubt implies the commencement of negotiations for a lasting peace. What the terms, dictated by 'Alāuddīn to his erstwhile foe, were, contemporary evidence does not, it must be admitted, tell us distinctly. But

As will be shown later, what really took place seems to have been this. The garrison continued to withstand Alāuddīn even after the surrender of Ratnasimha. Hence the Sultān's anger was aroused and he passed a general order for their slaughter after the capture of the place.

the inscription of 1460 A.D. throws an interesting clue which has been entirely overlooked by Ojha (and, following him, Haldar and Qanungo). While mentioning that after Ratnasimha had departed (surrendered), Laksmanasimha of the Khumāna family maintained the citadal, the inscription relates the reason, namely that 'considerate men do not abandon family honour when it is forsaken by cowards'.¹ Clearly enough, therefore, Ratnasimha had done something for which one of his successors on the throne of Mevād could find no better epithet than 'coward' to be applied to him. Besides, he is said to have distinctly thrown away the 'family prestige' which was held so dear by the Rajputs. No doubt his surrender to the enemy earned him a notoriety, but the very strong epithets used indicate that he had done something much more heinous than mere surrender to the enemy in face of great difficulties.

Here the question necessarily suggests itself, is it possible to find out from our records any idea of the nefarious action which brought upon him this lasting opprobrium? I think it is possible to do so. The  $T\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}kh$ -i-Firisht $\bar{a}$  says<sup>2</sup>:—

"After the Rājā had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rājā's women there was one Padminī, a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moonlike face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of beauty. The Emperor sent the Rājā a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Rājā consented and sent messengers........But the Rājā's relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him; he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without becoming notorious for his dishonour".

Neither does Ferishtā's account stand alone; for a critical examination of the *Khazainul Futuh* shows that there is a distinct echo of the siege of Cītod, after the surrender of Ratnasimha, being

I Kulasthitim kāpurusair vimuktām na jātu dhīrāh purusās tyajanti—Verse 177. See Ojha, vol. I, p. 180 f.n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For a corrected translation of the piece in question, see J.I.H., 1929, p. 372 f. n.

persisted in on account of a woman, possibly Padmini. Amir Khusrau observes:

"The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba".

Here 'Alāuddin is compared with Solomon and his attack on Cītod, with Solomon's attempt on Seba. Going further on, Amīr Khusrau compares himself with the bird 'hudhud' which formed one of the vast retinue of Solomon.

This analogy, coming as it does from the pen of Amīr Khusrau, the most learned of the Indian poets, must be taken to be pregnant with significance for a clear appreciation of which the reference should be closely followed.

The story<sup>2</sup> relates how Solomon, son of David, set out in an expedition accompanied by a vast retinue including soldiers, animals and birds of which 'hudhud' was one. While he was encamped near a desert, he missed the 'hudhud' and declared that he would punish it severely unless the bird could explain his absence satisfactorily. 'Hudhud'<sup>3</sup> appeared immediately and informed that he brought in the news of the land of Seba and its queen Balquis who worshipped the Sun. Solomon at once sent 'hudhud' with a letter asking Balquis to submit to himself. She assembled her advisers and sent an envoy with presents to Solomon who, however, declared that he would not be satisfied with anything else than the personal submission of Balquis.

The analogy between 'Alāuddīn's operations against Cītoḍ and Solomon's expedition against the land of Seba would be justifiable only if Balquis of Seba had a prototype in Cītoḍ. Apparently, therefore, Amīr Khusrau implies that 'Alāuddīn insisted on the surrender of a woman, possibly Padminī, of the ruling family at

I Here it is necessary to remember what Elliot writes about the mode of composition of the book in question. The style in which it is composed is, for the most part, difficult as the whole is constructed of a series of fanciful analogies. But we can forgive that for the solid information we are occasionally able to extract from it." Elliot, History of India, vol. III, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, sub voce Solomon; pp. 601 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Amīr Khusrau's comparison of himself with the bird 'hudhud' apparently took, in the later romantic accounts, the shape of Hīrāman Tota.

Citod. What, it may be asked, was the real desire behind this demand for the surrender of Padmini? Was it due to the lustful desire of 'Alāuddīn or anything else? No definite answers are possible. But the balance of the evidence at our disposal would seem to attribute this demand to a political motive. We have seen already that the expedition was launched with the object of bringing Mevād under the subjection of Delhi and that, in origin, it had nothing to do with 'Alāuddīn's desire to secure Padminī. From this point of view, the Sultān's purpose was virtually achieved when Ratnasimha submitted to him. But at this stage the situation was again clouded by 'Alāuddīn who brought in the question of Padminī in the course of the negotiations with that Rajput prince. It is possible that thereby 'Alāuddīn aimed at humiliating this arrogant Rajput state which had so long defied the Sultān of Delhi. 1

Whatever may have been the motive, it is almost sure that 'Alāuddīn's demand which was forwarded to the besieged through Ratnasimha, now a prisoner in the Sultān's hands, was refused by the latter. Thereupon the truce came to an end and hostilities were resumed.

Meanwhile, 'Laksmanasimha of the Khumāna family' had succeeded or been raised to the throne of the baleagured city after the withdrawl of Ratnasimha.<sup>2</sup> The new ruler continued to uphold the

I An examination of Akbar's relationship with the Rajput princes shows that this Mughal Emperor insisted upon the Rajput families which accepted submission to his authority sending a bride to the imperial harem. Did 'Alāuddīn anticipate Akbar's policy?

Ojha is unwilling to accept the view that Lakṣmaṇasiṃha was raised to the throne. But the epithet 'Nṛpa' applied to him in the Praśasti in question on several occasions leaves no room for doubt (Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928). Besides Ojha's chronology is open to serious objections on other considerations as well. It is admitted that Cītoḍ fell into Moslem hands in 1303 and continued to be ruled by officers on behalf of the Sultāns of Delhi for about 25 years. But what happened to the freedom-loving Guhilotes who had fled to the Aravallis and taken shelter there to save themselves from subjection to the Moslem power? Tradition tells us that they continued to defy the Moslem power under their leaders

'family prestige' and defy the renewed Moslem attacks. But all in vain. Along with seven of his sons, he died in the conflict and 'Alāuddīn captured the citadel. There can be no room for doubt that the stubborness of the defence, after the negotiations for peace had fallen through, infuriated the Sultān. This circumstance alone enables us to understand why, while 'royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon' Ratnasimha, 'all the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels,' so that, 'he ordered that wherever a Hindu was found he was to be cut down like dry grass,' and, 'owing to this stern order thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the causes of the expedition were ambition and political necessity. The operations which continued for more than six months passed through three distinct stages. The first stage was one of direct attack which was persisted in for two months, but failed to achieve the object. The intermediate stage consisted of preparation for siege followed by the surrender of Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, and negotiations for a permanent peace. This also failed owing to the Rajputs in the garrison not accepting the ignominous term of surrendering a princess of the royal family. The last stage of renewed attack culminated in the defeat of the defenders and the consequent occupation of the fort by 'Alāuddīn.

A comparison of the above account with what we gather from the later records affords an interesting study.

Thus, in the *Padumāvat*, the cause of the expedition is said to be the lustful demand for Padminī by 'Alāuddīn. The first stage of the attack continued for eight years. During the intermediate period, Ratnasimha is said to have been captured by the Moslems through a stratagem and his release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī which, of course, was refused. 'Alāuddīn marched off with his prisoner to Delhi from which place he was rescued by a

Ajayasimha, son of Lakṣmaṇasimha, and his nephew Hammīra. This is the most logical account we have and there is no reason to discredit it. Ojha's view would lead to the conclusion that there was an interrugnum in the Mevāḍ gadi after Lakṣmaṇasimha's death. But is it possible that people who were fighting for their independence were without any leader? Whoever that leader might have been was no doubt the lawful ruler of the clan.

counter-ruse adopted by the Rajputs only to die shortly at the hands of a personal enemy. 'Alāuddīn renewed his attack on Cītoḍ which was immediately captured.

In the Aīni-Akbarī the cause is the same as in the Padumāvat. The first stage of futile attacks was followed by the capture of Ratnasimha as well as his rescue by the Rajputs as before. A further period of war followed till the fort was captured. No idea of the time spent in three stages of the expedition is given.

Ferishtā does not explicitly state the reason but conveys the idea that the expedition was undertaken in pursuance with 'Alāuddīn's idea of conquest. After six months the fort is said to have been captured and Ratnasimha taken prisoner. In the following year, the Rajput prince whose release was made conditional upon the surrender of Padminī, was rescued by a stratagem.<sup>2</sup>

In the Annals of Rājasthāna, Padminī's beauty is said to have aroused the passion of 'Alāuddīn so that he invested the fort but to no effect. Thereupon, he played a stratagem and captured Bhīmasimha, the husband of Padminī and regent at Cītoḍ on behalf of his nephew, the minor ruler Lakṣmaṇasimha. The period of negotiations followed and the Rajputs rescued their leader by a counter stratagem. 'Alāuddīn pursued the Rajput prince and again invested Cītoḍ and after Lakṣmaṇasimha and his twelve sons had died in the conflict the fort was captured.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

I A comparison of the  $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n$ -i-Akbar $\bar{\imath}$  version with the Padum $\bar{a}vat$  will make clear that the former was indebted immensely to the latter. In fact, Abul Fazal's reference to 'ancient chroniclers' from whom he took the story probably points to the same conclusion,  $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n$ -i-Akbar $\bar{\imath}$ , vol. II, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Firishtā seems to have followed Amīr Khusrau in his account.

## Mandana, Suresvara and Bhavabhuti: the Problem of their Identity

In Canto VII of the Sankara-digvijaya of pseudo-Madhava it is recorded that the famous Mandanamisra had a second name Visvarupa and yet a third "vulgar" name Umbeka and after his conversion by Sankara came to be known as Sureśvara. This tradition has been generally accepted by modern scholars who have been freely exchanging the two names Mandana and Suresvara for a long time past. Credit is due to Prof. Hiriyanna of Mysore who disputed the identity for the first time in the J.R.A.S., 1923 (pp. 259-263), almost simultaneously, it seems, with Dr. Jha's declaration that "there are no reasons for disputing its historical foundation" (Intr. to Bhāvanāviveka, pt. II, 1923). Prof. Hiriyanna notes three points of doctrinal divergence between the two great thinkers. Before we discuss them it is necessary to ascertain the authorship of one important work on the Vedanta, viz., the Brahmasiddhi which has not yet seen the light inspite of the assurances of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri (Proc. of the 3rd Orien. Conf. at Madras, p. 480). While eagerly awaiting the publication of this important work, we may be pardoned for offering the following notes on the external evidence regarding its authorship. It is well known that after his conversion by Sankara, Suresvara wrote a number of works on the Vedānta—the five Vārtikas and the Naiskarmya-siddhi; but the Brahmasiddhi is not one of them (Sankara-digvijaya, XIII. 63). On the other hand, Citsukhamuni, who quotes Sureśvara and Mandana separately (vide Citsukhī, Comy., Nirn. ed., pp. 9, 112 & 340 for Sureśvarācārya, and pp. 155, 164ff. for Mandanamiśra), ascribes the Brahmasiddhi to Mandanamiśra (p. 140). In his commentary on the Nyayamakaranda there are frequent references to Mandanamisra or the Brahmasiddhi-kāra (pp. 35, 52, 74-5, 225, 290, etc.) but none to Sureśvara. Vidhiviveka is professedly a work of Mandana, and Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary thereon refers to the Brahmasiddhi as apparently a work of the same sampradāya (pp. 80, 281) and it is known that Vācaspati wrote a commentary on the Brahmasiddhi. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that Mandana and not Suresvara was the author of the Brahmasiddhi.

- (i) The first point of difference between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara noted by Prof. Hiriyanna is that according to Maṇḍana āśraya (seat) of avidyā is the Jīva (cf. Nyāyamakaranda, p. 312 "Brahmasiddhikāramatam utthāpayati": also Citsukhī, pp. 361-2 (comy.)—"maṇḍanamiśroktim anuvadati"); while according to Sureśvara and most other followers of Śaṅkara, it is Brahma itself (Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, pp. 157-162). Prof. Hiriyanna is, however, wrong in his second point. For, avidyā-nivṛtti, according to Maṇḍana also, is identical with Brahma itself. Thus in the Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha (chap. IV) we read—"keyam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ, brahmaiveti Brahmasiddhi-kārāḥ". In the Citsukhī (p. 381) there is the actual quotation of the Brahmasiddhi ("vidyaiva vādvayā śāntā tadastamaya ucyate") which identifies avidyā-nivṛtti with Brahma-jñāna. Either way, it is not according to Maṇḍana an abhāva and Prof. Hiriyanna is misled by quite a modern work on the point.
- (ii) The second point of difference, therefore, is that Suresvara maintains immediate knowledge of Brahma acquired directly through verbal statements (śabdasya aparokṣa-jñāna-janakatā: cf. Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, chap. III, p. 280). Among the opponents of the theory, the commentator on the Citsukhī (p. 32) expressly mentions "Maṇḍana-miśra-prabhṛtayaḥ", whose theory is explained by the analogy of ratna-tattvādhigama ('upadeśasahitam pratyakṣam eva sākṣātkārahetuḥ na kevalaḥśabdaḥ'). We have given additional references on these two points to show that Prof. Hiriyanna is substantially correct when he opposes the current view about Maṇḍana's identity. Two other points of difference are noted below.
- (iii) Śańkara and his host of followers generally favours Ekajīvavāda. In the Citsukhī (p. 375) this theory is discussed with reference
  to a passage of the Iṣṭasiddhi-kāra ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā saṃsarati
  sva-vidyayā ca vimucyate', p. 363; 'iti ekavidyāpakṣe na kaścit doṣaḥ'
  p. 375; cf. Vivaraṇa prameyasaṅgraha, p. 225). The original source
  of the theory is, however, clearly indicated in the Siddhānta-leśasaṅgraha (Viz. ed., p. 20) where both Śaṅkara and Sureśvara are quoted
  ('Brahmaiva svāvidyayā &c. iti Bṛhadārṇyaka-bhāṣye pratipādanāt.
  rājasūnoḥ smṛtiprāptau vyādhabhāvo nivartate | tathaivam ātmano
  'jñasya tattvam asyādi-vākyataḥ || iti Vārtikokteś ca'). Against this
  universally accepted theory stands the Nānājīvavāda which is
  expressly identified with the names Maṇḍana and Vācaspati (Citsukhī,
  p. 380: Comy. 'Maṇḍanamiśra-Vācaspatimiśra-matāvalambiṇaḥ'). This

vāda has been partly quoted in the Vivaraņa-prameya-sangraha (p. 224) under the name of Brahmasiddhi-kāraḥ.

(iv) A set of Vedānta thinkers does not accept Jīvanmukti. In the Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha (p. 107), the theory is found to be opposed by Sarvajñātma-guravaḥ i.e. Sureśvara himself. As a matter of fact Sureśvara disproves the existence of avidyāleśa (the cause of jīvanmukti) in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi (chap. IV, p. 216 'avidyāyāḥ pradhvastattvan na kiñcid avaśiṣyate'). Against this sadyomukti of Sureśvara, the existence of avidyāleśa and jīvanmukti of Maṇḍanamiśra stands in bold opposition. For, in the Citsukhī-ṭīkā (p. 385) the explanation of avidyāleśa as a saṃskāra on the analogy of 'the continuity of fear etc. even after the snake is gone' is regarded as peculiar to Maṇḍanamiśra. This very analogy is referred to in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi (chap. IV, verse 60) as "aparaḥ sāṃpradāyikaḥ". This is therefore a decisive point to show that Maṇḍana is not only different from Sureśvara but belongs to an (earlier) school of the Advaita-vedānta other than that of Śaṅkara.

This differentiation of Mandana and Sureśvara happily derives 'orthodox' support from the recently published Guruvaṃśa-kāvyaṃ (Srirangam Ed.) where Śańkara met both Mandana (Canto II, v. 47) and Viśvarūpa (Ib., vv. 50-60). Though the work was written only 3 or 4 generations ago its authenticity is greatly ensured by its being written under the auspices of the Sringeri Mutt and by the fact that the succession list of Gurus of the Sringeri Mutt given in this work substantially agrees with that given in a Tantrik work named Gadyavallarī written in 1435 Śaka (Notices of Sans. Mss.—R. L. Mitra, No. 2261).

H

The publication of the Bhāvanāviveka, a recognised work of Maṇḍana 'renders another part of the tradition untenable, viz., the identity of Umbeka and Maṇḍana' (cf. I'rof. K. Sāstrī: Proc. 3rd Or. Con., pp. 480-81). Umbeka in several places notes different readings in the text of Maṇḍana (cf. pp. 17, 28, 63, 77,81 and 82) and attempts alternative interpretations of single passages (pp. 7 and 18). In one place he clearly disagrees with Maṇḍana (p. 92 'ato na vidmaḥ katham audāsinyavi-cchedaḥ karoter artha iti') and in another he adds an argument of his own in support of Maṇḍana and shows a peculiar humility in doing so by the interesting remark 'tad āstāṃ tāvad idaṃ bālabhāṣitaṃ' (p. 110). So, clearly, Umbeka was not identical with Maṇḍana.

A second tradition makes Umbeka one of the four pupils of Kumārila recorded in the following couplet—

'Umbekaḥ kārikām vetti tantram vetti Prabhākaraḥ | Vāmanas tūbhayam vetti na kiñcidapi Revanah ||'

In one reading the third name is Mandana who quotes Kumārila but seems to have little regard for him (Dr. Jha: Intr. to the Bhāvanāviveka, pt. II. p. 2). Thus Mandana is found to criticise adversely a view of Kumārila without mentioning the latter's name in the Bhavanaviveka (pp. 22-23, cf. Tantravartika, p. 351). On the strength of a single passage in the Sastradipika (on II. i. 1) Mandana had been credited with the authorship of a commentary on the Tantravartika. But the assumption proves to be wrong, as the passage refers to the Bhavanaviveka (pp. 80-81). Umbeka's pupilage under Kumarila is amply supported by other evidences. His lost commentary on the Ślokavārtika is cited by Bhatta Rāmakṛṣṇa on the Śāstradīpikā several times. In the comy, on the Bhavanaviveka also Kumarila is referred to as Bhattapada (pp. 42, 75 and 92) and in one place Umbeka actually mentions him as his Guru (p. 43, cf. Tantravārtika, p. 351). Umbeka, therefore, on his own admission claims Kumārila as one of his teachers and this raises the question of his identity with Bhavabhūti. For, the late Mr. S. P. Pandit first announced the discovery of a Ms. of the Mālatīmādhava, ascribing the play to 'a pupil of Bhatta Kumārila' (Act III) and again to one 'Umbekācārya, a pupil of Kumārilasvāmin' (Act VI), though Bhavabhūti is also named as the author at the end. The authenticity of this unique Ms. is definitely supported by the independent evidence of a passage in the Citsukhī (J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 243). The comy. there clearly identified Umbeka with Bhavabhūti. But the identity though subsequently accepted by a large number of scholars is so unexpected that it is still generally regarded with suspicion. In the passage of the Citsukhī under discussion (p. 265) the great exponent of the Advaita school seeks to refute the logician's definition of 'verbal' testimony (viz. āptavākyam) as wrongly extending to purely literary works of a (philosophical) authority (apta), if there be any, and as a typical instance mentions Bhavabhūti's literary works, in a manner meant clearly to convince even his opponents. Bhavabhūti's credentails as a philosophical scholar must, therefore, have been of sufficient celebrity and value to be almost universally recognised even in Citsukha's times (middle of the 13th cent. A. D.). Citsukha's citation of a rare passage from Umbeka, i.e., Bhavabhūti himself in his rôle

as a philosopher lends a peculiar grace to his argument instead of contradicting it. It is clear from Citsukha's manner of quoting Bhavabhūti that he has to be identified with a philosophical scholar of repute hence, it would be unsound to question his veracity without any positive evidence to the contrary. One scholar had contended (Modern Rev., May, 1924, p. 587) that Bhavabhūti betrays sympathy for Buddhism. This is hardly true. For, Kamandaki is deliberately assigned to the rôle of a negotiator of marriage-a most un-Buddhistic function for a Buddhist nun and is found to quote a passage in favour of courtship before marriage (gītaš cāyam artho 'ngirasā 'yasyām manascaksusām anubandhas tasyām rddhih, Act II). Similarly, the duty of warning a young husband with original quotations from the Kāmasūtra (Act VIII) is deliberately given to Kāmandakī's assistant Buddharaksitā, a really Buddhist name. So, Bhavabhūti's feelings towards Buddhism cannot be mistaken.

Bhavabhūti was proud of his attainments and has left in the Mālatīmādhava, a magnificent bravado ('ye nāma kecit &c.') that earned for him a place among the few 'arrogant'(uddhata) poets of India (Rasūrņavasudhākara p. 268). The same spirit of pride and arrogance is also found in a passage of Umbeka's comy. to the Ślokavūrtika (preserved by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakṛṣṇa on Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda, Chowkh. Ed. p. 82 'idam tu vārtikakārīyaṃ dūṣaṇaṃ samarthanañ ca sarvam evāluna-viśīrṇaṃ &c.") where after a most scathing criticism of the Bhūṣyakāra and the Vārtikakāra, his own teacher, he proudly concludes by reciting 'guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānataḥ/ utpatha-pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate ".'

## III

The remaining factor of the tradition, viz., the identity of Umbeka (i.e. Bhavabhūti) and Viśvarūpa (i.e. Sureśvara) seems to have been lest out of consideration by all scholars as apparently baseless. The publication of a commentary by Viśvarūpa on the Yājñavalkya saṃhitā (Triv. Sans. Series), which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars, raises and answers this question in a most remarkable way. It appears from the learned introduction of the late Dr. Ganapati Sastri that quite a literature grew up over this commentary of Viśvarūpa named Bālakrīḍā, which was first commented upon by one Yatīśvara Vadātman, the sub-comy. being câlled the Vibhāvanā. This latter also came to be adorned with another sub-comy. (Yativyākhyā-ṭīkā—as

the passage of the Vacanamālā seems to mean: Dr. Sastri gives a different meaning—the Ṭīkā being that on the original Bālakrīḍā). The second comy, on the Bālakrīḍā was the Amṛtasyandinī by Somayājin and yet a third was named Vacanamālā whose author is unknown. Dr. Sastri procured fragments of the last named work and another which he thinks to be same as the Vibhāvanā. The Vibhāvanā "salutes the original author Viśvarūpa" in these words:

"Yatprasādād ayam loko dharma-mārga-sthitah sukhī | Bhavabhūti-Sureśākhyam Viśvarūpam praņamya tam ""

This means that the world is happy in the right path of virtue through the grace of Viśvarūpa, whose other names are Bhavabhūti and Suresa, i.e., Suresvara. The identity of the poet with the giant scholar Suresvara is, once more, so unexpected that Dr. Sastri does not even suspect that the poet Bhavabhūti is meant here as it cannot but be, and attempts an impossible explanation of the word put before the name Suresvara, indicating the devotion of the author towards Siva' (p. iii). The 'name' (ākhyā) of Visvarūpa was not certainly 'Bhavabhūtisuresa' but Bhavabhūti and Suresa. This is the third independent evidence bearing on the question of the identity of the poet Bhavabhūti definitely supporting the two previous ones discussed before (i.e. the Mālatī, Ms. and the comy. on Citsukhī). The Bālakrīdā bears in several respects the affinity of the author with Bhavabhūti. It is replete with quotations from Vedic texts, indicating his predilection towards the Veda as is also in evidence in the dramas. Bhavabhūti's Vedic scholarship is mainly responsible for that unique scene at the beginning of Act IV of the Uttaracarita where he attempts what must have been a bold challenge to the Brāhmanic aristocracy of his days by justifying in the language of ritual the taking of beef (by Vasistha). Similarly, the Bālakrīdā alone among the host of Smṛti writers, seeks to justify govadha (cow-killing) in Srauta rites even though expressly prohibited in the Smrti. Part of this interesting passage is given below for ready reference (Bālakrīḍā, vol. 1, pp. 25-26) :-- 'na khalu smṛti-viruddham śrutyuktam api ādriyamāṇā dṛśyante I tathā hi govadham nānumanyante śrutyuktam api tadvidah |..... maivam, na khalu sistānām kvacit smṛti-virodhatah i srutyuktārîhānanusthānam dṛḍham-alpīyasām api 1......smārto 'pi govadho' styarghyam arhayet prathamam gavā " He repeats his opinion again in this connection on p. 115 below while commenting on the wellline 'asvantam lokavidvistam &c.' "lokavidvistam thus sarvajanānabhyupagatam govadhādīti kecit. Tat tv ayuktam, vidhānānarthakyāt &c." Under Yājn. I. 178 'Prāṇātyaye tathā śrāddhe &c.' the comment of Viśvarūpa is almost in the very words of Bhavabhūti: "Dvijaiḥ kāmyamānatvād dvijakāmyā atithipūjā, tayopanītaṃ Mahokṣādi bhakṣayato na doṣaḥ" (vol. I p. 126). It should be noted in this connection that the standard commentary Mitākṣarā and all later Smṛti works entirely differ in their interpretation here as in many other places. The commentary of Viśvarūpa is therefore of the greatest value as preserving a tradition on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti quite different from the existing one.

In his commentary on the Yatidharma-prakarana of the Prāyaścittādhyāva Viśvarūpa indulges in philosophical speculations of a remarkable nature. There are quotations from previous writers one of which is traced to the Gaudapada-karikas ('yathaikasmin etc.' p. 53). The other two quotations we are unable to trace (pp. 44 and 54 of vol. II). He proves himself yet free from the influence of Sankara. We would refer to only one of his original passages (pp. 67-68 of vol. II) where he attempts a most curious compromise between the Mīmāmsā and the Vedānta by reading into a well-known passage of the Sabara-bhāṣya (codanā hi bhūtam &c.) the necessary authority of the Veda in Ātmajūāna also against all 'orthodox' Mīmāmsā scholars. None of his speculations seem to have survived in later literature. The name of the commentary seems to suggest that it was written in his early life in a youthful but immature stage, proof of which is lying broadcast in his entire work. The following references found in this work to certain localities may furnish some clue to his own native place: (i) 'grāmayājako vaišvadevika iti Mālavānām prasiddhah' p. 117 of vol. I, (ii) 'khanjarīṭākhyo dīrghapucchaḥ pūrvadeśaprasiddhah Ib. p. 122, (iii) grnjanam palandu-sadrsam udīcyadesaprasiddham' p. 123. These references do not conflict with the tradition recorded in the Guruvamsakāvya that the historic debate of of Śankara and Viśvarūpa took place at Magadha (Canto II, vv. 43 & 50). This again does not conflict with the life history of the poet Bhavabhūti who was in the court of King Yasovarman according to the Rājataranginī. Yaśovarman's dominions included at least Western Magadha and in one of the inscriptions of the Pala period (the Ghosrawa inscr. of the reign of Devapala: Il. 9-10) there is a reference to a Yasovarma-pura in Magadha, which must have been named after this monarch. Bhavabhūti's actual connection with Eastern India is also evident from an interesting reference in the Uttaracarita which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars. In Act IV King Janaka

is stated to have left Mithila grieved by Sītā's exile and spent some years in practising penances in the hermitage of Candradvīpa. (Tathāsya katipaye saṃvatsarās Candradvīpa-tapovane tapastapyamānasya). Bhavabhūti was only slightly removed from the time of It-sing and there is no evidence that there was any place of that name elsewhere in India other than Candradvīpa (mentioned by It-sing) in Eastern Bengal. Candradvīpa must have been at that time a celebrated seat for Brāhmaṇic culture also to be selected by Bhavabhūti for Janaka's penance.

A reconstruction of the history of Bhavabhūti's life is now necessary in view of these numerous identifications. It would appear, on the strength of the Sankara-vijaya and the Guruvamsakavya, rejecting the Mandana element in the former, that Visvarupa was the real name of this giant scholar and Umbeka was either his 'vulgar' name ('lokair abhihitasya') or was assumed in his rôle as a Mīmāṃsaka. Both these names, however, represent only the earlier part of his extraordinary career as the name Bālakrīḍā and exclamation like 'āstām bālabhāṣitam' would indicate. Bhavabhūti was the name assumed in his poetic achievements and this is supported by a well-known tradition that the name was given him after a happy use of the word 'bhavabhūti' in a verse composed by him just as in the case of Ghatakarpara. His conversion by Sankara and taking Sannyāsa under the name of Suresvara are well-known in history. According to the Guruvamśa-kāvya it was this Viśvarūpa and not Mandana whom the goddess Sarasvatī cursed by Durvāsā wooed after assuming a human form under the name of Ubhayabhāratī. The commentary on the Kāvya cites this tradition under II. 46 and refers to a work named Sankarābhyudaya for authority. One would be tempted to cite in support of this tradition the well-known verse in the Uttaracarita where the poet states that the goddess Sarasvatī attends him like a slave (yam brahmāṇam iyam devī Vāg vasyevānuvartate'). life-history of the great Mandana becomes now almost an absolute blank; he is described in the Sankara-vijaya of pseudo-Anandagiri as the sister's husband of Kumārila ('madbhaginībhartā'—Jib. Ed. p. 181). The problem of chronology involved in these identifications deserves to be treated in a separate paper.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

## Some Notes on Skanda-Karttikeya

The earliest mention of Skanda is found in the Chāndogya Upanişad ( सदितकपायाय तमसस्पारं दर्भयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारसं सन्द इति भाषचते तं सान्द इति
भाषचते ) where Sanatkumāra is identified with Skanda. In the
Brāhmaṇic literature Sanatkumāra is a philosopher and is regarded as
the son of Dharma and Ahimsā or of Brahman. In the Pāli literature
Sanamkumāra is the Brahman himself.¹ In the Dīgha Nikāya Sanamkumāra is said to have uttered the verse which means that though
the kṣatriyas take precedence among all those that trust in lineage,
he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all.² This hints
that Sanatkumāra preferred wisdom to martial spirit. Sanatkumāra of the Upaniṣad is also a philosopher and teacher of Nārada.

But who was the Upanisadic Skanda? Two answers are possible, viz., (i) this Skanda was either a philosopher deified or a divine being. or (ii) he was, according to the earliest Upanisads, the divine warrior. The writer of the Chandogya might have identified the philosopher Sanatkumāra with the divine philosopher order to increase the greatness of the former, if the latter had been a great "philosopher" god of that age. But Skanda as such is nowhere found in the early literature, on the other hand, he was characterised as the "warrior" god.3 In the post-vedic literature and in the plastic representations, Skanda is depicted as a religious teacher. The Mahābhārata4 ascribes to him the exposition of a Dharma-rahasya and in a few passages calls him Sanatkumāra—the son of Brahman. The Puranic references of this kind are many. Even a plastic corroboration of it is found in a relief at Ellora where Skanda is represented as "Śivadevasya deśikam," the teacher of Siva (see the Agamas).6 But all these philosophic touches in the character of Skanda seem to be only secondary. In the Epics, the Puranas and later works, Skanda as

I Dialogues of Euddha, vol. II, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 121. 3 Bhāgavadgītā, x, 24.

<sup>4</sup> XIII, 134 5 IX, 46, 96; XII, 37, 12

<sup>6</sup> Gopinath Rao, Hindu Iconography, vol. II, part I, plates no. CV, p. 350; also vol. II, part II.

the warrior god is given prominence. Hence, we may say that the philosophic touches given to his character in the later literature were secondary while the militaristic features of his character were primary, and that Skanda of the *Chāndogya* was not a "philosopher" god. The identification of Skanda with Sanatkumāra therefore remains unexplained.

If in that early age Skanda was conceived as the "general" of the gods, then the reason why Sanatkumara was with Skanda becomes somewhat explicable. In the Upanisads we find many kṣatriya chiefs teaching the secret knowledge of the Upanisads to the Brāhmanic sages. Thus in the Brhadaranyaka, the kṣatriya king Janaka-Vaideha teaches a Brāhmaṇa named Āśvatarāśvi Budila, and another king Ajātaśatru destroys the pride of the Brāhmana Bālāki. In the Brhadāranyaka and the Chandogya a kṣatriya king Pravahaṇa Jaivali is described as teaching the Brahmanas the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth. Chāndogya, again, Aśvapati Kaikeya, a kṣatriya king, is seen to teach the doctrine of the universal soul to the five brahmanas. In the Kauṣītakī another kṣatriya, Citra by name, teaches Svetaketu, the son of Gautama. From all these facts it is not improbable to conclude that Sanatkumāra, whatever might have been his caste and function, was identified with a divine kşatriya chief, furnishing another illustration to show kṣatriya influences in the formulation of the fundamental Upanisadic doctrines. Even if the kşatriya references in the Upanisads be due to the brahmanic policy of drawing kṣatriya sympathy,1 our explanation stands good. Our evidences regarding the Upanisadic Skanda being the "warrior" god may not be conclusive, but the balance of probabilities seems to favour our suggestion. There is no special reason why this Skanda should be identified with the "warrior" god.2

Let us now take into consideration the circumstances that ushered in the conception of a divine general. Kings and generals of heaven are only prototypes of earthly kings and generals. In the Rg-vedic times the king was the general par excellence. The Senānī, the leader of the army, who appears in a few hymns of the Rg-veda, was a general appointed by the king to lead an expedition of too little impor-

I See Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> See Keith, op. cit., p. 493.

tance to require his own intervention.1 But with the growth of complexities the functions of the king and the general were being clearly distinguished and in the great Epic we read of generals being in charge of the king's army. A similar process went on in regard to the conception of heaven. In the Rg-vedic times Indra, the king of gods, was the war-god of the Aryans.2 But slowly like the terrestrial king, he lost the position of being eminently the Aryan war-god and in the Epics and the Puranas, came to be distinguished as Devarāja. So the necessity of a general was felt and the conception of Skanda was ushered in. Now as on the earth the functions of the king and the general were separated before the times of the Mahābhārata, it is only natural that the necessity for the conception of a divine general was felt at about that time. In the Aitareva Brūhmana<sup>3</sup> Senā is described as the wife of Indra, indicating thereby that Indra still held the army. The Mahabharata' gives the story which says that Indra rescued Devasena from the hand of a demon and subsequently gave her to Skanda in marriage. The story signifies the transference of generalship from Indra to Skanda. It seems not quite improbable, that the conception of the general god first arose among the kṣatriyas as early as the period of the Chandogya Upanisad. This accounts for the absence of the name of the god from the Samhitas and Brahmanas, The Brahmanas at first did not accept the innovation and went on with their own 'general' Indra. Later on, probably with the increase of Kşatriya influence, the conception of Skanda as the general obtained recognition in the Epics and the Purāņas.

The next reference to Skanda is found in the Gītā and in the commentary of Pātañjali. In the Gītā Vāsudeva declares himself as सेनानीनामहं स्कन्द: (he was Skanda among the generals). It is evident that Skanda had become by this time a figure of emulations. He was of as much celebrity among the warriors as Viṣṇu was among the Ādityas and Sankara among the Rudras. So it seems that he was holding his military position among the people from a time previous to the composition of the Gītā. The date of its

I Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Vedic Mythology, p. 62.

<sup>3 111, 22, 7.</sup> 

<sup>4</sup> Vanaparva, 221 and 222.

<sup>-5</sup> X, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Bhagavad Gītā, X, 21; X, 23.

composition is yet unsettled, some a scribing to it a period earlier than the 4th century B.C. and others a date in the 3rd century B.C. or even later. Whatever may be the correct date it is clear that Skanda was conceived as the divine general long before Vāsudeva sang his divine song.

Patañjali writes जीविकार्षे चापणा। चपणा इत्युचाते तब दं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्वन्दी विशाख रित। विं कारणम् मौर्थे हिरण्णार्धिभरचीः प्रकल्पिता भवेत्तासु न स्थात्। यास्त्रे ताः सम्पृति पूजार्थां साम्पृति प्रवाशं साम्पृति साम्पृति प्रवाशं साम्पृति साम

Taking all these evidences from the *Upaniṣad*, the *Gītā*, Patañ-jali's commentary, etc. into consideration, it may be stated that the conception of Skanda came into existence before the invasion of Alexander.

Curiously enough the great general of heaven is often connected with infants and infant diseases. He is the lord of many uncouth figures who regulate the life of the infants. The Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata associates Skanda with fierce पारिषद्ड, जुमारकड and कबाड who destory even the fœtus.4 In this Parvas also Skanda orders the Mātrgana belonging to his retinue to take under their care life of those people who are within sixteen years of age. This tradition is echoed in the Susruta In the Uttara Tantra of the Suŝruta II, which is assigned to the 2nd century A.D., Skanda is described as the "divine general, the husband of Devasena and the destroyer of the enemy of Devasena".7 But the divine general of the Susruta is also connected with infant diseases.8 So striking is the similarity between the Mahābhārata and the Susruta in this respect that the name of the nine grahas of whom Skanda is the lord in the Susrutas are the same as the Pāriṣadas of Skanda in the Mahabharata.10

I R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism, etc. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Winternitz, Indian Literature, p. 438 and footnote (i).

<sup>3</sup> Keilhorn's edition, vol. II, p, 429.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh., 227, 1-2. 5 Mbh., 229, 22

<sup>6</sup> Hoernle, Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India, p. 10 7 XXVIII 5. 8 XXVIII 3

<sup>7</sup> XXVIII, 5. 8 XXVII, 3. 9 Uttara Tantra, xxvii. 10 III, 129, 25-31.

In course of the excavation of some mounds at Mathura a stoneslab was found on the obverse of which is a goat-headed deity curved in relief labelled 'Bhagava Nemeso' in Brahmi characters of the Saka-kushana period; to the right are three standing female figures and a male child.1 It has been suggested by Bühler2 that the relief bears the legend described in the Kalpasūtra of the transfer of the fœtus of Mahāvīra from Brāhmanī Devanandā to Ksatriyani Triśala by Harinegamesi. So the word Nemeso is nothing but a variant of Harinegamesi of the Kalpasūtra, Naigamesi of the Neminathacarita and Negamesa of the Brahmanical sutra literature. That he is none but the divine general Skanda may be inferred from the fact that Harinegamesi of the Kalpasūtra is not only the transferer of the fœtus but also the divine commander of infantry.3 Skanda of the Mahābhārata4 like Harinegamesi of the relief is goat-headed (chagamukha). The Epic also has Naigameya as a title of Skanda. So it seems in all probabilities that Nemeso of the Mathura relief is only another variant of Naigameya of the Epic i.e., is another name of Skanda. This Mathura inscription is dated by European scholars from about the beginning of the Christian era or earlier. Skanda's connection with the infants may be taken back still earlier. In the Pāraskaragrhya-sūtra6 it is said in connection with the Medhajanana and Ayusya ceremonies that "Kumāra attacks the boy newly born". The Mahāsena of the Manavagrhya sutra who with others is referred to as the remover of possession by evil spirits is none but Skanda.7 These facts combine to show that Skanda-Kārttikeya's connection with infant diseases and other malevolent spirits was established before the Christian era. The process how the great general of heaven came to be associated with such evil things is not far to seek. Rudra in the Rg-veda was believed to cause diseases. He is invoked to keep all free from illness\* and he is prayed not to afflict children with diseases.º In the subsequent literature Rudra became predominantly

I Smith, Antiquities of Mathurā, plate no. xviii, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Kalpa-Sūtra, 2, 22. 4 III, 225, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, Antiquities of Mathura, p. 25.

<sup>6 1, 16, 24;</sup> Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, p. 242.

<sup>7 11, 14;</sup> Keith, op. cit., pr 242. 8 R. 1, 114, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Rv. viii, 462.

Siva and he was slowly being raised to the position of the supreme God. A god was therefore sought out and Skanda the divine general whose another name was Kumāra and who was the son of Rudra was thought to be the fittest one to be given the charge of the infants (Kumāras) and diseases. It should be noted that in the Saṃhitās and the Sūtras¹ Rudra is called Dhūrta which is also a title of Skanda in the Atharva-veda Parišiṣṭa, XX.

It may be argued that Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsena and Visākha were different gods originally. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks2 that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in older days names of four different gods. His conclusion is based on (1) Patanjali's reference to both Skanda and Visākha at the same time, (2) mention of the names of Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Māhasena in the Huviska coins each with a figure corresponding to the names and (3) Amarasimha's mention of only one of the former four names in each of the four lines of his two verses concerning Karttikeva. Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments, however, do not seem to be conclusive. Mahāsena seems originally to have been only an attribute of the Senānī Skanda. Kumāra might have been originally a different god. But in that case also there is no evidence to show that he was a separate god till the time of the Huviska coins. The coins, as will be shown later on, have been wrongly interpreted. Epics, Skanda and Kumāra are identical.3 earliest reference to Kumāra is found in the Satapatha Brāhmana,4 where Kumāra is called the ninth form of Agni as well as the son of Agni Grhapati. Skanda also was the son of Agni and he was in a very early age identified with Sanatkumāra who is some times called simply Kumāra.5 It seems that through these connections Skanda and Kumāra became identified with one another at a time earlier than that of the Huviska coins. The Susruta,6 a book almost contemporaneous with the Kushans of the Kaniska line, describes Skanda and Kumāra as the same deity. The Huviska coins, in fact, do not contain four figures of four different deities. One coin contains two figures and three names, and another coin has three

<sup>1</sup> Ms. i, 8, 5; Ass vi, 2, 3; Hss. iii, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Mbh. XII, 37, 12; IX, 46, 96; Rām. 1, 26.

<sup>4</sup> VI, 1, 3, 18. . 5 Sabda Kalpadruma, sv., Sanatkumara.

<sup>6</sup> Uttara Tantra, xxxvii, 1.

figures and four names. So it is clear that the die-engravers have not given as many figures as there are names. In both the coins only one of the figures seems to have a halo and other figures represent only attendant deities, which are female figures. So with all our diffidence in numismatic knowledge we cannot accept Prof. Bhandarkar's opinion. As for three or four names we may quote Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar2 who taking Mahāsena to be an attribute of Skanda says "looking to the fact that there are two names of a Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. While the figures on the coins are doubtful, the names in the Amarakosa seem to be only accidental. As for Visākha, however, there is not the slightest clue to show that he was made one with Skanda in times earlier than that of the Mahābhārata. Patañjali differentiates between the images of the two deities. Suśruta<sup>3</sup> identifies Skandapasmara with Viśakha and extols him as the friend Skanda. The Rāmāyana mentions जूमारी, referring thereby to Skanda and Viśākha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkars adds that "the Mahābhārata story of Viśākha's having arisen from the right side of Skanda is indicative of the tendency of making two gods as one". These all tend to show that Skanda and Viśākha were two different gods from the time of Patanjali to that of the Epics. It should be noted, however, that the evidence from Patanjali is not quite decisive and the absence of Viśākha's name as a deity in early or late literature is quite significant.

In the Epics and the Purāṇas the parentage of Skanda-Kārtti-keya is attributed either to Rudra and Pārvatī or to Agni and Gaṅgā or Svāhā. In the Epics he is connected with Rudra and Agni. In the Vedic literature Agni figures largely as the typical leader of the vanguard of army. A special army-fire—Senāgni—is mentioned in some of the later Sanskrit works. We have already seen that the Satapatha calls Kumāra as the son of Agni-Gṛhapati. On the other hand, the Mānavagṛhya Sūtra, referred to before, connects Skanda with Siva and Saivite gods. In later litera-

I Gardner, Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, plate no. xviii, pp. 149-151.

<sup>2</sup> Vaisnavism, Saivism, etc., p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Uttara Tantra, xxix, 2; xxxvii; I

<sup>4</sup> I, 26 5 - Vaisnavism, Śaivism etc., p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Rv. x, 84, 2; Av. iii, 1. 1, iii, 2, 1; Ts. 1, 8, 9; Tb. 1, 7, 3, 4.

ture, including the Epics, Skanda's connection with Rudra-Siva is the most predominant. It seems, therefore, that the war god Kumāra is in reality one of the manifestations of Agni-Rudra-Siva. Agni and Rudra were often identified with each other in the Vedic texts. In the Epic also Agni is called Rudragarbha and Siva. Owing to this identification from the earliest times Skanda was connected sometimes with Agni and other times with Rudra. It seems that the former connection was the earliest.

Skanda is often associated in the Epics with "mothers". He is called matrnandana. Of him it is written that he was worshipped by Indra along with the "mothers".4 The mothers suckled him. The gods sent the "mothers" of the universe to kill him.6 The gods and terrible dwellers of heaven attended him with the "mothers". Of the Parivara devatās to be set up in a svayampradhāna temple of Subrahmanya, Kumāra Tantra prescribes Saptamātrkā as one.8 This idea of mothers as connected with Skanda seems to come from latter's connection with Agni. In the Vedic literature Agni is called Matarisvan meaning thereby as the Rg-veda poets meant "he who is found in his mother or growing in his mothers". Most probably the idea of "growing in mothers" was in course of time transfered from the father Agni to the son Skanda. But who these "mothers" were and how their worship came in vogue is a question yet unsolved, though it is a fact that the "mother" worship was amalgamated with Skanda worship. Images of "mothers" are mentioned by Varāha Mihira<sup>10</sup> who says that the images of "mothers" should be made Svanāma-devānurūpa-krta cihna. In the Dravidian gion, however, there is prevalent the worship of seven mothers and one brother. When we read the suggestion of Dr. Keith11 that there is little evidence or probability of mother worship as Aryan or Indo-European the question naturally arises whether the "mother" worship has to do anything for its origin with the

<sup>1</sup> Rv. II, 1; Sb. vi, 1, 3, 18; Av. viii, 8, 17 18, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. II, 31, 44. 3 Mbh. III, 225, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Mbh. III, 225, 25. 5 Mbh. III, 226.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 7 Ibid

<sup>8</sup> Gopinath Rao, vol. II, part II, p. 423.

<sup>9</sup> Vedic Methology, p. 72. 10 58, 56.

<sup>11</sup> Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas, p. 149.

Dravidian religion or not. If Mr. Arbman<sup>1</sup> is right in establishing the connection of "mother"-worship with the Vedic Rudra, then it should be noted that Skanda's connection with "mothers" might have come through that channel.

Then there is the Kṛttikā question so inseparably connected with Skanda-Kārttikeya. All of the three names Kārttikeya, Viśākha and Bāhuleya connect Skanda with the stars. In the Mahābhārata² there is a passage which clearly establishes the connection of Skanda with Kṛttikā and other stars. The name Bāhuleya is derived from Bahulā which means Kṛttikā. The name Viśākha also must have some connection with the Viśākhā or Viśākha nakṣatra.

In the Epic<sup>3</sup> Skanda is attended by followers like Unmātha, Pramātha, Subhrāja, Jvāla, Jihvā, Jyotis, Dahati, Dahana, etc., all of whom suggest fever and fire. It seems that star-worship was mixed up with Skanda-worship. Kṛttikā from an early time was connected with Agni. Kālidāsa speaks of it as अधिभिखाक्षतिषद्तारकासवर्ष. The Mahābhāratas calls it Agnidaivata. Varāhamihiras calls it as Āgneya and Viśākhā as Indrāgnidaivata. Through the common relation of Skanda and Kṛttikā with Agni, the Kṛttikās were most probably connected with Skanda while the idea of Mātariśvan as connected with Agni gave them the mothership of Skanda. Prof. Hopkins justly remarks that Kārttikeya is a very composite god and we have seen how Kārttikeya is related to Agni, Rudra, the "mothers" and the stars,

From the study of the above evidences it seems probable that the sectarian Skanda-Karttikeya-worship was well established in our country before the 4th century A.D. There are unmistakable sectarian traces in the great Epic. In it Kārttikeya is given a very high position. When he was born, the gods were frightened by his prowess and asked Indra, their king, to kill the boy. But Indra replied that this boy could kill even the creator of the world in battle. Even once Indra, the king of Heaven, took refuge under

I Rudra, pp. 259 ff; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> III, 229, 8-11. 3 Hopkins, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> See Śabdakalpadrum c.sv. Krttikā.

<sup>5</sup> III, 229, 10. 6 15, 2; 15, 14. 7 Epic Mythology, p. 229. 8 III, 126, 10.

I.H.Q., JUNE, 1031 CC-0 M Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Skanda with folded hands.1 Sometimes even the Virāj form of Vāsudeva is transferred to Kārttikeya.2 Even a separate world—the Skandaloka-which a devotee of Kārttikeya is expected to attain is spoken of. In the Anusāśanaparva there is a particular religious canon which is ascribed to Skanda, and Hopkins<sup>8</sup> finds therein that even Kṛṣṇa and Hari are spoken of as servants of Skanda. It is probable that the sectarian worship of Skanda became popular at that time. The Epic testimony of the tendency towards Kārttikeya worship seems to be supported by numismatic evidences. Many Yaudheya coins contain a six headed god on it and the mutilated inscriptions on them seem to read as follows: भगवत: खामिनो ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य. The real meaning of the name Brahmanyadeva is suggested to be the name of the Yaudheya king to which, as Rapson<sup>5</sup> thinks, the type of six-headed god (Sadānana, Brahmanya or Kūrttikeya) also alludes. There is another coin6 of the same type which contains the figure of the sixheaded god with the transcription जुमारस . Smith suggests 'Kumāra' to be a chief, different from "Brahmanyadeva." It may be the case; but here also the name Kumāra refers to Kārttikeya. These numismatic evidences show that the Yaudheyas worshipped Karttikeya in sixheaded form. As to the date of these coins Smith remarks that "the big rude pieces of the chief who calls himself Svāmi Brahmanya Yaudheya" may be assigned to the 2nd century A.D. So Skandaworship may go as far back as the 2nd century A.D. and the traces of its subsequent growth are left in the Mahābhārata as shown above, in many later Tantras and in some of the Calukya inscriptions (5th and 6th century A.D.).\*

MANMATHA MUKHOPADHYAY

<sup>1</sup> III, 126, 18.

<sup>2</sup> III, 231, 12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Epic Mythology, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, p. 182, f.n. I.

<sup>5 /</sup>RAS, 1903, p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, Catalogue of Coins etc. p. 192; R. D. Banerjee, Prācīna mudrā, p. 119. 7 Catalogue of Coins etc., p. 165.

<sup>\*</sup> For some suggestions I am indebted to my Professor Mr. J. N. Banerjee, M.A.

## Kulasekhara of Kerala

Kerala has come to occupy an important place in the field of oriental research. She gave to the world a number of dramas of an apparently new dramatic technique, which led to the postulation of the Bhasa theory, and though this theory has now been generally discarded, this has no doubt ushered in a large amount of original papers on the subject of what may be correctly called the Keralanātaka-cakra. Her Sanskrit theatre is a subject of absorbing interest, for here alone are found in living form the ancient Sanskrit stage and the indigenous type of acting. T No less important is the script in which the so-called Bhasa's dramas are preserved. and a careful study of the same is ushering in new problems of Prākrtic These dramas do not exhaust her wonderful manuscript wealth: other works equally important are being discovered and announced. Again, she has made her own contribution to the make-up of the wonderful Sanskrit literature: her numerous works and her brilliant authors form an altogether untrodden field for research. And the history of her Sanskrit literature has yet to be written.3 My study of the subject has suggested a few interesting problems of literary history, such for instance as the problems of Kulasekhara, of Vāsudeva,4 of Lilāśuka and Nārāyaņa. There are indeed a number of other problems; but these appear to me to be the most important as much on account of their intrinsic confusion as on account of their extrinsic importance. A study of these problems is interest-

I Vide my paper 'Acting in Kerala' published in the Mythic Society Journal, Bangalore, vol. XII, pt. II pp. 183-295.

<sup>2</sup> Vide my paper on 'Sanskrit and Prākṛt in Arya Eluttu' published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London vol. V, part II, pp. 307-11.

<sup>3</sup> The writer gave a course of lectures on this subject under the auspices of the Madras University and these lectures are being published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

<sup>4</sup> An aspect of this is referred to in my paper Rāmakathā Study', published in the Bulletin of the School of Criental Studies, vol. V, part IV, pp. 797-801.

of view. No systematic attempt has yet been made to tackle any of these problems comprehensively and this has led to the postulation of a number of theories, more or less contradictory, regarding Kerala history and chronology. It is proposed to consider in the course of this paper in some detail one of these problems, viz., the problem of Kulasekhara, which is the oldest and the most important.

Keraļa knows many Kulasekharas, about half a dozen in number so far as we now know,2 There is first and foremost the Vaisnavite devotee, the author of the Mukundamālā. There is another Kulasekhara who figures as the dramatist, the author of the two dramas, Dhananjaya and Samvarana. A third Kulasekhara greets us as the patron of Vāsudeva, the author of the Yamaka-Kāvya, Yudhisthira-Vijaya, a fourth as the patron of Prabhākara and a fifth again as the patron of Līlāśuka. A sixth Kulaśekhara also is met with as the founder of the temple at Trikkulasekharapuram, a suburb at Cranganore, from which is founded an era, the Kulasekhara Era. One document at least is available dated in this era.3 All these Kulasekharas were kings of Kerala, though there are some divergent views on this subject also. Another fact about them that we may accept is that all these Kulasekharas could be taken to have lived before the 10th century.4 For the rest we are faced with a serious blank. We do not, for instance, know how many Kulasekharas there actually were, when they lived and what exactly each one did. . Some work has indeed been done regarding the author of the Mukundamālās and so also of the dramas, but the results achieved do not

I Vide the last paragraph in my paper on "Rāmakathā—a study"; also 'Keraļa Cultural Antiquities' published in the Madras Presidency College Magazine, December, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on 'The Bhāṣa Theory again,' published in the I.H.Q., vol. V, no. 3, pp. 552-558.

<sup>3</sup> The Annual Report on Archæological Researches in Cochin State, for the year '100 M. E.

<sup>4</sup> A different date is suggested only for the dramatist and this view cannot be accepted, see my paper in I.H.Q., vol. V, pp. 552-558.

Vide Early History of Vaisnavism by Prof. S. K. Ayyangar, Lecture II.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Mm. T. G. Sastri's Introduction to the Dramas.

show that the final word has yet been said on the subject. I feel that the conclusions arrived at by the scholars who have worked on this topic have been vitiated to a certain extent by the fact that they were concerned with one Kulasekhara at a time and were trying to introduce an imaginary interpretation. And secondly they were strangers to the local traditions. These two facts have taken away much of the value of their speculations. In this paper it is my object to show that the date of Kulsekharas is yet an open question, which deserves to be reconsidered.

One Kulasekhara figures as the author of the sweet devotional lyric, the Mukundamālā. Regarding its authorship, there can indeed be no two opinions, for the last verse explicitly says who its author was:

yasya priyau śrutidharau kavilokavīrau mitre dvijanmavarapāraśavāvabhūtām / tenāmbujākṣacaraṇāmbujaṣatpadena rājñā kṛtā kṛtir iyam Kulaśekhareṇa //

The Tamil scholars identify this Kulasekhara with the Kulasekhara Alvar; for both are Vaisnavites and have sung songs of devotion and both hail from royal families, Cera or Kerala. It is not indeed inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Sanskrit and Tamil, only it is not usually the case, especially in old days. Again there has been a lot of confusion between the terms Cera, and Kerala. True it was that at one time the two terms might have been used as denoting the same country, for Kerala formed a part of the Cera Kingdom. But it was not always the case, and we know that Kerala is never correctly called the Cera after the 8th century. Consequently, when a poet says that he hailed from the Cera royal family, it need not necessarily mean that he was a Malayali. In other words, no convincing evidence has so far been adduced to prove the identity of the Kulasekhara Alvar and the author of the devotional lyric.<sup>2</sup> From the lyric itself we get the information that he was a king

I There is confusion in the consideration of the subject by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, see his Early History of Vaisnavism, p. 41.

The following is a summary of Mr. M. R. R. Ayyangar's view of this subject, kindly furnished me by my colleague Mr. Ramanuja Achariar: 'From his own words we gather that Kulasekhara Alvar was a Cera king (early half of the 8th century A.D.) ruling over Kon-

named Kulasekhara, and if we may accept one of its earliest commentators, Rāghavānanda, we can also come to the conclusion that he was a king of Kerala. This work does not give us any further information of a historical character. It is, however, clear that the sweetness of the devotional fervour running through it and the high temporal position of the author gave the work a phenomenal popularity, and the Vaisnavites still look upon this work as a very sacred book. One more legitimate inference the work yields and that is that Sanskrit studies were very popular in Kerala at that time and that our land even then produced two distinguished poets who the poet-king thought were well known enough to be remembered by the posterity, even if he did not mention them by name. So far we can naturally infer, but anything over and above this gets within the realm of speculation.<sup>1</sup>

gunatu from his capital town of Kollinagar. Evidence does not warrant his being identified with a Kerala prince and it is quite significant that he has not sung in praise of any Kerala shrine.'

I The concluding verse we have quoted above offers a number of interesting variant readings. Instead of Kavilokavirau, we have also Ravilokavirau and Naralokavirau. Of these two readings the latter does not yield any sense, except that both were very honoured in the world. The first of these does convey a specific meaning: it may be taken to mean that 'leaders of Raviloka' and Raviloka is identified with the territory round Trippunittura in the Cochin State. In other words, the acceptance of this reading would yield the idea that the Bhakta king was holding his court at this town. In the absence of any information regarding the kingdom, such an interpretation cannot be accepted for the time being. We would accept the reading given above, which means the 'leaders of the world of poetry' and this is quite suited to the context. For the king was mentioning them as his friends so that he might ensure some respect for his work. Though we have no means of definitely deciding who these poets were, the statement is a clear indication of the fact that at the king's court there were two eminent poets, association with whom was in itself, the king believed, a sufficient hall-mark of poetic merit. This also yields the suggestion that Sanskrit studies were then very popular in Kerala. Unfortunately there is no means of deciding which is the correct reading, and any inference based mainly upon an interpretation of the verse must necessarily be tentative,

Coming to the work itself, one is forced to the conclusion that it does not come to the high literary standard that a pious progeny has always been assigning to it. It must be conceded that the work is pervaded by a natural simplicity and an intense devotion which are possibly unrivalled. These two qualities, by themselves, cannot give it the high position that has been accorded to it by the South Indian Vaisnavites. What then is the reason that has given it this high position? The spiritual and temporal position of the author may be one reason. Possibly this Kulasekhara, we incline to think, was the first royal convert to the Vaisnavaite faith and the first South Indian to write a religious lyric in Sanskrit. Such a view may go a long way to explain the great popularity of the work and the position it occupies in religious literature. It is interesting to note that the Mukundamālā is more popular among the Vaisnavite Tamils than among others, probably because in it may be discerned the seeds of that qualified monism which it was given to Śrī Rāmānuja to expound. In other words,

unless it is supported by other evidence. In the second para also there is difference in the reading: some read as 'padmasaravabhutam.' Evidently this reading does not give any sound sense. Another variant is 'pārsava Carāvabhūtām'. This is quite good. As per reading we have accepted, the term, Pārašava means warrier, one of the many varieties of Ambalav asis, and this would suggest that the king had two friends, one a brahmin and the other a warrier. One difficulty may be raised against this interpretation, the interpretation of the term Srutidharau. A warrier is not allowed to study the Vedas, and as such he could not be termed such. In answer we have only to say that we may either assume that at that time there was not the taboo or accept a slesa in this expression: Sruti may be understood in the sense of the Vedas and it could also be taken to mean music. The Brahmin friend of the king was well-versed in Vedas while the warrier friend, in music. The acceptance of this reading would raise one more question: Have Ambalavasis such a high antiquity? This appears to be a serious objection, but if we may take our stand on tradition, we may accept a sufficiently high antiquity for them, because our traditions make the Yamaka poet, Vāsu deva, a Nambiar, another sect of Ambalavasis. It will be clear from what has been said that whatever readings we may accept, this last verse does not give anything historical.

Vide verses 39, 40 and 43 of the Mukundamala.

this work formed the sacred text in Sanskrit on which to propound a new school of thought. If this view has any semblance to correctness or acceptance, the author of the Mukundamālā is the first of the Vaiṣṇavite Perumals who actively patronised the Vaiṣṇavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Keraļa. This assertion of the orthodox religion on the part of the Emperor led the Buddhists to mobilise their forces, which in its turn led to the blooming forth of the genius of Prabhākara and the elaboration of the Guru school of Mīmāṃsā.¹ This view necessarily makes us put the author of the Mukundamālā to the period anterior to Prabhākara.

The traditions of our religious history have preserved for us two dates, as expressed in the Kali chronogram, Yajñasthanam samraksyam and Cittacalanam. The former of these which works out about the close of the 4th century is reported to be the date of Melattol Agnihotri, the staunch supporter of the Vedic cult, and the Kalivakya itself suggests that even then the Vedic religion stood in need of protection. In other words, Buddhism silently advancing over the time honoured Vedic religion, came to be perceptibly felt as its serious rival towards the close of the fourth century. The second Kalivācaka which works out to about the middle of the 6th century, records the destruction of the premier temple at Payyannur dedicated to Varahamurti. The destruction, our traditions narrate, was the result of a religious schism, and it led to the dispersal of the orthodox brahmins from that stronghold to the southern banks of Curnika, the modern Periyar or Alwaye river, where in due course were born the great pillars of Vedic religion and Hindu philosophy, Prabhākara Bhatta and Śrī Śańkarācārya. Our traditions will have it that the fundamental cause which brought about this calamity was the introduction of foreigners, but they are not very clear who these foreigners were and where they were introduced. In the absence of anything definite, I incline to believe that they are the foreigners to our religion and their introduction is to our centres of worship. In other words, the whole quarrel might have resulted in the introduction of Buddhists into the temple or religious service. In the light cof the preceding chronogram such an interpretation does not seem

I Vide the author's paper on 'The Three Great Philosophers of Kerala', published in IHQ., vol. V, no. iv, pp. 676-693.

to be implausible. The silent spread of Buddhism and the popular appeal it always made to the masses gave it a great impetus so that by about the middle of the sixth century, it got a crowning victory, when it brought about a cleavage in the orthodox fold. From this period, till about the time of the Vaisnavite Kulasekhara. Hinduism appears to have been in eclipse. As a matter of fact Hinduism got its first victory only just before the time of Prabhakara, who, as we shall show later, may be assigned to the early half of the 8th century. The intensive spread of Buddhism led the orthodox party to invite from outside a number of scholars, six in number, to fight their Buddhistic antagonists. All these were Bhattas and this is an indication that they were the disciples of Kumārila Bhatta. The result of their work was to wean gradually the masses from falling away from the brahmanic fold. These scholars met the Buddhists in argument and defeated them during the time of a Kulasekhara. And their most eminent disciple was the famous Prabhākara. In other words, this Kulasekhara appears to have been the first royal convert back to Hinduism and the first to actively espouse the Hindu cause. It is worth while to point out that Prabhākara was a Vaisnavite, and it is possible that his patron also was a Vaisnavite. This probably was then the most popular cult, thanks to the popularity given to it through the work of the Alwars. As a result of the conversion of the Perumal and his ardent partiality for Vaisnavite Hinduism, his new faith, this Perumal lavished his patronage on Prabhakara and his school and at the same time founded at least one temple, the Śrī Kulaśekhara temple in a suburb of Cranganore. In other words, a consideration of the religious traditions of the period leads one to the legitimate conclusion that the new cult underwent three distinct stages: the first was the transference of the Emperor's sympathy from Buddhism to Hinduism, by converting him into an ardent Vaisnavite; the second, the popularisation of the cult and the founding of the numerous Vaisnavite temples, the earliest of such temples being apparently the shrine of 'Trikulasekharapuram'; and the last but not the least, the founding of the mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Vedas and Sastras. The first President of this mutt was Prabhākara who acclaims a Kulasekhara as his patron; and when we know that Prabhakara precedes Sankara and is not far separated from him, we are safe when we say that our Kulasekhara must have lived during

the closing decades of the 7th century and the first half of the eighth century. This date is also borne out by the fact that some time at this period there were come into the land some Buddhists from China: in case we assign this period to the Kulasekhara, these pilgrims may be identified with It-sing and Hiuen Tsang. In other words, we shall not be wrong if we assume that with the close of the 7th century there began a revival of Vedic studies under the lead of the newly introduced Vaisnavite cult which in its turn led before long to the complete overthrow of the Buddhistic cult, thanks to the founding of numerous Visnu temples and the famous Mutt at Kumblam for the study of the Mīmāmsā Sastra. The author of the Mukundamala, we believe, was the father of the revival of Hinduism. He was the first king to write the devotional lyric in Sanskrit and to actively espouse the Hindu cause, and probably the first to build a number of Visnu temples and to found the Mīmāmsic Mutt at Kumblam under the presidency of Prabhakara for the furtherance of the exegetical ritualistic studies.

Prabhākara is one of the most elusive figures in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, Scholars who have tried to fix has date are sharply divided into two camps, some assigning him to the pre-Kumārila period and others to the post-Kumārila period. Our traditions are unanimous in maintaing that Prabhakara was the disciple of the six Bhattas invited in Kerala to check the advance of Buddhism. These Bhattas were the disciples of Kumārila, and these were the first founders of the Kumārila system of Mīmāmsic philosophy, one eminent follower of which school was Saktibhadra, the author of Cūdamani, and contemporary of Śrī Śankara. If our traditions may be believed one more direct disciple of Kumārila lived to be the direct disciple of Śrī Śańkara, I mean Mandana Miśra, the later Suresvara. A reconciliation of these is not impossible, if we suppose that Kumarila lived to a long age and that Mandana was the last of his disciples. This is a very fairly feasible position and it explains also why Prabhākara could expound a new system. In other words, Prabhākara was able to expound the new creed, because even Kumārila and his first batch of students had not yet been able to establish their new view. That one is the disciple of another does not necessarily, mean that the disciple must be younger; thus Padmapada and Suresvara and Saktibhadra are necessarily older than Sankara himself. It is, therefore, quite possible that Prabhākara and Kumārila

were almost of the same age, and both of them died before Sankara must have come up to the arena. Not only that, if we may attach any weight to the remarks of Sankara, it is also reasonable to suppose that Kumārila must have died before Prabhākara, because Śrī Śankara is more wroth with Prabhākara than with Kumārila. He is unsparing so far as Prabhākara is concerned, probably because he was as good as his contemporary and also hailed from the same gramam. The date of Srī Sankara has been fixed with a fair degree of certainty at the close of the 8th century and that means we may assign Prabhākara to the opening years of the same century, Kumārila might have passed away about the middle of the period and Mandana, a latter day disciple, could have lived to become the disciple of Sankara and to live even after him, especially because the latter had but a short span of life. The same view is further borne out by the fact that Saktibhadra, a disciple of Sankara, was a follower of Kumārila and this means that he must also have been connected with the original Bhattas who came and introduced the Mīmāmsā philosophy into Keraļa. If he had come after Prabhākara, we would naturally expect to find him following the tenet of Prabhakara. I would therefore believe that Saktibhadra was the last of the disciples of the Bhattas, while Prabhakara belonged to the first batch. In other words, Prabhākara was an older contemporary of Saukara, And this view again suggests the middle of 8th century as the date of Prabhākara.

Now to sum up: the Vaisnavite Perumal of Kerala, the author of the Mukundamālā was the first to assert himself against the rise of Buddhism: he espoused the Vaisnavite cult, composed a sweet lyric, built Vaisnavite temples and patronised the revival of Sanskrit studies in the land which led to the discovery of the genius of Prabhākara and this Perumal must have graced the throne in the early decades of the 8th century.

Now we shall proceed to the consideration of the other Kula-sekhara. Vāsudeva mentions a Kulasekhara as his patron, and traditions make Līlāsuka a contemporary of Kulasekhara. The date of Līlāsuka can with some of certainty be fixed, for our traditions make him the contemporary of Srī Sankara and the successor of Suresvara on the pontifical throne at Tekke Madham at Trichur. In other words, he may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. The opening words of his Karnāmṛtam suggest that he was the disciple of Vāsudeva: compare

#### KULASEKHARA OF KERALA

cințāmanirjayati somagirirgururme śikṣāguruśca bhagavān sikhipiñcamaulih/

The second pada has a ślesa and here one may find a veiled reference to Vāsudeva, from whom Līlāśuka learnt his wordly lore. Śikṣāguru refers to the teachers who taught him worldly lore; and so the Guru referred to in the first Pāda must be the spiritual Guru. If such an interpretation may be accepted, it would mean that Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka stand in the relation of Guru and disciple and this would suggest that the Kulasekhara who is the patron of Vasudeva and Līlāsuka are one and the same and that this Kulasekhara must have lived in the middle of the 8th century so that Līlāsuka may continue to live in the beginning of the 9th century. And be it noted that this Kulasekhara cannot come down to the eighties of this century for at the time of the birth of the seer, the king of the country was Rāja Rāja, as mentioned in the Sankarācāryacaritam, and during the heyday of his greatness the king was Rajasekhara, a great poet and dramatist. This would mean that the patron of Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka must be put down to the middle of the seventh century.

It would be interesting to inquire if the patron of Vāsudeva and the author of the Mukundamālā could be identical. The necessary inter-relation between the various authors we have mentioned makes this identification rather difficult. That would again suggest that the country was ruled by the same king for more than half a century, a thing that is very improbable. We would therefore keep the author and the patron of Mukundamālā separate, assigning the earlier to the earlier, and the latter to the middle, decades of the century. There is also one more argument which necessitates such an assumption, as we shall presently show.

We have tried to locate five Kulasekharas and these have resolved themselves into two monarchs. We shall now proceed to locate the dramatist Kulasekhara. He has been the subject of a lot of discussion and various dates have been assigned to him, ranging from the 10th to the 12th century. The 10th century-andafter view was first suggested by the late lamented Mm. G. Śāstrī, and this view has been amply supported by the acceptance of same by Prof. Keith. In the light of the internal evidence furnished by the works themselves, this date cannot be accepted, and, not only

I IHQ., vol. V, p. 553: Note 6.

that, Mm. Śāstrī's date has no conclusive arguments to support it except his fondness for his own Bhāṣa theory.

From the Prologue of Kulasekhara's dramas it will be found that the poets then familiar and popular in Kerala were Śūdraka, Kālidāsa. Harsa and Dandin, while the poets Bhasa, Bhavabhūti and Saktibhadra were unknown to him. The absence of reference to Bhasa is inexcusable if his works were known to him, and these works were popular on our stage. The absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to this author, all the more so because there was some sort of intellectual intercourse between the North and South of India after the time of the great seer. In view of the reference to Dandin and Harsa, the absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to the date of the dramatist Kulasekhara, Similarly the absence of all reference to Saktibhadra gives us the earliest limit. Saktibhadra claims that he was the first South Indian to write a Sanskrit drama, and his drama, Cūdamani, has been very popular on our stage. If Kulasekhara lived after the time of Saktibhadra, surely he should have referred to the first Sanskrit dramatist of Kerala-a dramatist not the least important even when we regard him from the purely æsthetic point of view. This absence of reference to him can therefore mean only one thing, namely, that Kulasekhara lived before the fame of Saktibhadra became well known. It is also very strange that Saktibhadra should have claimed himself to be the first S. Indian dramatist, if Kulasekhara lived before him. Himself a Malayali, he could not have said like that, if when he wrote his drama, the dramas of Kulasekhara were popular. The only possible method of reconciling the two positions would be to assume that the two dramatists were contemporaries, Kulasekhara the older and Saktibhadra the younger. And they may have written their dramas almost at the same time. Possibly Saktibhadra, being diffident of his own merits, did not care to announce his work—that had to be done by the great Sankara. We know that Saktibhadra lived to be a disciple of Sankara and that gives us his date. And since during the time of Sankara the sovereigns were Rāja Rāja and Rājasekhara, Kulasekhara must be anterior to him. In other words, we assign the dramatist Kulasekhara to the middle of the 8th century and lie must have lived before 788 A.D. As regards the argument that the dramatist Kulasekhara's contemporary quotes from Dasarūpaka, the answer is that it is a myth invented by Mm. G. Sastri to support his Bhāṣa theory.

Now that we have to assign the dramatist to the middle of the 8th century, it is but reasonable to identify him with the patron of Vāsudeva. And as for the identification of this Kulašekhara with the author of the Mukundamālā, it will be seen that the style of the two writers presents an insurmountable difficulty in the way. There is absolutely nothing in common between the natural simplicity of the lyric and the chaste elegance of the dramas. The two reveal two distinct hands.

The discipline that we have introduced into the problem of the Kulaśekharas from the traditional and the literary points of view resolves the six Kulaśekharas into two: the author of devotional lyric and the dramatist, who come one after another with or without an interregnum, but more or less close upon one another. Both were devout Vaiṣṇavites and both tried to give an impetus to the Hindu revival which, springing from the greatest Bhaktayogin of Kulaśekhara and passing through the hands of the Karmayogin of Prabhākara, reached its climax in the hands of Śrī Śankarācārya, the greatest Jñānayogin that the world has ever produced.

Enough has been said in the course of the paper to show this was a century of great literary revival. Both the Kulasekharas were great patrons of literature. The regal munificence of the former was enjoyed by the Bhaṭṭas and Prabhākara, while at the court of the latter lived Somagiri, Vāsudeva and Līlāśuka. Besides the royal protégés, there were at least two great poets: Lakṣmidāsa and Śaktibhadra. And the latter days of the century ushered in the great master-mind of India, the venerable Śańkara and his disciples. It would thus be seen that the 8th century is a great century for us, so far as the development of Sanskrit literature is concerned.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI

# A Surya Icon from a Dasavatara Temple, Pagan

The Nat-hlaung Kyaung is a Visnu temple, in fact, the only ancient Brahmanical temple that is still now extant in Burma. It is a Vișnu temple which enshrines in the niches of its walls as well as in those of the central square obelisk images of the different incarnations of Vișnu, and of Vișnu himself. The principal deity of the temple, an image of Viṣṇu seated on his vāhana Garuḍa, is placed in the main sanctum formed by a large deep niche in the middle of the east face of the central obelisk which supports the crowning sikhara of the temple. In plan the Nāt-hlaung temple is a square raised on a plinth about five feet high above the ground. Like all similar temples of Pagan, the interior of the square is occupied by the usual perambulatory corridor running all round a central huge square masonry structure on the three faces of which were originally figures of Vișnu standing in niches each adorned with slender pilasters. These figures are all very badly damaged. On the side facing east there is the sanctum wherein was placed the main deity referred to above, and which found its way sometime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the Berlin Museum. On the outer walls of the square basement there were on all sides arched niches each of which originally contained one stone sculpture. Some of these sculptures cannot now be traced; others that are still in situ are more or less badly damaged. Of the outer sculptures representing the ten avatāras of Visnu, seven only remain; "three of the four niches on the east side are empty, the sculptures having apparently been; removed from there and destroyed by iconoclasts; the figures that remain bear visible traces of wilful disfiguration."2 Of these seven images that remain, six have been identified as six avatāras of Viṣṇu, namely, Varāhāvatāra, Narasimbāvatāra, Rāmāvatāra,

I For an elaborate study of the Nāt-hlaung temple and its gods, see my paper on the subject to be shortly published in the Indian Antiquary, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Duroiselle, An. Rep. A. S. India, 1912-13, p. 136 ff.

Parasurāmāvatāra, Vāmanāvatāra and Kalki-avatāra.¹ The seventh image which is one of the best preserved images of the Nāt-hlaung Kyaung has not yet yielded to any definite identification. An attempt is, therefore, made here to ascertain its identity.

It would surprise anybody at the first instance to know that it is not an image of Vișnu, nor any of his different avatāras. It is sheltered in the niche close to the entrance, just to the proper left. The image can easily be described, but it is better to quote Mon. Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, who sought to identify it in one of his very valuable and interesting Annual Reports (A. R., A. S. I., 1912-13). "It is standing on a lotus flower from which two other smaller ones spring; the arms are placed close to the body bent upward at the elbows, and each hand holds a lotusbud on a level with the shoulders; it wears a crown; the distended earlobes hang down and touch the shoulder under the weight of large ear ornaments. It has bracelets, armlets and anklets; the lower garment is tucked up and reaches as far as the knees, lines showing folds are visible." Mon. Duroiselle was not able to identify it, but he added, "the number of the niches would lead one to suppose that this also represents one of Visnu's avotāras; but it has none of the distinctive attributes of any of these." And precisely for this reason it is not any of the avatāras of Viṣṇu, nor is Viṣṇu himself. In all likelihood it is an image of Sūrya of the South Indian variety. The position of the two hands as well as the lotus-buds held in one line with the shoulder are significant; no less significant is the number of the hands, namely two, and the strictly erect attitude of standing. All these are features that are particulary noticeable in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. The high boots covering the two legs and feet, and the horse-drawn chariot with Usa and Pratyusa shooting arrows on the two sides of Sūrya are, no doubt, missing from the present example; but this need not surprise us in the least, for

I See my forthcoming paper, "The Nāt-hlaung Temple and its Gods" in the Ind. Ant, 1931. We have besides these six avatāras, a seventh one, namely, an image of Buddhāvatāra which is enshrined not in one of the outer niches but inside the temple in one of the two small niches over the two capitals on the two sides of the main sanctum. It can, therefore, safely be assumed that the three niches that are now empty must have once sheltered images of the Matsya, Kūrma, and Kṛṣṇa-avatāras of Viṣṇu.

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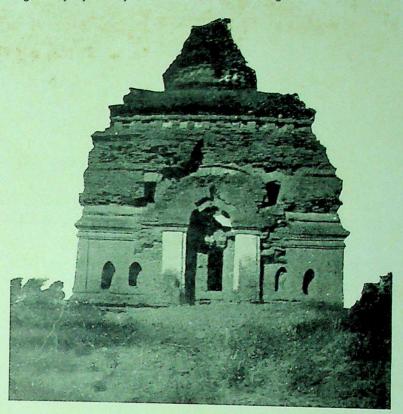


Fig. 1
The Nāt-hlaung Kyaung, Pagan
(East face)



Fig. 2
Sūrya standing in a niche of the Nāt-hlaung temple

these are exactly the features that we miss in the South Indian variety of the Sūrya icon. And when we compare our present icon with a Sūrya image from South India, the iconographic affinities seem to be so striking that it is simply impossible to exclude the possibility of its being designated as Sūrya image. It is surprising, one must admit, to find a Sūrya icon where we would very naturally seek for an avatāra of Visnu. But the fact can easily be reconciled if we would only care to bear in mind the very intimate relation of Visnu with the Vedic Sūrya. For, there in the Vedas, he is never a supreme God, but is on the contrary always identified with the Sun, and is said to have stridden over the seven regions and to have covered the whole universe by means of his three steps, a story in which the germ of the later Trivikrama incarnation story is so often traced. The idea underlying this solar explanation is obviously incorporated in the dhyana śloka: "dhyeya-ssadī savitr-mandala-madhyavartī Nārāyana-ssarasijāsanasannivistah keyūravān makara-kundalavān kirītī hārī hiranmayavapur dhrtasamkha-cakrah" wherein Visnu as Nārāyana is described as residing in the orb of the Sun. The idea that Visnu is the Sun appears still to be maintained in the worship of the Sun as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa".2 We can, therefore, safely identify the present image as Sūrya whose presence in a Daśāvatāra temple, though uncommon, is not altogether an impossible proposition.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

I Cf. plates LXXXVI, XCIV (fig. 2) and XCVI (fig. 2) in G. Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, part II..

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 74; see also Ind. Ant., vol. LIV, 1925, p. 161.

# Vilvamangalam Svamiyars

One of the most intricate problems confronting the students of early Kerala History is the absence of a settled chronology for many of her rulers and men of letters. Kerala is said to have had more than one Kulaśekhara, Rājarāja, Kotai Ravi and Bhāskara Ravi among her sovereigns, and more than one Vāsudeva, Sankara, Nārāyaņa Paņdita and Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār among her talented scholars, writers and saints. In the absence of definite historical data, it is very difficult to assign a work or event to a particular writer and to fix his date. In the elucidation and solution of these problems, adequate attention has to be paid to traditions. An attempt therefore may be made here to utilise the available literary and traditional evidences, and to see whether there were not more than one devout soul called Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, whose saintly personality has been connected with many important temples of Kerala, and whose devotional fervour has found lasting expression in many literary compositions.

According to Mr. Ullür S. Parameśvara Ayyar, there is only one Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār and he is known as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka and Kodaṇḍamangalam. A native of Conjevaram or of one of the villages of Andhradeśa, who had resided for long in Kerala, he is considered by Mr. Ayyar as the author of the Puruṣakāram, Gopikā-bhiṣekam and other works, besides the well-known Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam. He is stated to have lived about the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. He, therefore, concludes he could not have been a friend of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, who introduced the devotional form of entertainment known as Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kali in the 17th century A.C.,¹ and that the tradition which makes them contemporaries has to be rejected.

The question of the date and identity of the Vilvamangalam Svamiyars is, in itself, of considerable interest and importance, and

I So far as the writer is aware, this view, expressed by him about five years ago, has not since been revised. See his article 'Agastya Bhaṭṭa,' in the Sadgaru (Malayalam monthly), vol. III, pp. 479-81.

deserves careful consideration by students of cultural history and especially, of the history of literature, religion and philosophy, not merely because of the intrinsic value of their productions, but also because of the salutary influence exerted by them on subsequent generations. As considerable difference of opinion is possible with regard to the above position of Mr. Parameśvara Ayyar, it is proposed to examine some aspects of the question, with a view to provoke further discussion and ultimately to arrive at the truth.

### Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār I (Līlāsuka)

We will first try to fix, as roughly as possible, the date of Sri Krsna Līlāsuka. We get a clue to his date from the fact that, in a commentary of his on one of the works of Śrī Śańkarācārya, he admits that his tutor is Padmapādācārya, himself a disciple of the Ācāryasvāmin. As the age of the great Advaitin philosopher is generally held to be from 788 to 820 A.C., Līlāśuka may be considered to have flourished in the early half of the 9th century A.C. This fact also well fits in with Kerala tradition. For, Suresvarācārya, and Padmapādācārya, the disciples of Śrī Śańkara, are the traditional founders of the Natuvile Madhom and the Tekka Madhom, two of the Sannvasi Madhoms which exist at Trichur. The heads of the former institution claim continuity of spiritual succession from Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār also, and, in view of the fact that no other mutt in Kerala claims him or his namesakes, whatever be their dates, we are naturally led to infer that the tradition which assigns all the Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs to the Natuvile Madhom may be accepted as genuine. It may also be stated that it is on account of this fact that members of this institution even now retain the coveted privilege of performing Puṣpāññali (worship with offerings of flowers) to God Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum, to whom, according to tradition, it was Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār who offered Nivedya, for the first time. Besides these, as both the Madhoms are situated very close to each other, it would have been very easy for Līlāśuka, a Sannyāsin of one Madhom (Natuvile Madhom), to have become a literary disciple also of Padmapādācārya, the president of the neighbouring Madhom,

I For this reference, I am indebted to Prof. K. R. Pisharoti.

## Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār II

The question now arises: Is this Līlāśuka identical with the Vilvamangalasvāmin, who is acknowledged to be the author of the grammatical treatise, Puruṣakāram? The internal evidence provided by this work itself helps us to suggest an answer. Reference is made therein to the Vyākaraṇa of the 12th century A.C. Mādhavācārya, who was the chief minister of the founders of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and who flourished in the 14th century A.C., refers in his Dhātuvṛtti to the Puruṣakāram as an important and authoritative work on the subject. From this it will be clear that the Puruṣakāram was composed roughly after the first half of the 12th and before the 14th century A.C. (1150-1300 A.C.),

If we follow tradition, we may arrive at the date of this Vilvamangalasvāmin, a little more approximately. According to local tradition, there was a Vilvamangalam Svāmīyar, who was a contemporary of Talakkuļattūr Bhaṭṭatiri, the greatest astrologer of Keraļa, whom he is said to have consulted with regard to some predictions. The date of Bhaṭṭatiri, probably that of his death, is preserved by the Kali cryptogram "Rakṣeit Govindamarkka" which works out to about 1238 A.C. Besides this, there are some Kali chronograms relating to the founding of certain temples by the Svāmiyār, which lead us to the same conclusion. We believe that this Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār and the author of the Puruṣa-kāram may well be identified and assigned to the 13th century A.C.

#### Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār III

From what has been said above, it will be noted that the evidence of tradition agrees more or less with that of literature in that there

<sup>&</sup>quot;Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār" who is connected with many of the temples of Keraļa. It was a practice with the earlier generations of tradition-makers to ascribe the founding of most of the pagodas of Keraļa, large or small, important or unimportant, to a Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, irrespective of their actual age, so as to assign to these institutions a long-standing pedigree and to enhance their sancetity and prestige by their association with such a devout saint, just as we find many of the forts scattered in different parts of Keraļa attributed to an eponymous Ceraman Perumāļ, the hero of Popular tradition.

were more than one Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, and that they belonged to different ages. We do not see why, then, we should discredit the traditional view that there were, at least, three of these Sannvasins, and that one of them, the last, met Manaveda Raja of Calicut. the author of the Kṛṣṇāṭṭam Kali,1 who flourished in the 17th century A.C. Of course, some may be sceptic about the possibility of the Svāmiyār being able to vouchsafe to the pious prince a vision of God Kṛṣṇa, and they need not credit that part of the story. A reference to the known events of the period would show that such a meeting between the saint and the prince is not improbable, For, Manaveda, the author of the Krsnattam Kali, completed the work about 1657 A.C. as seen from the Kali chronogram Grahyastutirgāthakai, which occurs in its last verse.2 He was a devout recluse. and while he was the Eralpad Raja or heir-apparent, his uncle, the Zamorin Mānavikraman Saktan Tampurān, waged his wars in Cochin, occupied the northern part of it and resided at Trichur, where he died only in 1658 A.C. It would have been thus very easy for Prince Manaveda to form an acquaintance with Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, a Sannyāsin of the Natuvile Madhom, even at Trichur. And if tradition is to be believed, it was after his meeting with the Svāmiyār and his vision of the god that he resolved to write the poem. Thus the anecdote might really have had some basis in fact.

It has been stated that this Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār has written a Sanskrit work called the *Keraļācāradīpikā*,<sup>3</sup> at the request of one of the Rājās of Cirakkal (Kôlāttiri) in North Malabar. But this work, or rather the first part of it, viz., *Keraļa Kṣetra Māhātmyam*, which has been published last year, seems to be a

I Believed to be an adaptation of the now defunct Astavati-Āttam.

sphāyadbhaktibhareņa nunnamanasā ŚrīMānavedābhidhakṣoṇīndreṇa kṛtā nirākṛtakaligrāhyā stutir gāthakaiḥ/lakṣmīvallabha "Kṛṣṇagīti" riti vikhyātā tavānugrahād eṣā puṣkaralocaneha bhajatām puṣṇātu mokṣaśriyam.//
(Kṛṣṇanāṭṭaṃ, Svargārohaṇam, V. 32).

This shows that the work was completed on the 1, 736, 612th day of Kali (or 20th Dhanu 329 M.E.).

<sup>3</sup> This work has been recently published by the Jnana Sagaram Book Depot, Trichur, 1929.

spurious production of the early half of the 19th century, and can hardly be attributed to the Svāmiyār. Yet, the tradition that he is connected with the Rājā's court in his earlier years (?) might after all turn out to be true. We are, however, unfortunately, not in a position to say which are the works that may rightly be attributed to him.

### The Author of the Śrī Krana Karnamrtam

Having fixed with some approximation to certainty the dates of the three Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs, we may proceed to examine whether we can assign to each of them any of the other works attributed by Mr. Parameśwara Ayyar to the Paramahamsa of that name, who flourished about the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The Srī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam, the most popular of the devotional pieces of lyrical composition attributed to the Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār is written by a Līlāśuka as seen from the concluding verse of its first Sarga.2 This Līlāśuka is identified with Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār by Sārangadhara in his Paddhati, written in the 14th century A.C.3 That this Līlāśuka alias Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār lived prior to the 14th century is also shown by the Madhurā Vijayam of Gangādevī, which was produced in the same century. Gangādevī was the wife of the Vijayanagara prince, Vīra Kampana, and was one of the literary gems of his father's court. In her Madhurā Vijayam,4 after paying her due homage to Vālmīki,

I Cf. Kavi Sārvabhauman Vaļļattoļ Nārāyaņa Menon's Introduction to 'Kaustubham', No. 7 of Rāma Varma Granthāvali, issued from the Cirakkal Palace, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Îsanadeva caranabharanena nivīDamodarasthirayasastavakolgamena/
Lilāsukena racitam tava deva Kṛṣṇa
Karṇāmṛṭaṃ vahatu kalpasatāntare 'pi.

<sup>(</sup>Sarga I, verse 110).

<sup>3</sup> He quotes some passages from the Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam, and then acknowledges his indebtedness thus "iti Vilvamangalam Śrī caraṇānām."

<sup>4</sup> Mandāramañjarīsyandimakarandarasābdhayah/ Kasyanāhlādanāyālam Karņāmṛtakaver girah?

Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, who lived many centuries previous to her, she recalls the names of later poets like the Kaṛṇāmṛtakavi (Līlaśuka), Tikkaya, Agastya, Gaṅgādhara and Viśvanātha. The poet that is first mentioned after the Kaṛṇāmṛtakavi is Tikkaya, who may be identified with the distinguished Tikkaṇṇa Somayāji who graced the court of the Telugu-Coḍa chief, Mānmasiddhi, about the end of the 13th century A.C. Agastya was the uncle of Viśvanātha, both of whom were courtiers of the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra of Warangal (1267-1323 A.C.), while Gaṅgādhara was the father of Viśvanātha. It would thus be seen that Līlāśuka comes after Daṇḍin and before Tikkaya, say, between the 8th and the 13th century A.C. This, by itself, is not however, a sufficient ground for identifying him with the second of the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyārs.

In this connection, it has to be pointed out that it is unlikely that all the three Sannyāsins had the name Līlāśuka, there is also no evidence to show that it was a common title and if we turn to the evidence which the Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam itself affords with regard to the cult of its author, it would appear that he was originally a Śaivite.¹ His conversion to the Vaiṣṇavite cult was quite possible in an age of religious revival, when the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself founded the mutts at Trichur, dedicated to God Viṣṇu in his manifestation of Pārthasārathi and Narasiṃha. I, therefore, incline to the view that the Śrī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam may be assigned to Līlāśuka, the first Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, who lived in the ninth century A.C.

Tikkayasya kaveh süktih Kaumudīyakalāhidheh/
Satṛṣṇaīh kavibhih svairam cakorair iva sevyate//
Catussaptatikāvyoktivyaktavaiduṣyasampade/
Agastyāya jagaty asmin spṛhayet ko na kovidah?
Stumas tam aparam Vyāsam Gangādharamahākavim/
Nāṭakacchadmanā dṛṣṭām yas cakṛe Bhāratīm kathām//
Ciram sa vijayī bhūyād Viśvanāthakavīśvarah/
Yasya prasādāt sārvajñyam labhante mādršeṣv api//

Saivā vayam na khalu tatra vicāraņīyam Pancākṣarījapaparā nitarām tathāpi/ Ceto madīyam atasīkusumāvabhāsam Smerānanam smaraţi Gopavadhūkiśoram// Sarga II, verse 24.

I

#### The Author of the Gopikabhisekam

The position with regard to the Gopikābhişekam is, however. a little more difficult. This work constitutes Svāmiyār's portion of the Prakit poem Śrī Cinha Kāvya. The latter comprises 12 sargas, of which eight were composed by "Vilvamangalasvāmin", the Svāmiyār himself, and the rest by Durgaprasād Yati, a Kashmirian Brāhman who was on a pilgrimage to Rāmesvaram and who had become his disciple. Gopikābhisekam speaks of the holy deeds of Sri Kṛṣṇa, the verses being dexterously chosen as illustrations of the Sūtras of Traivikrama's Prākṛt Grammar. One notable feature of the poem is that the Prakrt word "Siri" (Sanskrit: Śrī) occurs in the last stanza of every sarga. At once a devotional piece of composition and a grammatical treatise, it may, for a prima facie reason, be assigned to the author of the Puruṣakāram; for, it has to be noted that all the three Sannyāsins called Vilvamaigalam are traditionally believed to have been steeped in their devotion to God Kṛṣṇa who appeared to them at their behest.

#### The birth-place of the Svāmiyārs

Another question of importance relates to the birth-place of the Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs. Mr. Paramesvara Ayyar is disposed to think that Līlāśuka was a native of Conjeveram or of some neighbouring place in the Telugu country, and that he immigrated into Kerala, where he settled down. No one would envy our friends of the Andhradesa for her having been gifted with such a pious poetic soul, the intensity of whose devotion broke forth in raptures on being privileged to see with their mortal eyes God in his manifestation of Balagopala; i.e., if, indeed, they were Telugu brahmanas. But, as it is, we do not know why, in the absence of reliable evidence of their Telugu extraction or connection, it should be suggested that they were non-Malayalis. It has to be admitted that there is nothing in Kerala tradition which supports it; in fact, the traditions of the Sannyāsi Madhoms are against it. Few instances of the grant of Sannyasam to non-Nambūtiris and most of all, to Paradesi brāhmaņas have been recorded. According to the immemorial custom, Sannyāsi succession in these mutts has been confined to members of some sections of the Nambutiris of particular Grāmams, consisting of the purest descendants of the early brāhmaņa settlers. This is a fact which could easily be known by one who has studied the traditions and practices of these institutions. In the face of these facts, it would seem rather strange that a Paradeśī (outside) brāhmaṇa should have been allowed to become a Sannyāsin of the Madhom.

There are also some ancient traditions, which show that one of the Vilvamangalam Svāmiyārs was originally known as Mangalam This connects him with the Sabha Yogam at Trkkannāmatilakam and with the places adjacent to Cranganur. While he was a distinguished alumni of the Sabhā Madhom at Trkkannāmatilakam, he is stated to have become an ascetic, the turn in his life being taken when he was persuaded by his lady-love to exhibit the same constancy of purpose in his devotion to God and to concentrate his energies for the attainment of a higher object, viz., Moksa. The incident is said to have occurred at Kākkatturutti near Trkkannāmatilakam, on a stormy night, when he braved the dangers of the flood and forded the narrow sheet of backwater lying between Cetwaii and Cranganur, all for the sake of meeting the damsel who was, till then, the object of his profound veneration. The fact that the Sabha Yogam was then very powerful, and was in a position to chastise the wayward youth for his wanderings suggests for the anecdote an earlier period than the 13th century, by which time the Sabhā Yogam appears to have lost much of its power and influence, if not already driven by adverse circumstances to seek fresh asylums at Trichur and Tiruṇāvāya. It would seem, therefore, that the tradition noticed above might, with some justification, be referred to the first of these Pūjyapādas known as Vilvamangalam, the rather fanciful title of Līlāśuka being, probably, assumed by him subsequently.

It will be seen from the above that we are, to some extent, justified, on the basis of the available evidence, to assume, for tentative purposes, that there were more than one Vilvamangalam Svāmiyār, that the first of these, known as Līlāśuka, was a contemporary of Padmapādācārya, a direct disciple of Srī Śańkarācārya, that the second, the accredited author of the Puruṣakāram, lived about the 13th century A.C.; and that the last, if there was one such, was the contemporary of Mānaveda Rājā of Calicut, and might have lived in the 17th century, as held by Keraļa tradition. The first Sannyāsin pro-

I It is not known whether this is a contraction for Kodandamangalam or Vilvamangalam or Villumangalam.

bably composed the Srī Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛtam; the second might have produced also the Gopikābhiṣekam, while there are available, at present, few works that can definitely be attributed to the last. Nothing final can now be said as to the place of birth of each of them, though local traditions seem to be against the view that they are non-Malayāļis. In any case, there is no gainsaying the fact that they spent the winter of their life amidst Malayāļis, and have won for themselves a permanent place in the hearts of the pious Malayāļis.

Whether they be natives of Kerala or of the Eastern coast, it has to be admitted also that their activities, literary and religious, contributed, to a great extent, towards the fulfilment of the object of the Sannyāsī Madhom over which they presided, viz., the affording of ample facilities for "spiritual instruction, the acquisition of spiritual knowledge to promote the Hindu religion and to represent to the laity the true nature of God, according to the Hindu religion." Well may these great and venerable Vaiṣṇava saints be entitled to adoration at the hands of the people of Kerala, and in as full a measure as the great Kulaśekhara Āļvar aroused the spiritual fervour and commanded the homage of non-Malayālis, and yet, has been undoubtedly acknowledged to be one of the greatest souls Kerala ever produced.

A. GOVINDA WARIYAR

## Early Visnuism and Narayaniya Worship\*

II

Before taking up the question of Viṣṇu's relation to Nārāyaṇa we propose to describe briefly the general character of early Viṣṇuism in the Epic. It must be noted at the outset that Viṣṇuism as a sectarian doctrine is not found in an isolated and definite form in the Epic, as

General character of Visnuism in the Epic.

we find, for instance, the Nārāyaṇīya worship; but it pervades the whole Epic in an imperceptible and elusive manner. The difficulty is also enhanced by the rather elastic epic attitude which indiscriminately identifies its

sectarian gods, who not only absorb one another's deeds and attributes but also the characteristic theological conceptions and traits of worship. Viṣṇu is, in turn, identified with Siva, Brahmā and a host of other deities, and the identification, though sometimes formal, helps to obliterate the distinctive sectarian worship which pertains to the deity. In xii, 349, 64-69, five current systems are mentioned, Sāmkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Vedāranyaka (= Vedāh) and viz. Pāśupata; but in all these systems Visnu is declared to be the niṣṭhā or the chief object of worship. In another passage (xii, 338, 4) where the god is addressed as Pañcamahākalpa, the commentator gives the names of five sects, viz., Saura, Śākta, Gāņeśa, Śaiva and Vaisnava. These passages really furnish a clue to the understanding of Epic Visnuism in general. It may be regarded as the general name given to the all-inclusive and dominating sectarianism of the Epic, appearing in an ever-shifting and somewhat colourless form. In the huge conglomeration of adventure, legend, myth, history, and superstition and of complex bodies of custom, sentiment, belief and philosophy, this Visnuism is fully blended and cannot be separated as such. It is only when it is directly identified, for instance, with the Nārāyaṇīya or Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship that it becomes full-blooded and distinctive; but the connexion is hardly organic and helps us very little in understanding the character of Visnuism itself,

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from IHQ, vol. VII, no. 1, p. 93 f.

The Visnuite, as a sect or as indicating a definite form of worship, hardly exists in the Epic, and the term Vaisnava, in the sense

of sectarian worshipper of Visnu is never used in the work, except at the end where by way of addendum, the benefits of reciting or listening to the narratives are detailed for an obviously pious purpose. There

is no Vișnuite or Vaișnava: as a matter of fact, all in the Epic are Vișnuites or Vaișnavas.

At the same time Visnu is not merely a dummy god for the sustaining of a colourless religion or for the hoisting of varied sectarian beliefs of a more or less definite character. That he has a vivid personality which makes him stand out of the extraordinary variety of deities has already been made clear; and that he is the supreme deity, the all-god, is acknowledged throughout in the Epic.

Visnu is practically the personal embodiment of the complex mass of epic beliefs, both orthodox and Character of Visnu as the popular, and as such, he has a real personality. Hopkins centre of a popular faith. is right in stating that the ultimate emphasis is not on trinity, nor on multifariousness, but on unity; and Visnu is the vivid personification of that unity. He is therefore the supreme externalisation of the philosophical2 as well as the religious idea of the unity of the godhead; he is also the supreme unifying fact of divergent and bizzare epic faiths and beliefs. He is the summit of its theological conception, to whom alone (whether in his own person or in diverse forms) not only the knowledge and activity of the worshipper but also his highest sentiment of religious devotion called bhakti, should be directed. Conceived in the most vivid terms of personality, he is the centre of gravity towards which the bhakti conception of the epic religion moves with its complex theological

I Religions of India, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> The philosophical shape which was given to Viṣṇuism, when it came in the hands of the philosophers, is as indefinite as its purely religious or theological aspect; for Hopkins has very ably shown in his *Great Epic* that the philosophical views of the Epic represent every shade of opinion from Vedic theism to Upaniṣadic monism as well as various forms of early philosophical speculations, styled generally in the Epic as Sāmkhya-Yoga. Viṣṇu as a god was naturally interpreted according to these philosophical views, old and new.

ideas of a personal god and his grace. Though the doctrines of the faith, unless definitely shaped in Kṛṣṇaism or Nārāyaṇism, are often philosophically incongruous and incoherent, its foundation is a true religious feeling, broad-based on the fancies and instincts as well as on the simple hopes and yearnings of large masses. Viṣṇuism must be described in terms of this large and mystic religious feeling of loving worship in an epic setting. To identify itself with gods and godly heroes was therefore easy; but its confused appearance is not an accident but an essence of its being. It is monotheism, but monotheism in which the worship is directed to the "one god of various forms" (viii, 33, 49).

The characterisation of this religious feeling of bhakti takes a more tangible form in the definite aspects of epic Viṣṇuism, known as the Nārāyaṇīya and the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship. The list of Viṣṇu's thousand names (xiii, 149) would itself indicate his Protean character: but in the Epic his principal incarnation is Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.

The idea of "bhakti" in the Epic.

It is here that Viṣṇuism takes a distinct shape. But it may be worth while to indicate here briefly the general conception of *bhakti* in the Epic, without any reference to its particular developments, although it

must be admitted that the fundamental conception is the same throughout. The epic use of the term bhakti has been analysed very ably by Hopkins' in its general as well as in its religious sense. It is clear that bhakti is not always monotheistic; for, though directed chiefly to one god, it is often found accompanied by a similar feeling for other gods, and each god is the object of bhakti as need arises. But "other gods" are really conceived as forms of the one god, and in this sense the attitude is monotheistic. When directed towards the one god, it is the devotion directed solely towards him as the special object of worship. When the question is formally put to Sañjaya, "What is this bhakti you bear towards Janārdana"? his reply is interesting (v, 69, 4):

māyām na seve, bhadram te, na vṛthādharmam ācare /

śuddha-bhāvam gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam. //

This reply lays stress on the renouncing of delusive attachments and wrong practices, and prescribes purity of heart and study of scriptures which would give knowledge of god. Although exclusive

I JRAS, 1911, pp-727 f.

concentration, moral purity and knowledge or belief are admitted as preliminary to bhakti, they are not identical with it; the reply

Tendency towards sensedevotion and erotic mysticism. really evades the question. The conception of bhakti throughout, whether directed towards a god, or to a woman, or to the king, connotes deep personal affection, typified by the love of a wife for her husband, and is the word interchangeable with prīti, bhāva, rāga or sneha

as term of fervent and endearing love. It is an emotional and ethical passion, rather than an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. The deity is conceived as the beloved, and the worship is essentially loving and intimate adoration (pūjā). As such, bhakti borders upon sense-devotion and leans perceptibly towards the erotic passion. It is usually of the pure sort, and implies a kind of erotic mysticism, which conceives religious longings in terms of earthly passion,—a quasi-amorous attitude of self-surrender to the person or image of the beloved deity, such as characterise not a little of that Christian literature for which the song of Solomon—"I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine" is the sacred archetype.

The idea of prasada and prapatti in "bhakti".

But its too ardent tendency has the danger of lapsing into sensuousness or sensual passion, such as is apparent in some of the mediæval expressions of this emotion. The feeling results in an exclusive concentration

and complete surrender of self; the bhakta acknowledges himself as prapanna (suppliant or submissive), and resorts to his god as the only refuge (śaraṇa) for divine grace (prasāda), without which he can never work out his salvation alone. There is no direct exposition of the doctrine of grace (prasāda) and surrender (prapatti) in the Epic, but the ideas are fully acknowledged as involved in an attitude of bhakti. These religious conceptions find full expression in the worship of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, who are completely identified with Viṣṇu, and to this we now turn our attention.

Nārāyaṇa is not such an ancient god as Viṣṇu, having been mentioned for the first time in the Śatapatha-Brūhmaṇa and in a dubious

The origin and early history are somewhat obscure. He appears to have been originally a deity of a different kind. Two ancient traditions about him seem to exist. The first,

récorded in a Brāhmaņa fairly early, gives us in ritual language a mysterious and elusive figure, apparently identified with the Rgvedic Puruşa or Cosmic Man as the symbol of creation by sacrifice; and

the second, recorded in the Epic, gives us a hint (and nothing more) of his character as a legendary saint, divine or deified, although here also he is regarded as a  $p\bar{u}rva$ -deva or ancient god.

The earliest reference to Nārāyaṇa in a highly mystical passage in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (xii. 3.4) calls him Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa,

Earliest reference as Purusa-Nārāyaṇa in Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. who, under the instructions of Prajāpati, the impersonal cosmic principle in Brāhmaṇa literature, places in a pantheistic mood all the world and all the gods in his own self and his own self in all the worlds and all the gods, thus becoming, by the power of sacrifice, the

Universe itself. In a subsequent passage in the same Brahmana (xiii, 6, 1, 1) we are told that Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa in his desire to surpass all things performed a pañca-rātra sattra or a series of sacrifice lasting over five nights, and became omnipresent and supreme by a

llis performance of a Pañca-rātra sattra and Puruṣa-medha.

sacrifice. The sacrifice is designated puruṣa·medha or immolation of the Puruṣa,<sup>2</sup> and apparently refers to the tremendous symbolical sacrifice, described in the famous Puruṣa-hymn of the Rg-veda (x, 90) as consisting of the mystical immolation of the cosmic Man

for the purpose of creation<sup>3</sup>; for, a little later, another passage (xlii, 6, 2, 12) of the Brāhmaṇa refers distinctly to the Rgvedic hymn (x, 90) with an apparent allusion to a tradition that Nārāyaṇa was the author of the hymn, which came to be known as his litany.

The Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa tradition of the Brāhmaṇa appears to survive in the strange account given of Nārāyaṇa in the Mahābhārata

Survival of this tradition in Epic literature.

(xii. 338, 4) where he is praised by Nārada in a long prose hymn as the Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa and Puruṣottama, as well as by the epithet Pāñcarātrika. In Mbh. xii, 350, 5 (cf. also xii, 207, 5, 9-10), the nature

of Nārāyaṇa, who is of course equated with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, is

I In Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā (ii, 9) Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as Viṣṇu and Keśava, but this passage, also naming some later deities, has been regarded as an obvious interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> And not human sacrifice, as Muir, op. cit. p. 25, explains.

<sup>3</sup> In Satapatha Br. (xiii, 7, 1, 1) the self-existent Brahma is represented as sacrificing himself (ātmānam hutvī) in a similar manner.

<sup>4</sup> These epithets as well as Uttama-Puruṣa (xii, 335) are common enough for Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) in the Epic. It is also possible that the preponderatingly Sāmkhya-Yoga theology

described by the all-pervading, all-generating and eternal characteristics of the supreme and one Puruṣa or Puruṣottama, with whom he is directly identified as the Primeval Man (xii, 350, 14), and as bearing par excellence the name of Mahāpuruṣa (xii, 350, 9). Indeed in the Epic the identity of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as the Puruṣa or Mahāpuruṣa is in general an acknowledged fact. In the vision which Nārāyaṇa vouchsafes to Nārada (as the Bhagavat does to Arjuna) Nārāyaṇa¹ is described (xii, 339, 6f), after the Rgvedic hymn, as having a thousand heads, thousand eyes, a thousand arms and feet as well as a hundred (xii, 43: xii, 335) or even a thousand (xiii, 149) names, with the addition that he is golden coloured—a phrase which is Vedic but which some of the Upaniṣads² apply to the description of the supreme Puruṣa who shines beyond darkness. The Puruṣa-sūkta of the Rg-veda itself is referred to in the Nārāyaṇīya, xii, 350, 5, and its undisputed authority is cited in maintaing the thesis that although

A suggested explanation of the name Nārāyaṇa.

authority is cited in maintaing the thesis that although many puruṣas are acknowledged in Sāṃkhya-Yoga, there is only one puruṣa who is the sole source (yoni) of all puruṣas. Is it possible that this early identification

of Nārāyana with the Primeval Man lingers behind the puzzling ety-

of this (Nārāyaṇīya) section of the Epic suggested the epithet Puruṣa, cf., for instance, Mbh. xii, 340, 28-29. But Puruṣa is conceived here more as an active principle connected with creation, as well as with preservation and destruction. On Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa, see Senart, Essai sur la legende du Buddha, pp. 87f., p. 123 and Carpenter, Theism in Mediæval India (Hibbert Lectures), 1921, p. 45. In the account of creation given by Manu (i, 11), Brahmā is called the Puruṣa. This may be due to the common connexion with the notion of creation, but it is not unusual for Brahmā or Prajāpati to absorb the function of the supreme god, characterised generally as Puruṣa. Cf. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, i, 2, 45f. So also Rudra-Śiva is called the Puruṣa in Śvetāśvatara Up., iii, 14 (quoting the Puruṣa-hymn). The Puruṣa idea appears to have been well established in the post-Brāhmaṇic literature and applied indiscrimiṇately to all the great gods.

I Like Visnu, for instance, in v. iii, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Chāndogya Up. i. 6, 6; Švetāsvatara, iii, 8 and 14 etc. The Švetāsvatara passage is obviously imitated in xii, 340, 57. The purusa is a hackneyed enough expression in the Upanisads to designate the Supreme Self, and we have also the symbols Purusa-in-thesun; Purusa-in-the-right-eye, etc.

mology of the name itself which literally signifies 'man', as also behind that of his mysterious double Nara?

The invention of the name appears to us to be somewhat similar to the eponymous process. Barnett explains (op. cit. p. 76) that Nara in the word Nārāyana is a proper name, and that Nārāyana signifies "a man of the Nara family" (Nārāyaṇa in his view having been originally a divine or deified saint); but this explanation is partial, and connects itself with the second tradition about Narayana mentioned above, to which alone Barnett would give importance to the exclusion of the first, and apparently earlier, Brahmanic tradition of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa. But Nārāyaṇa's inseparable twin Nara raises a difficulty. Apparently Nara is also "a man of the Nara family." being Nārāyaṇa's double; but it is strange that of the twins one should be called by the gotra-name Nara and the other by the derivative name Nārāyana. But Barnett is undoubtedly justified in rejecting the somewhat artificial etymology of the name (referred to by R. G. Bhandarkar, section 32) which would derive the word Nārāyana from nārāh (waters) and ayana (going), "one who has the waters as his resting place", connecting the conception with that of primeval waters; or from narah (men) and ayana (goal or resting place), "one who is the goal or resting place of men." (Naras are also spirits as well as gods of heroic prowess in the Epic). The conception of primeval waters goes back to the Rg-veda and is traceable in the Epic and Purana conception of Narayana; but the interpretations appear to be later concoctions of misconceived etymology. Both the derivations, however, appear to be accepted in the Epic. In iii, 189, 3 (also in iii, 271, 42) it is said that Nārāyana is so called because in days of yore he named the waters narah and made them his resting place (ayana); in xii, 341, 39-40 (=Manu-Samhitā, i, 10) the same derivation of the name is given with the addition that the waters bore that name because they were the offspring of nara (apo nara iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavah)! It is not clear if nara in the phrase nara-sūnavah is a proper name or simply means 'man,' but it is clear that Nārāyana here declares himself to be "the resting place or goal of man" (narāṇam ayanam khyātam aham ekah sanātanah),—S.K.D.]

<sup>2 [</sup>Nara, except as identified with Arjuna, appears to possess no direct activity or importance, but only remains as a mysterious shadow of Nārāyana. His crigin and association cannot be traced in the earlier train of ideas; but R. G. Bhandarkar gives the some-

It is not until we come to the fourth prapāthaka of the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (x, 1, 6) that we find again the mention of Nārāyaṇa¹; but this section, which is also known as the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad and which refers to many late sectarian deities, is described as a khila or supplement, and is therefore presumably a later addition.² It is not surprising, therefore, that the mention of Nārāyaṇa is made here in connexion with Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu apparently as three phases of the same

with Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu apparently as three phases of the same Supreme Being (Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe, Vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tanno Viṣnuh pracodayāt).

In the Mahābhārata<sup>3</sup> (as well as in the Purāṇas) the identification of Nārāyaṇa as the supreme god (deva-devah sanātanah) with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva (and as a corollary, with every nārāyaṇa in the other great god) is complete. It may be suggested that the early identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice and nārāyaṇa's symbolical connexion with sacrifice had something to do with their ultimate equalisation; for it is significant that Viṣṇu as the essence of sacrifice is still worshipped under the name of Yajña-

what artificial explanation (op. cit. sec. 34) that the origin of the idea of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is to be sought in the Upaniṣadic parable of two birds dwelling in the same tree, one looking on, and the other actively engaged in eating the fruit thereof. The connexion suggested is hardly convincing, and the description of Nara as actively eating the fruit does not apply. The association of deities in pair, or the tradition of legendary twins is ancient. Is it too fanciful to presume that the original Brāhmaṇa conception of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa was for some mysterious reasons split up, according to this ancient tradition of pairing deities, into Nara (=Puruṣa), and Nārāyaṇa (also = Puruṣa) who is an afterthought or an obvious derivative therefrom? Does not the tradition refer to a duplication into Nara and Nārāyaṇa (sattvam ekaṃ dvidhā kṛtam, see Mbh., v, 49, 21), the quadruplication being the result of an obviously later addition?—S.K.D.].

I Cf. Weber, Indische Studien, i, 78; xiii, 353.

<sup>2</sup> Keith (JRAS, 1908, p. 171, fn.) thinks, however, that the date of the passage can hardly be later than the 3rd century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 206. The phrase quoted is taken from a reference to Nārāyaṇa in i, 67, 50 (BORI. ed. Poona 1930) = 1, 67, 151 (Bombay ed.). It also occurs in xii, 336, 24 and 29 etc. Also deva-devah purātanah in xii, 336, 12 etc.

(Sacrifice) Nārāyaṇa¹. Mythological accounts in the Epic connect Nārāyaṇa with creation and with the ancient conception of primeval waters.² He is still called Puruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Uttama-puruṣa, or and Puruṣottama, and probably from this connexion Viṣṇu derives his well-known epithet of Uttama-Puruṣa or Puruṣottama.³

It is in this character as the supreme deity and as identified with Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva that Nārāyaṇa appears as the originator of a devotional religion (which however appears to have have had a tradi-

especially in the Nārāyanīya section of the Sāntiparvan,

7

tion independent of Viṣṇuism or Vāsudevism) in the somewhat confused and mythical account of the Nārā-yaṇīya episode of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata. We shall consider the details of the Nārāyaṇīya theo.

logy of Ekānta-dharma and its independent character hereafter; but what concerns us most at present is the tradition, which appears to survive here, of the early character of Nārāyaṇa himself. The tale relates (xii, 334) that the one original form of Nārāyaṇa took birth in the Kṛta age in the quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa as the four sons of Dharma or Righteousness.

I Narāyaṇa's connexion with sacrifice (yajña) is indicated in the epithets given to him throughout the Nārāyaṇīya section, such as yajña, mahāyajña, yajñapati, yajña-hṛdaya etc. (xii, 338, 4; xii, 339, 10 etc.); and it is significant that he is also called Parama-yājñika by Nārada. Yajña is also the name of an avatāra of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa list of incarnations (i, 3, 1 f.).

<sup>2</sup> See the story of the Boy and the Nyagrodha tree in Mbh. iii, 188, 89. The primeval waters were regarded from Rg-vedic times as the original seat of the generating power of the universe.

<sup>3</sup> What appears more or less as a title or description in the Epic becomes a definite manifestation (prādurbhāva or avatāra) in the Purāṇas. Thus Puruṣa is given as a prādurbhāva in the list of 22 Avatāras in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (i, 3, 1 f) where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are also Avatāras.

<sup>4</sup> xii, 334-351 (Bombay Edition). An analysis of the episode is given by Grierson in *Ind. Ant.*, Sept. 1908, p. 263 f. and by R. G. Bhandarkar, op. cit. sec. 4-5. Also in Sörensen, *Index*, pp. 512-16.

<sup>5</sup> In vii, 200, 57 also we are told that Nārāyana for the purpose of action (kāryārtham) took birth as the son of Dharma and performed austerities. The birth from Dharma is also referred to in xii, 342, 106-7, 127; xii, 347, 1; xii, 343, 51; xii, 344, 20. In some of the Purāṇas Ahimsā is said to be the nother.

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The first two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, took up their abode in the hermitage of Badarī and practised penances there. They were still there when the ever inquisitive Narada came to visit them; but Hari and Kṛṣṇa who dwelt there formerly were no longer present at the time of Nārada's visit. To Nārada's question as to whom they could be worshipping when they themselves were the supreme deities, Nārāyaṇa informed his amazed enquirer that he was worshipping his own original form (prakrti), the all-pervading and eternal, which embraced both the existent and the non-existent. After this philosophical conversation, Nārada made up his mind, with Nārāyana's permission, to go and see the original form of Nārāyana; and by means of mystical Yoga-powers he soared into the sky and reached the summit of Mount Meru from which place he obtained in the northwest direction a Pisgah-sight of the mythical godland and abode of Nārāyana, the mysterious Svetadvīpa,2 surrounded by the Milk ocean.

which records a second tradition of his early character as an ancient deified sage or rsi.

There can be no doubt about the extremely mythical character of this account, but it is possible that this strange story preserves even in its mythical garb an ancient tradition about Nārāyaṇa and the Nārāyaṇīya sect. Although indistinguishable from the supreme diety, there is a hint that both Nara and Nārāyaṇa were originally ancient

saints of legend. While the description rsi (sage) is common (e.g.xii, 339, 100; xii, 343, 10 and xii, 346, 7-8; v, 96, 14; v, 97, 2; iii, 47, 11), they

This performance of austerities at Badarī (at Gandhamādana in v, 96, 15) by Nara and Nārāyana is also referred to in other places, e.g., in iii, 40, 1; iii, 141, 23 (Gandhamādana is also mentioned), iii, 156, 10 etc., and seems to be an established tradition. See also v, III, 4, where it is said that in the hermitage of Badarī, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā reside. In 1, 70, 29 the hermitage is described as gangayā uposobhitam; in iii, 145, 40 as bhagarathyupasobhitam.

Attempts at a geographical localisation of the place, as Barnett rightly emphasises (op. cit., p. 84, note), have been wholly misdirected. The question gained importance from the hypothesis, put forward by some scholars, of points of contact between Christianity and early bhakti religion; the so-called "white-landers" in their opinion, representing a Christian community, probably Nestorian, in the north. This is not the place to discuss the question in detail; but the theory of early Christain influence from the north, with which we are immediately concerned, may now be taken to have been discredited.

3/4/

are expressly mentioned in xii, 335, 6, and xii, 343, 34, as puranau rea or ancient sages,1 performing austerities. The epithet also occurs in iii, 47, 10; vi, 66, 11; viii, 87, 74, where Nara and Narayana are not only great ancient sages (puranau rsi sattamau), but are also the prototypes of the close epic association of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa respectively. Again, in iii, 12, 46, Janārdana (= Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) is said to have addressed Arjuna and declared that "thou art. Nara and I am Nārāyana-Hari, and we, the two sages (181) Nara-Nārāyana, have come to this world at the proper time." The same sentiment is repeated in the rather long digression in the Nārāyaṇīya (vii, 341, 37) on the etymology of the various names of the supreme deity of the cult. Indeed, this idea of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as incarnations of Nara and Nārāyana respectively (inspite of the many declarations that Arjuna is also an améa of Indra) appears to be fairly well established in the epic; 2 but the tradition also is important that originally Nara and Nārāyana were ancient sages, just as Arjuna and Vāsudeva were considered as human incarnations. Their traditional deification is also expressed by the description that Nara and Nārāyaṇa were 'tradi-

I The epic Nara and Nārāyaṇa, as well as Hari and Kṛṣṇa, occur also as the sublimated forms of Lokapālas (see Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 152, f.n.).

<sup>2</sup> Also in 1, 67, 110; i, 218, 5; iii, 86, 6; vi, 23, 26 etc. Tadpatrikar (B.O.R. Institute Annals, x, p. 331) computes 26 references to this combined identification in the Epic, and rightly reminds us that the joint-worship of Vāsudeva and Arjuna is referred to in Pāṇini, iv, 3, 98. With regard to Arjuna's godhead, which is proclaimed to him in iii, 41, 35 and 43; iii, 47, 7f., Hopkins remarks (Great Epic of India, New Haven, 1920, p. 184): "Arjuna is a form of Visnu. He is taught this with wonder and great amaze in the sixth book. But our amazement at his amazement is still greater, for this doctrine, apparently so new to him, was revealed to him long before, in the third book, and on that earlier occasion he appeared fully to appreciate the fact that he was divine and identical with Kṛṣṇa, which facts in the sixth book he has totally forgotten." [It seems that Arjuna's godhead and identification with Nara was an afterthought (the 26 references are comparatively much too little) arising out of his friendship with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva who was perhaps long ago identified with Nārāyaṇa. The way in which this godhead is protested would also indicate its comparatively recent origin.—S. K. D.]

tionally two old gods" (nara-nārāyaņau devau pūrva-devāviti śrutih, v, 49, 19; also v, 49, 5f.).

It is also curious that this tradition of Nārāyaṇa as an ancient sage vaguely allies itself with the earlier recorded Purusa-conception of Nārāyana by means of the other tradition mentioned above, which alleges that he was the rsi or sage who composed the Purusa-sūkta of Rg-veda, x, 90.

This composite origin of the epic Nārāyaṇa is interesting as affording a striking instance of the moulding of a personal god out of ancient figures of myth and legend. On the one hand, we have

Significance of his composite origin as an explanation of his identification with Visnu and Väsudeva-Krsna respectively.

the euhemeristic view which indicates that Nārāyaṇa was originally a divine or deified saint; on the other hand, the old symbolical-ritualistic idea of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, connected with creation, contributes to make the conception complete. But in whatever way we trace the obscure origin and history of Nārāyaṇa, it is clear that in the Epic the equation Visnu=Nārāyana

= Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa = the supreme deity is fully established. A precise solution of the equation is not possible, but it may be suggested that, on the one hand, Nārāyana's Brāhmanic connexion with sacrifice as Purusa-Nārāyaņa probably helped his equalisation with Visnu,

<sup>[</sup>In this interesting passage (as well as in v, 96) warlike attributes are also ascribed to them so that their incarnations as Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa may not be unfitting. Brahmā informs Bṛhaspati (v, 49) that the ascetics (tapasu) Nara and Nārāyana exist for the destruction of Asūras (asūrāṇāṃ vināśāya) and that they are repeatedly born in times of war. The story of the obtaining of the Nārāyanaweapon (vii, 195f.) is based on this legend. The pharse purva-deva occurs in i, 224, 3: nara-nārāyanau yau tau pūrva-devau vibhāvasau samprāptau mānușe loke (i.e. = Arjuna and Vāsudeva) kāryārtham hi divaukasām//; in i, 228, 18: vāsudevārjunāvetau...../ nara-nārāyaņāve tau purva-devau divi srutau/; in viii, 10, 41 (purva-devau mahatmanau = A and V) etc. In viii, 200, 58f. Nārāyaņa is said to have performed ansterities for 66,000 years, and then for twice that period at the Himavat. He thus became Brahman (brahma-bhūtah), beheld the supreme deity Siva, to whom he recited a hymn and obtained boons. From the austerities, we are told, was born a great sage, Nara, who was equal to Nārāyana himself and who is none other than Arjuna. In iii, 41, 35, Arjuna himself is called purva-deva.—S.K.D.]

the Brāhmaņic personation of Sacrifice; while on the other hand, the the tradition of his euhemeristic origin probably made it easy to approximate him to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, in whose legendary history also an euhemeristic element must be admitted.

On the origin of the name Pañcarātra¹ given to the devotional religion of the Nārāyaṇīya, the suggestion is tempting that it connects itself with the pañcarātra sattra, lasting over five days, which the

Origin of the name Pañca-rātra, given to the system.

mythical Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa is reported in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (xiii, 6, 1) to have performed for obtaining exclusive supremacy; but it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence to support this connexion,

In the Epic we are told (xii, 339, 110 f.) that the Pañcarātras only intensified the cult introduced by Nārada, which must be the doctrine explained by Nārāyaṇa to him; 2 and in this view the Pañca-

I The system is called Pancarātra and its followers Pancarātrin or Pāncarātrika, but sometimes both the system and followers are known as Pāncarātra. In the Epic, the word, usually in the form Pancarātra, is almost exclusively used for the system or doctrine (xii, 218, 11; 335, 25; 339, 111; 349, 1; 349, 64; 349, 68; 349, 72).

<sup>2</sup> The other statement that the Pancaratras derive their doctrine from the sun need not seriously affect this tradition. The same thing is also said of the Bhagavatas. The statement, however, is qualified in the Epic itself by the other statements that the sun, in the form of Sūrya or Vivasvat, was, like Nārada, only one of the many recipients and communicators of the religion, but that it came ultimately from Nārāyaṇa himself. This view about the sun being the recipient of the religion may have come in after Visnu, originally a Vedic solar god, was accepted in the cult as the supreme deity, or it may have been due to the influence of the Saura sects or solar cults, whose independent existence is mentioned in the Epic, The complex Epic sectarianism was elastic enough, and did not disdain conscious or unconscious contamination, for even Siva becomes a form of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and plays a part in the mythology of the Nārāyaņas or Pañcarātras. That the intrusion of solar myths does not prove that the religion itself was originally or at any time a form of sun-worship has already been emphasised by us above.

rātras would be identical with the Nārāyaṇīyas or Ekāntins. In the list of names which Nārada utters in praise of Nārāyaṇa (xii, 338, 4), the latter is called *inter alia Pañcarātrika*.<sup>1</sup>

But the origin as well as the precise meaning of the term is really obscure. Various strange etymologies have been suggested; but they are not only instances of misplaced etymological ingenuity but are also obviously late concoctions to explain the actually obscure or forgotten origin of the name. F. Otto Schrader, who has made a special study of the later Pañcarātra Āgamas, mentions what he thinks to be a more reliable explanation (though given in the apocryphal Nārada-Pañcarātra) that the expression Pañcarātra refers to the five (pañca) principal topics or kinds of knowledge (rātra) treated in the system or the texts, viz., reality (tattva), liberation (mukti), devotion (bhakti), yoga (yaugika) and the objects of sense (vaiṣayika), although none of the accepted texts of the school strictly conforms to this ideal division. But the explanation, though less fanciful, is obviously a suitable afterthought. Schrader, on the other hand, seems to support our suggestion that the term is to be ulti-

I Nīlakantha explains the phrase as "one who is attainable by the scriptures of the Pancarātras (pancarātrāgama-gamya). On the epithet panca-kāla-kartṛpati employed in this connexion see S. K. De, JRAS, 1931, p. 415 who maintains that Panca-kāla = Pancarātra as the designation of the cult,

<sup>2</sup> Such as (i) the night  $(r\bar{a}tra) = \text{obscuration}$  of five  $(pa\tilde{n}ca)$  great sastras, viz., Yoga, Samkhya, Bauddha, Ārhata and Kāpāla or Pāsupata, (ii) the sastra which puts to death  $(pa\tilde{n}catva)$  other sastras, just as the sun makes the night  $(r\bar{a}tri)$  die, (iii) the system of cooking = destroying  $(pa\tilde{n}c, \text{ from root }pac, \text{ to cook})$  the night  $(r\bar{a}tri) = \text{ignorance}$ , (iv) the system which takes its name from the five sacraments (branding etc.) or five daily observances (abhigamana etc.). See A. Govindacarya Svamin in IRAS, 1911, p. 940f; Schrader, Introduction to Pañcarātra, Adyar (Madras), 1916, pp. 22, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 24f.; also quoted in JRAS, 1911, p. 941.

The word ratra (or more correctly ratri) here, as Schrader explains, which originally meant 'night', came by some mysterious train of thought (or is it because the doctrine was thought to be esoteric and secret?) to mean both a cardinal doctrine of the system and a chapter or work dealing with the doctrine.

mately connected with the passage in the Satapatha-Brahmana (xiii,

Probable connexion with the mythicalPuruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's Pañcarātra-sattra.

6, I) where the word pañcarātra occurs with reference to Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's continuous sacrifice for five days. This would also explain the epic connexion or synonymity between the Pañcarātras and the Nārāyaṇīya Ekāntins, as well as the name Pāūcarātrika given to Nārāyaṇa himself in the Epic and the Purāṇas. But

Schrader would like to give a more doctrinal trend to the interpretation by connecting it with the theory of "Manifestation," and suggesting (chiefly on the authority of Ahirbudhnya Samhitā) that "the sect took its name from its central dogma, which was the Pañcarātra sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin and Arcā forms." This suggestion accords well with the doctrines that prevailed in the later development of the school, but unfortunately we possess no early texts to confirm it.

Who were the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, and what was the character of their theology, said to have been promulgated by Nārāyaṇa

The religious system of the Ekantin or Pañcaratra, himself as an expression of a *bhakti*-religion? Even if their origin which is lost in obscurity may have been different, it is clear that the equation Pañcarātra = Ekāntin is established without question in the Epic.

Whether these names are conterminous with Sātvata and Bhāgavata we need not discuss at present; but there are passages mainly at the end of the Nārāyaṇīya section (xii, 348, 29 and 34) which say twice that the religion is followed by the Sātvata, and another which says that Uparicara-vasu, Nārāyaṇa's early devotee, followed the Sātvata rule (xii, 335, 19); while the term Bhagavat and direct reference

I Cf. Barnett, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> The Vyūha doctrine, however, is old and is found in the Nārāyanīya.

<sup>3</sup> The connexion with Kāpileya or the epic Sāmkhya-Yoga doctrine and the declaration that Pañcaśikha was a teacher of the Pañcarātra system (xii, 218, 11) only emphasise the close alliance of the two systems on the philosophical side, and nothing more. The so-called Sāmkhya-Yoga or the Pañcaśikha scheme, as set forth in the Epic, has little inner connexion with the Nārāyanīya faith; on the contrary, they are contrasted in many points, inspite of mutual contamination.

apparently to the Bhagavad-gītā are also not absent in the account. The original records or scriptures, consisting of "a hundred thousand excellent ślokas" of the Ekāntins or Pañcarātras, referred to in xii, 335, 27 f. and in xii, 339, 110 f., if they ever existed, are not available. Our knowledge of the cult is derived chiefly from the Epic, but the Epic account is greatly overlaid with mythical, legendary and adventitious theosophical matters. There is also the possibility of this account being a somewhat later "Brāhmaṇised" version of an originally independent popular faith. It is difficult to disentangle the pristine form of the cult from these embellishments, but it is highly probable

possibly embodying an earlier tradition than Bhāgavatism. that the cult in its origin was non-Vedic, and that the form in which it is set forth in the Nārāyanīya would indicate that, compared with the more or less systematic doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā*, it represents a less developed and less coherent form of the religion.

which has not yet emerged from its mythical and legendary surroundings. The teachings of the two texts, however independently they may have originated, ultimately formed, as emphasised in the Epic itself, the doctrine of one religious body (xii, 346, 11; xii, 348, 8 and 53); but they possibly belonged to different sections of the same church, or perhaps represented an earlier and a later tradition respectively of one popular religious movement, diverging in many particulars but agreeing at least in one essential.

( To be continued )

MRINAL DASGUPTA

#### MISCELLANY

#### "Ganga" in Ceylon and India

In connection with the definition of "the boundary marks" "of waterlogged waste lands, pertaining to the right of entrance" of the "Āśrama-Vihāra" "dedicated to Ārya Avalokiteśvara," the recently discovered Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta¹ refers to the Ha-(?) cātagaṃgā. The words "paścimena Ha-(?)-cātagaṃgā" signify that the river Ha-(?)-cāta formed the western boundary. The editor, Mr. Bhattacharya, renders it by "stream" and points out that this sense is still conveyed by the word "gang" (gāng?) in Eastern Bengal.

I may note that it is not the only epigraphical instance of Gangā meaning a stream. The inscription of Vainyagupta is dated 188 G. E. (current). In the Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II who belonged to the Pratihāra Dynasty, we find that at least seven grants to different deities by several personages are consolidated in one record. All of these, however, are in favour of the shrine attached to the monastery of Harirṣīśvara. The Partabgarh Inscription bears the date 1003, i.e. 946 A. C. The notable point for our present purpose occurs in the eleventh line of this inscription. The words "Kā-(him)kyām Gangāyām snātvā" cannot but mean "having bathed in the "Kā(him)ki" or "Kā(him) kí" river.

The average North Indian, however, means by the "Gangā" the particular river Ganges which waters his homeland. The Bengali Hindu however alters his interpretation when the Gangā enters his own province. To him the Ganges at Benares, for example, is certainly the Sacred River, but he usually attaches no great sanctity to the Padmā in Eastern Bengal. The Hughli, or the Bhāgirathi is the Gangā, so far as he is concerned. But the Adigangā which waters

I I.H.Q., March, 1930, pp. 53-56.

<sup>2</sup> The editor accepts the views of Mr. Pathak who takes it to be equivalent to 506 A.C. (p. 47).

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XIV, pp. 182-184.

<sup>4</sup> There is a similar instance in the Vasistha Temple inscription on Mount Abu (I. A., II, p. 256).

<sup>5</sup> E. I., p. 184, l, 13.

a part of Calcutta is also believed at least locally, to possess a high degree of sanctity. The word means "the earlier Ganges."

This North Indian interpretation can also be supported by epigraphic passages. The verse of Yaśodharman's Mandasor Inscription<sup>1</sup> runs as follows:—

Ā Lauhityopakanthāt tālavanagahanopatyakād ā Mahendrād Ā Gangāśliṣṭasānos tuhinaśikharinah paścimād ā payodeh / Sāmantair yasya bāhudravinahṛtamadaih pādayor ānamadbhiś Cuḍāratnāṃśurājivyatikaraśabalā bhūmibhāgāḥ kriyante /

The Gangā in this verse refers unmistakably to the particular river. In the Untikavatika Grant of Abhimanyu who belonged to that Rāṣṭrakuṭa House, which did not use the Garuḍa, but had the Lion with open jaws and a protruding tongue as their crest,<sup>2</sup> we find another verse which runs as follows:—

yasyānyabhūmipatibhir vvijitā (bh) imānairucchrāyivaṃśanihitās svayaśaḥpatākā/ dṛṣṭā ciraṃ pratidinaṃ nanu dṛṣyate ca gaṅgeva puṇyasalilā purataḥ pravṛddhāḥ//³

The "yasya" refers to the grandfather of the reigning king Abhimanyu. The Gangā here again undoubtedly stands for the river of Northern India. The inscription is assigned "on palaeographical grounds to approximately the seventh century A.D."

In the Hindol Plate of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśwara Śrī Śubhākaradeva, we find "Gaṅgeṭijoṭāraddhasrotasā" etc. in connection with the definition of the boundaries of the grāma called Noḍḍilo which was conveyed to the use of Vaidyanāthabhaṭṭāraka. Pandit Binayka Misra has recently edited that inscription. Pandit Misra is of opinion that Noḍḍilo is "distinctly identical with the village Naṇḍelo now lying in the Hindol State". The

I C.I.I., vol. II,I, no. 33.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., VIII, p. 165 and 166. The lion, as shown in the plate facing p. 164, is indistinct. Indraji however took it to be such in 1883 A.D. (J.R.A.S., vol. XVI, p. 90).

<sup>3</sup> The last visarga is wrong.

<sup>4 /</sup>BORS, March 1930, pp. 77 to 8c.

<sup>5</sup> L. 40.

modern principality lies to the north of the Mahānadī and the town of Hindol lies close to the south-eastern border of Angul between the Mahānadī and the Brāhmaṇī rivers. The village of Noḍḍilo therefore does not seem to have been situated anywhere near the sacred river of Northern India. The stream is very probably a local one. Orissa is a "massif-block", and it is not probable that the course of the Gangā stretched so far south, only a thousand years back.

Several rivers in Ceylon have "gangā" (pronounced gāngā) as parts of their names. One of these is the Kelánigangá (pronounced Kelvānigāngā) about eightyfour miles long, from its source to its mouth. It takes its name from the district of Kelaniya by which it flows, and gains its importance from its proximity to the modern seat of government, Colombo. There is a local tradition that the Buddha came to the town of Kelāniyā where a large stūpa dedicated to him exists to this day. A certain sanctity is associated with this river, because the Buddha is supposed to have bathed in it. The Kálugangá is another river which flows through the Western Province. It meets the sea where the town of Kalutara (commonly pronounced Kālcurā), which gives it its name, stands. The Gingaigá which waters the Southern Province, takes its rise from the Goongala Range, and after a course of fifty-nine miles meets the sea close to the modern port of Galle. The Nilwalaganga which comes from Urubokka mountain, situated about four miles to the south-east of Dehiyaya, the Walawegangá which joins the sea at Ambalanota, the Māgamagangá and the Kataragāmagangá which lie to the east of the Walawe are the other notable rivers of the Southern Province. The Mahāwaligangá is the longest of the rivers of the island. It meets the Ambangangá which rises close to Mātale, and flows by the town bearing the historic name of Nalanda.

It divides itself into two streams the Kurugalagangá and the Virugalagangá, when it enters into the Eastern Province. No sanctity is attributed to the waters of the Mahāwaligangā. The Menikgangá which is about eighty-one miles long, has for its source the Namunukulā Range. Its mouth lies to the east of Hambantota.

It is evident from the above that "ganga" in Ceylon means a river.1

I Kālidása, uses Gangā in the sense of the sacred river in many passages. See Raghuvamsa, canto XIII, verses 9, 10 and 57; canto IV, verses 32 and 36.

It is not my purpose to come to any definite conclusion here, beyond pointing out that North Indian epigraphical instances from the period beginning with the fourth, and ending in the tenth century A.C. favour both the interpretations of the word "Gangā", and that another evidence of the intimate cultural contact of Simhalese Ceylon with North India lies in the geographical use of that word in this Island.

J. C. DE

# An early supporter of Shivaji

Kānhoji Jédhé, deshmukh of Bhor, in the Puna district, came over to Shivaji's side during the latter's contest with Āfzal Khān (1659) and with his own contingent fought the Maratha king's battles right manfully in various places for many years afterwards. The chronology (shakāvali) kept by this family is one of the most valuable sources of early Maratha history. Their home is the village of Kāri some ten miles from the town of Bhor, in the territory of the Sachiv one of the sardārs of the Puna district. During a visit to the place in January 1930, I discovered the following farmān of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, sultān of Bijapur, issued to Kānhoji Jédhé on 7th Jamādius-sāni 1054 A.H. (= 1st August 1644).

Kāri is situated in the heart of the Māval country. This tract was in one sense a frontier district of the Nizām-Shāhi kingdom of Āhmadnagar. When that dynasty was extinguished, it passed into the hands of 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (about 1636), but it was long before the new sovereign's authority was fully recognised there. The Jedhes had been originally retainers of Randaula Khān, and continued to find in him their master and protector after the district came under 'Ādil Shāh's sway. At first the new sovereign gave the fief of the Jedhes to a Muhammadan female (of Kaliān?), but on appeal the Jedhes got it back, evidently through the mediation of Randaula Khan (about 1637-8).

From Randaula's service they were transferred to the contingent of Shāhji Bhonslé, who was a lifelong friend of Randaula.

I See Jédhé Chronology as tr. by me in Shivaji Souvenir, ed. by Sardesai (1927), pp. 1—44.

The present farmān is of great importance as throwing contemporary light on the activities of Dādāji Kond-dev and giving the exact dates of the Maratha acquisition of Kondāna (Singh-garḥ) and Shāhji's rupture with Bijapur.

#### TEXT OF THE FARMAN'

فرمان همایون شرف [صدرر یافت بنام کانهوجی نا یک جیدهی]
از شهور سنه اربع اربعیان الف چون شاهجی بهونسلسه از مردردان درگاه والا جاه گشته ر داداجی کوند دیو متعلق او که در طرف کندانسه است - جهت دفع و رفع کردا , راور] بقبض درآرردن آن رلایت عزت ر رفعت دستگاه شجاعت و شهامت اشتباه عمدة ال [امثال] والا قران لایق المراحم و الاحسان سجه الاهالی و الاعیان زبدة القبایل و الاخوان کهندرجی و باجی کهرپریان وا با وزرأی عظام تعین فرموده شده است - باید که او [معه] احشام خود نزد مشار الهما آمده از استصراب مشار الهما داداجی کوند دیو مذکور و متعلقان آن حرام خرار وا گوشمال داده نیست و نابود سازد - آن ولایت را بقبض و تصرف در آرود که باعث سر افرازی آرست د نا داند تعور را فی التاریخ هفتم شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۹۵۶

بسم اعلی پررانگی حضور اشرف اقدس

#### Translation

This auspicious rescript [ is issued in the name of Kānhoji Nāyak Jédhé], in the Shahur san 1044. As Shāhji Bhonslé has become one

I. The paper has cracked in some places, but the missing words can be easily supplied. They are enclosed within square brackets.

تاكيد داند 2.

of the enemies [ lit., rejected, reprobated ] of this august Court, and Dādāji Kond-dev, his supreme agent, is [campaigning] in the region of Kondāna,—therefore, for the purpose of putting a stop to [his] activity and gaining possession of that country, [long titles] Khandoji and Bāji Khopdé have been appointed to accompany [our] grand nobles. It is proper that he [i.e., Kānhoji Jédhé, also with] his contingent (āhshām) should go to the aforesaid persons, and with their co-operation [lit., advice] punish and reduce to nothing the said Dādāji Kond-dev and the associates of that base fellow [lit., eater of unclean food],—and bring that region into possession,—so that it may result in his [= Jédhé's] being exalted. Know it to be urgent. Written on 7th Jamādi-us-sāni, year 1054.

In the name of the Most High.1

Parwanah of his honoured and sacred Majesty.

JADUNATH SARKAR

I May be an error for "In the name of 'Ali,"—whose name was cut on the seals of the Bijapur sultans.

## The "Webbed finger" of Buddha

Discussing this subject in I.H.Q. for December 1930, Mr. Baneriea defends the view of Foucher, that the jālalakkhaņa originally referred to lines on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, and that through the misinterpretation of a technical device of the sculptors (intended to prevent the fractures of the fingers of stone images), it later came to be regarded as implying a webbing or membrane connecting the digits. There is much to be said for this view, but against it may be cited the facts (1) that the palms and soles of the Buddha, as Mahāpuruṣa, were said to have been marked with a cakka, and are so represented in very many sculptures of an early date, and it is not likely that another lakkhana referred to other lines in the same places, and (2) as pointed out by Stutterheim, in a discussion on the problem in Acta Orientalia, VII, 232 ff., (overlooked by Mr. Banerjea), the word jāla is employed by Kālidāsa in the Śakuntala,1 with unmistakable reference to the thin lines of rosy light which may be seen between the fingers when they are in contact, and the hand is held up against the light. These two objections make it very difficult to accept the Foucher-Banerjea interpretation in toto.

My solution would be to accept the definite statement of Buddhaghosa, that the jālalakkhaṇa did not refer to a webbing between the figures (and Mr. Banerjea is probably right in saying that Buddhaghosa deliberately begins with this statement, having in view the already existing images with this physical peculiarity indicated), but that the fingers were "of one measure" (ekappamāṇā) "like the latticed window made by carpenter" (vadḍhakinā-yōjitajāla-vātapāna), in other words, that the fingers were straight and regularly formed; another lakkhaṇa tells us that they were long.

Buddhaghosa's reliability has already been demonstrated in so many cases once considered unintelligible or mistaken (e.g. in the matters of the hatthi nakhakam ālinda, or that of the officiating of the king's eldest son as Parināyaka, where his interpretations have been

I Incidentally, it may be noted, that the "hand" described by Kālidāsa is evidently the pādmakośa hasta of the works on Abhinaya, and that this padmakośa hand would certainly nave been employed by the actor at this point in playing the part.

shown to be correct. In the present case, his explanation gains plausibility from the fact of its correspondence with the usage of jāla in the Sakuntalā; in the simile of the window we meet with the same idea of lines of light seen between parallel opaque bands, fingers or wooden rods as the case may be. The jala, then, does not imply "webbing" or any abnormality, but simply a perfection of form demonstrated by the appearance of the reddish lines of light that may be seen between the parallel fingers when the hand is held up to the light. But observe that such lines are only in fact regularly disposed (like the spaces between window bars) and evidently seen when the fingers are regular (ekappamāṇā) as well as delicate and long (which other lakkhanas require); if the joints are swollen, there will be places where the fingers are too closely pressed together to allow of the passage of any light at all, and other spaces where the fingers are not quite in contact, and only clear daylight can be seen between the fingers. Hence the jālalakkhana implies after all nothing but a perfection of form of the fingers, such as might be looked for in the hand of the Mahapurusa. If, as seems probable, a later misinterpretation arose, originating in the sculptor's device, this is only a parallel to what happened in the case of unhīsa-sīsa which originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban", and later came to be regarded (perhaps also by misinterpretation of images) as "having a cranial protuberance". It is not altogether surprising that a later age should have thus interpreted as miraculous abnormalities what had once been simple and intelligible matters; for the tendency to develope the miraculous elements in the Buddha legend is a wellrecognised one in the corresponding literature.

Thus, I am on the side of Foucher and Banerjea as to the fact of misinterpretation based on the sculptor's device; but on the side of Stutterheim as to the original meaning of the word jāla as used in the lakkhana lists.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

# A few Evidences on the Age of the Kathavatthu

#### (i) Tradition

We have to depend mainly on the Ceylonese tradition for ascertaining the time of composition of the Kathavatthu, one of the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The tradition1 tells us that the controversies embodied in the K. V. took place at the Third Buddhist Council, convened in the 17th regnal year of king Aśoka. The compilation of the book too, was, it is said, made at the same time by the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, and was included in the Canon among the seven Abhidhamma treatises. in discussing the authority of the K. V. makes a statement in his Atthasalina2 to the effect that Buddha himself laid down the table of contents (mātikā) of the K. V., and while doing it he foresaw that more than 218 years after his demise (mama parinibbanato atthūrasavassūdhikūnam dvinnam vassasatūnam matthake) Tissa, son of Moggali, being seated in the midst of one thousand bhiksus, would elaborate the K. V. to the extent of the Digha Nikaya, bringing together 500 orthodox and 500 heterodox suttas. tradition further informs us that Moggaliputta Tissa persuaded king Asoka to despatch Buddhist Missions after the conclusion of the Council.3 This statement refers, therefore, to a time when the

I Mahāvaṃsa, (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 55; also Mahābodhivaṃsa, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Atthasālinī (P.T.S. edition), p. 8.

The Mahābolhivaṃsa (p. 113) corroborates this tradition and further tells us that soon after the close of the Third Buddhist Council under the presidentship of Moggaliputta Tissa it was found necessary to select those places in the border countries (paccantimesu janapadesu) where the teachings of the Master, if promulgated, were expected to endure long. Tissa, accordingly, selected nine centres to each of which he despatched a leading member of the order to establish the doctrine. The monks who were entrusted with the task were:—Majjhantika for Kasmīra and Gandhāra; Mahādeva for Mahimsakamaṇḍala; Rakkhita for Vanavāsi; Yonakadhammarakkhita for the Aparāntaka; Mahādhammarakkhita for the Mahāraṭṭha; Mahārakkhita for the country of the Yonakas; the thera Majjhima

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Buddhist Missions were not yet organised under any royal patronage for the dissemination of the truths of Buddhism in regions outside the Middle Country.

# (ii) Geographical extent of Buddhism

Here we shall try to examine whether the above traditional account can be corroborated by any internal evidence. In Book I, the 3rd point of controversy is that there was no holy life among the gods (N'atthi devesu brahmacariyavāso'ti). In course of the controversy the opponent of the orthodox school maintains that among the gods there is no Buddhist mode of holy life, the form of life which is regarded holy by the Buddhist recluses, because it is not till then introduced among the inhabitants, godly or otherwise, in the regions outside the limit of the Middle Country, i.e., in the 'Paccantima-janapadas'. He contends that as yet there can be no initiation or Pabbajjā, in places lying beyond the geographical limits of the Middle Country (Majjhima-janapada), referring thereby to the godly inhabitants of Uttarakuru and the Mlecchas of other places. From this it is evident that Buddhist missionary work was restricted up till the time of the K.V. within the territorial limits of the Middle Country, i.e. to say Buddhism was not yet propagated in India outside the Middle Country as defined in Buddhist literature.

# (iii) Attempts to check Schism

The fact of the disruption of the Buddhist Church into various schools also affords some evidence for ascertaining the time of composition of the K. V. According to the commentator of the K. V. the Buddhist Order in India had been, in course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise, divided into 18 schools. This is confirmed by both the Ceylonese chronicles, the  $D\bar{\nu}$ pavamsa<sup>1</sup> and

for the regions lying near the Himalayas; and Sona and Uttara for the Suvannabhūmi. Not long after Tissa found in Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, a young and worthy disciple capable of carrying the doctrine to Lankā. It is interesting to note how each of these theras succeeded to turn the minds of the people in their respective localities and convert them into Buddhism.

I. Dipavamsa, ch. V.

### A FEW EVIDENCES ON THE AGE OF THE KATHAVATTHU 369

the Mahavamsa.1 Prof. Rhys Davids2 has discussed this matter at some length and is inclined to believe that the number of schools was not eighteen but six or seven on the ground that the Kathavatthu Cy. and the inscriptions on Buddhist topes as well as the records of Yuan Chwang furnish us with six or seven names. We cannot dismiss the traditional account as to the number of Buddhist schools prevalent in the 2nd century after Buddha's demise as unreliable on the ground that the K. V. and the Buddhist topes noted above are lacking in mentioning the names of the 18 schools, as it is not a sufficient proof of the non-existence of those schools. It is not strange that Yuan Chwang while giving an account of the 7th century A.C. should state the names of a few Buddhist schools, because the different schools which arose in the course of the 2nd century after Buddha's demise might afterwards have been either swallowed up, one by the other, or some of them disappeared being unable to withstand the opposition from rival schools. So in the absence of any better evidence to prove the contrary, we cannot disbelieve the traditional account of the Ceylonese chronicles. Here our point, however, is to show that though scholars may not agree as to the number of schools, there is no doubt that the Buddhist Church was divided into a few schools during the period under consideration.

This fact is corroborated by Aśoka's Schism Pillar Edict engraved in his 21st regnal year. The task of the K. V. being mainly to state the various theses put forward by the leading opponents of the Theravāda School, and to refute each of them from the view-point of the latter, it is evident that its purpose in view was indirectly the same as that of the Schism Pillar Edict of king Aśoka, viz., to put an end to the disruptive elements which threatened the orthodox school at that time. In view of the common object of the two writings, the P. E. and the K. V., it may be said that they were productions of about the same period.

# (iv) Traces of Mahāyānic Influence

There are, no doubt, in the K. V. a few topics (e.g., iv, 1, 7; xviii, 1-4; xx, 2; xxi, 4-6; xxii, 1-3, etc.), which prove that

I Mahavamsa (P.T.S. edition), ch. V, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhism, pp. 195ff.

some of the early Mahāyānic doctrines were known to the compiler. This, however, should not lead us to put the date back, because long before the growth of Mahāyāna, the Mahāyānic ideas and doctrines were already current among some of the early Buddhists, especially, the Mahāsanghikas and their offshoots.

Thus an examination of some of the materials of the K. V. and the Aśokan edicts shows that the compilation of the K. V. was made, at least in part, somewhere in the reign of king Aśoka.

DWIJENDRA LAL BARUA

# The Age of the Visnu Purana

The evidence of the Manimekalai

V. A. Smith has examined the views of Wilson, Pargiter and others about the age of the Purāṇas in general and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa in particular. He has shown that independent testimony assigns a much higher antiquity to the Purāṇas, which is earlier than the 4th century B.C.

Independent proof of the existence of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa in the early centuries of the Christian era is supplied to us by the Tamil classic the Maṇimekalai, the composition of which is generally assigned to the second century after Christ. In a discourse at the assemblage of Vañji with teachers of different persuasions, Maṇimekalai was addressed in turn by the Vedāntin, the Śaivavādin, Brahmavādin, Viṣṇuvādin, the Ājīvaka teacher, the Nirgrantha, the Sāṃkhya philosopher, the Vaiśeṣika expounder, and lastly by the Bhūtavādin. In this content we come across a line in which one versed in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa (Kadalvaṇan Purāṇamodinan, Ibid., II, 98-99) is mentioned.

Traditionally the Bhāgavata, the Nāradīya, the Garuda and the Viṣṇu are regarded as Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. It seems to me that the reference here is only to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The expression Kadalvaṇan is an epithet of Viṣṇu, meaning literally the

I See Early History of India, 4th edition, pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> See author's Studies in Tamil Literature and History, pp. 73-76.

god having the colour of the sea'. It may be pointed out in passing that the word Viṣṇu is foreign to the Śaṅgam literature, and whenever that God is mentioned, the epithets employed are Tirumāl, Kaḍalvaṇṇan, etc. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the term here stands for Viṣṇu and the whole phrase for the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. It points to the practice in vogue in the ancient Tamil land when the traditional Purāṇas, considered to be the fifth Veda, were read and expounded. For a Purāṇa to be read and expounded it must have been popular for a considerable time. As the Maṇimekalai is a composition of the second century A.D., it can be reasonably assumed that the major portion of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa existed perhaps in its present form from the commencement of the Christian era at the latest.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

# More on Manimekhala

I

## Siam

On my request H. R. H. Prince Damrong of Siam, whose work in the field of archæology ought to be known by every scholar interested in Buddhism, had an inquiry made in Siam about the goddess Manimekhalā. Here is the important note he compiled, as it reads in its original English form. It will be seen that, as it could be expected, Siam and Cambodia agree perfectly well on this subject; Cambodian Buddhism has been for several centuries under the predominant influence of Siam.

"Manimekhalā1 is known to the Siamese both through the Pāli Jātakas and the indigenous literature.

In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Mahānipāta) and Sankha Jātaka (Dasanipāta) she is represented as the goddess of the sea appointed by the gods to rescue good men who may be shipwrecked.

The Siamese Rāmāyaṇa, composed anew<sup>2</sup> in the reign of king Rama I (1783-1809 A.D.), says that Maṇimekhalā is the goddess of

I "Manimekhalā" is also shortened în usage into "Mekhalā".

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological finds show that the story of Rāmāyaṇa must have come to Siam not less than five hundred years ago.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Hāridwar

the sea and lives in a place studded with gems, and relates a story about her which may be summarised as follows:—

Once at the advent of the rainy season, the gods and goddesses were dancing together. At the time a Yakṣa named Rāmāsūr, armed with axe and bow and living in the clouds, passed by where they were dancing. When he saw Maṇimekhalā's gem, he wished to have it and chased her. Mekhalā eluded him after dazzling his eyes by directing the rays of her gem into them and leaving him grope in the dark, and mocked at him. Rāmāsūr got enraged and threw his axe at her. But it's was averted from her by the supernatural power possessed by the gem. Meanwhile Arjuna who lived upon the Cakravāla mountain came flying between Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr. Rāmāsūr got enraged, saying Arjuna crossed his path, and killed him by dashing him against the Sumeru mountain. Sumeru was thus made to lean on one side and Śiva had it set upright by Sugrīva.

The Siamese Rāmāyana also helps us to identify Rāmāsūr and Arjuna mentioned above by narrating other incidents of their lives, namely, (1) Rāmāsūr fought with Rāma when the latter was returning home after marrying Sītā. Rāmāsūr was defeated and forced to surrender his bow. (2) While Dasakantha (Rāvana) was staying with Rsi Goputra as the latter's pupil, Arjuna had a quarrel with him. So Arjuna carried Dasakantha off as prisoner and flew around exhibiting his victim's helplessness before the world, but released him later on at the request of Goputra. So, in his book On the sources of the Siamese Rāmāyana, H. M. the late king, Rama VI, identified Rāmāsūr with Rāma Paraśu (Paraśurāma of the Purānas) and Arjuna with Arjuna-Kārtavīrya, a king of the Haihayas, who was slain by Paraśurāma, and explained that the Siamese call Parasurāma an "asūra" by confusing the word "nyaksa" (meaning "low," an epithet given to Parasurama because, although a Brahmin, he was irate and fierce) with the word "yakşa," Thus the episode in the Siamese Rāmāyana summarised above, appears to be a fusion of a story from the latakas and the Puranas.

There is, however, a tradition current among the people even now that Mekhalā creates lightning by swinging her gem about and that Rāmāsūr creates thunder with his roars and the thunder-stroke by hurling his axe. This gives rise to the theory that Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr are merely lightning and thunder personified. The history of the word "Arjuna" as the designation conferred on men holding a particular office of state, serves to explain why there is an Arjuna

associated with the deities of thunder and lightning. Formerly the designation was Phya Deba Varajun. Later it was changed into Phya Deba Prajun and then again into Phya Deba Arjun, Thus it will be seen that there has been a confusion between "Arjuna" (Pāli "Ajjuna") and Pajjuna (Skt. "Parjanya, god of rain) after they have been transplanted in a foreign country. Probably Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna are old Siamese deities connected with the rain who formerly had Siamese names but were renamed when the Siamese were converted to Buddhism and came under Indian influence. Failing to meet any Indian tradition that explains the phenomena of rain in the same terms as the folklore of Siam, the aim in renaming would have been restricted to equating the old Siamese deities of the rain with gods or heroes of India bearing some amount of resemblance to the former. It must have been thus that the story of Mekhalā of the Siamese Rāmāyaņa has come to look like a piece of patch work.

The close relationship between Mekhalā, Rāmāsūr and Arjuna and the rain is made further clear by these three personages forming the characters of the "Ra-bam." The Siamese ballet called "Ra-bam" is an ancient form of entertainment at which, ten men on one side and ten women on the other, dance to the accompaniment of music. Formerly it must have been a society diversion like the balls and dances of Europe. Afterwards it became the practice to employ professionals to dance at night when there are religious rites. Since in Siam agriculture forms the chief occupation of the people, religious rites are performed before the rainy season in order to ensure good rainfall and the story of Mekhalā and Rāmāsūr has been adapted to the dances usual in these rites.

Mons. Nicolas, who has given a summary of the Manimekhalā episode (Rāmāsūra and Manimekhalā; Arjuna's death; Mount Meru set upright again; Bali's perjury) in his complete analysis of the Siamese Rāmāyana (Extrême-Asie, Saigon, no. 19, Jan. 1928, p. 301), has also collected in Siam some pictures of Mekhalā which will be shortly published in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Pari?.

II

# Ceylon and Burma

Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon, who had contributed a very important paper,

Mahāyānism in Ceylon, to the Ceylon Journal of Science II, I, December 1928, has lately published in the Ceylon Literary Register, third series, I, I, January 1931, a short, but substantial paper on the goddess, Maṇimekhalā (p. 37-38), which he has kindly sent me. He notices there two references to Maṇimekhalā that escaped me: one is found in the Rājāvaliya, a Sinhalese historical work of the 17th century (Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Boston Museum, has also drawn my attention in a private letter to the same reference). It is told there how Vihāradevī, the mother of the Sinhalese national hero Duṭṭhagāminī, was offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and how she was safely brought by the goddess Maṇimekhalā across the sea to Māgama where she found her future husband."

"The other reference is contained in a non-canonical Pāli work entitled Chakesadhātuvaṃsa. This book, in its present form, is of no distant date; but there is reason to believe that the legends it contains are very old. Most probably they are of South-Indian origin, for one of the six stūpas (referred to) is said to have been founded by Tamil (Damila) merchants." So far Mr. Paranavitana; but the editor of this booklet, Prof. Minayeff says expressly (Journ. Pāli Text Soc. 1885) that this Chakesa "is a work by a modern Burmese author, of unknown name and date"; the two mss. used by the editor were Burmese. The Chakesa relates how Buddha gave over to six of his disciples Anuruddha, Sobhita, Padumuttara, Guṇasāgara, Nāṇapaṇḍita, and Revata six hair-relics which they brought to Southern lands and had them enshrined in six stūpas. One of those was erected by Maṇimekhalā. Here is a translation of the chapter (JPTS., pp. 10-11) concerning this stūpa;

"There is a place on the sea-shore, all covered with Asoka-trees, and the western side of this is surrounded by a glen. Seeing this, all these (six) holy men reflected: Well, how shall we find in such a place a person to look after the relic? Then the venerable Padumuttara said to the other five holy men: 'I shall look for a maintainer of the relic.' He formed a resolution with the following stanza relating to Buddha's virtues:

'If you, the first in all the worlds, have been an ascetic in order to save the beings, let my prayer be successful through your power! May I find today a donor for a thupa of the hair of the Jina!'

While he was praying in these words, a guardian of the sea, Manimekhalā by name, daughter of a god, appeared owing to Buddha's

power, with all her ornaments, surrounded by many attendants. She came out of the sea in a perceivable form. And the theras told her: 'It is fitting, o lay female-devotee, to have a thupa built for the relic. If you are able, then be the maintainer of the relic of the 'bull among the men, the incomparable one'!' Then she thought: 'I belong to the female sex; how can I obtain knowledge of the planning of the thupa? He said: If you, O lay-female-devotee, can give wages to the neighbouring people, they will quickly build a cetiva. 'All right,' she said, and in disguise she went thither, and she gave wages and had a cetiya erected. Those people made on this spot a dagoba eighty feet deep. The daughter of the god then made a heap of the jewels collected from various places by her supernatural power; and then she brought from the Vepulla mountain one block of jewel, shining like a lamp and similar to the jewel of a Cakkavatti. and placed it within the relic chamber made of jewels, putting the relic-casket on the top of the jewel. While it was being placed, the earth quaked, lightenings flashed out of season, and there was a pleasant rainfall. All gods cheered. Manimekhalā, having paid her homage to Bhagava's relic, had the cetiva closed. After closing it, the cetiya being completed, she uttered the following stanza expressing her wish:

May the dagoba of the Jina endure five hundred years,
Through your power, may beings know the place of No-death!
Having spoken thus, Manimekhalā set and erected the thūpa of the hair. Then the goddess, bowing to the feet of the Arahantas, with a pious mind went away and entered her own palace.

#### III

#### French Indo-China

A French lady, Madame Marcel Pascalis, living at Hanoi (Tongking), has prepared a paper on Manimekhalā, specially in Indochinese lore, in which she has collected some more information about the goddess; she has secured a Cambodian crawing, representing Manimekhalā as well as a photograph of Manimekhalā's dance. The paper will appear next autumn in Revue des Arts Asiatiques.

All these new documents go to show that Manimekhalā's own domain is, as I had stated in my first paper, "that region of the ocean which extends from Cape Comorin to the marvellous El Dorado of the Far East". While the Tamil country, Ceylon, Burma, Siam,

and Cambodia afford so many evidences of her long notoriety there, nothing has come as yet to be found concerning her beyond this zone of earth and water. My dear P. C. Bagchi, whom I have to thank for translating, and so well, my first paper from the French original, has pointed out to me an interesting counter-proof. The Mahāvastu, which was certainly compiled in the Northern part of India, has a tale of a shipwreck (III, 353-356) where are found several features appearing also in the Pāli jātakas I have quoted. A samudradevatā here also comes to the rescue of the Bodhisattva and his fellow-merchants about to be drowned; she repents that she has so long neglected her duty of watching over the sea (mayam pramattavihārā in the prose redaction, p. 355, l. I; mamedam na viditam pramattāve, 365, l. 5); but the sea-deity remains anonymous. The compiler is writing beyond the pale of the goddess Manimekhalā.

SYLVAIN LEVI

# Manimekhala

In the folk-lore of Ceylon the Sea-goddess is called Mudu Manimekhalāva. A ballad relates "that Devel Devi was born in the Vadiga land whence he sailed for Ceylon with followers of many races in seven ships laden with various things, especially bangles. The ships being wrecked they drifted about for seven days; then a stone raft was made which carried them swiftly to Ceylon, aided by the sea-goddess Mūdu Manimekhalāva and the four guardian gods". Another ballad narrates that when Ananga escaped in the form of a bee, Siva with his third eye in the centre of his forehead burned Umā to ashes, which he threw into the ocean, repented and ordered the goddess of the sea Mūdu Maņimekhalāva to restore her. She feigned inability; and to punish her Siva drank up the sea. Again he bade her restore Uma. She promised to obey if he would again fill the ocean which he did. She then created an image of Umā which he rejected. At length she took the ashes of Uma which she had kept in a vase, shaped them ainto a figure of Uma upon a banana leaf and brought it to life. Umā was restored to Siva".1

ARTHUR A. PEREIRA

I Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese, Folk-lore from Ballad Sources, Supplement to the Indian Antiquary, vol. 45, pp. 20, 61 and 99,

### Derivation of Pali

Though the texts of the Buddhist Canon known as "Pāli" have been fully studied and utilised for purposes of history, it is somewhat worthy of note that the meaning of the word 'Pāli' is not yet clear and its derivation is obscure. Recently Dr. Thomas makes the observation in regard to the subject, "let us have some evidence one way or the other, and we shall be all the better able to do justice to the other matters in this important essay," commenting on a theory of interpretation proposed by Dr. Walleser.

The term as it is ordinarily understood is "Pāli," and means a 'series,' 'row' or 'line.' Based on this general meaning Childers gives in his *Dictionary* the rendering of the word as a "series of texts." Where "Pāli-bhāṣā" is mentioned, it is taken by him to mean "the language of the (Buddhist) sacred texts" and not as "Pāli language." Thus a language known as "Pāli" is not so far recognised.

Dr. Walleser going against accepted authority points out that there was a language known as "Pāli" which he says belonged to Magadha from where it was taken to Ceylon. He derives the word in an indirect way from Pāṭali or Pāṭaligrāma where "the bhikkhus assembled soon after the death of Buddha." "Pāli" is, according to him, the language of Pāṭaliputra. He finds further that the meaning of the word "Pāli" as given by Childers has to be rejected as "there is a spelling in Ceylon Mss. with cerebral l, which makes the derivation highly improbable."

The question to be answered is, what is the original word—"Pāli or Pāļi." The current view is that "Pāli" is more closely allied to the "Prākṛt" of Ceylon but the discovery by Dr. Walleser of "Pāḷi"

I Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec., 1928, pp. 773 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It has also the meaning "dyke" (ditch, pit or cave). Vide Prof. Macdonell's Dictionary under "Pāli".

<sup>3</sup> This along with a few other points raised by Dr. Walleser has been questioned by Dr. Thomas.

<sup>4</sup> The sense of "line" or "row" is not precluded however merely by the fact of the word being "Pāļi" instead of "Pāli", for "Pāļi" persisted in the Malayāļam language in the sense of "line" or "row", e.g., kidakkayil pāļi (pāļi = rows or compartments of a kidakka—bed).

in some Ceylon Mss. raises the presumption that this may be the original term. It is worthy of note that the cerebral lis commonly met with only in the Dravidian languages of South India; and it is therefore not very surprising to find the form "Pāli" as a variant of "Pāli" only in Ceylon. It appears in Tamil in another form "Pāli," which in the old Tamil lexcon, the Pingalandi Nighantu is rendered as "munivar vāsam" (dwelling place of munis). It may be also equated with the word "palli" one of the synonyms given in the Nighantu itself, which is met with in expressions like "palli-arai" (bed-chamber), "palli-konda Perumāl" (the deity in the recumbent

I Instances are quite common where I is used in Dravidian languages for I which is found only in Tamil. A few examples may here be given:—

Tan	nil-Malayāļam		
	Pula (river)		
	palaya (old)		
	ēļu (seven)		1
	malai (rain)	4.3	
	pāļu (waste)		

Kannada hule. halaya. elu. male. hālu.

The interchange of | and | in Tamil may be found in examples like:

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Cola—Cola,
Tamil—Tamil,
pugal or pugal—fame,
pavalam or pavalam—coral,
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Ilam or Ilam—Ceylon.

palam or palam—fruit.

kēl or kēl—hear.

ulundu or ulundu—pulse,

Instances where cerebral lappears in South Indian vernaculars for lin Sanskrit may be noted in the following, among others:

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kāla becomes kāla-dark.
phala
               pala or pala-fruit,
              kalapa (old Tamil)-young elephant.
kalabha a,,
dhavala "
              tavala ( do. )—white,
valaya
              valai-bangle or ring.
pravāla
              pavala or pavala-coral.
sthala
              tala or dala-place.
khila
              kilai-branch,
sthāli
              tāli-pot.
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posture) and in the "palli" (mosque) of the Mussalmans (particularly the Moplahs of Malabar) in South India.1

It is interesting to find that the word "Pāļi" occurs in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of South India, written in characters similar to those found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, assigned by Bühler to at least the 3rd century B.C. These inscriptions are met with either on the natural walls of caves or on the rocky beds found in them. No other meaning of the word "Pāļi" seems possible in these cases than "residence of munis" (monks) or "beds for them to rest on." "Pāļi" would therefore mean a cave, and this interpretation does not militate against the meaning "dyke" given to the term "Pāli" by Macdonell. The conclusion seems warranted that the name "Pāli" may have been derived from the South and originally used to denote the language met with in these caves or the beds in them. "Pāli" is probably only a variant of the South Indian forms "Pāļi," "Pāļi" or "Paļļi."

It is hoped that this short note may answer the query raised by Dr. E. J. Thomas, "what does the spelling with cerebral prove?" It will also indicate that the spelling "Pāļi" may have been the original one, as found in the early Prākṛt of South India and Ceylon. The meaning here given might set at rest also any necessity for a theory of a possible confusion of the word "Pāļi" with "Pāli" meaning line, as conceived by Dr. Thomas in his note.

S. V. VISWANATHA

In these cases "palli" either means "bed for lying on" or a "place for prayers".

<sup>2.</sup> The word "pāļi" occurs thrice in these inscriptions and has perhaps to be distinguished from "kāvi" and "lena" which are other words met with in them to denote a "cavern". One point of difference between the caves in Ceylon and those in South India is that in the latter are found beds, while the former do not contain any. Perhaps this fact may lead to the conclusion that "pāļi" meant "a cave with a bed in it".

<sup>3</sup> The original and better form of the word would appear to be "Pāļi".

# Problems of the Natyasastra

I read with interest Mr. M. Ghose's note on "Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra" in the issue of March, 1930 (vol. 6, No. 1) of this Journal. I wish to put forward a doubt in accepting his views. He upholds that (i) "the Nāṭyaśāstra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made table fitted to the text in a still worse manner, (ii) the word Bharata meaning naṭa has not been derived from any person of the same name and an enquiry seems to point to a reverse process, (iii) the disappearance of the Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva was probably due to socio-political circumstances of the age that followed Pāṇini, and (iv) Śilālin and Kṛśāśva were the earliest known writers of any Nāṭyaśāstra or the text book for the naṭas."

Though in Pāṇini (iv, 3, 110 and 111) we find mention of the Naṭasūtras or text-books for naṭas, ascribed to Śilālin and Kṛśāśva, the mere mention of the term naṭa does not lead us to any conclusion, because Pāṇini, in his exhaustive works, is silent as to the definite significance of the term naṭa, nor any effective evidence as to the existence of drama in his time is found. We are, therefore, according to Dr. Keith's opinion, "in no position to establish the meaning of the term naṭa", as it might have existed then. In like manner, the mere mention of the 'curious' names, without any external support, is far from being sufficient to prove their authorship of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Mr. R. N. Śāstrī, in this connection, remarks:—

"Pāṇini, in his works, has not made any intentional or avowed attempt to reflect the whole human society and its institutions as they existed in his days or were known to him. But he has made occasional observations only in course of the relevancy, rather under the necessity warranted by his subject. Therefore, even his silence about Bharata's śāstra, or, for the matter of that, the mention of the Naṭasūtras of the two particular teachers made by the way, can hardly count or be adduced as a cogent reason to prove or disprove anything in connection with the tradition that Bharata was the first writer on dramaturgy."

His third argument seems to make a reasonable justification for the disappearance of the alleged Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva. "Should we wonder then", the writer remarks, "if rinder these circumstances Nāṭyasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva did, owing to a sheer disuse for a long time, go out of existence at a time when the earliest version of

the Nātyaśāstra was made.? To justify this "disuse for a long time" Mr. Ghose suggests that after Silālin and Kṛśāśva (whom he places about a century earlier than Pāṇini?) there came the reign of the Maurya emperors who deliberately made their best attempts to disparage such performances. Kautilya, as is clear from his Arthaśāstra, was deadly against encouraging natas and similar people, and often called them as "objects of constant suspicion on the part of the statesmen, who exploited them as spies and tolerated them as ugly tools". This is true, no doubt; but the Arthasastra was written specially for a prince, and we find, therein, no record of the attitude with which it was received by the people in general; nor, in any of the extant contemporary works, do we find anything regarding the feelings with which the Arthasastra was looked upon by the public; and to think, therefore, that the disparagement of dramatic and parallel performances was "a natural outcome of Kautilya's writings", can be said to be no more than mere conjecture. On the other hand, it may be tentatively suggested that Kautilya, being averse to such performances, might have made deliberate efforts to suppress them. Thus it seems plausible that the drama, in some form or other, might have attracted people in general, so much so that it began to horrify Kautilya, a wise minister, who looked upon it as an impediment to enforce stability to his patron's reign. This is sufficient to show that it had attained—not only a definite form, but also a universal appreciation in those times.

The drama seems to have existed even in Buddha's time. The Lalitavistara also refers to this art.

Asvaghoṣa's dramatic fragments are enough to bear testimony, not only to its mere existence, but also to its wide-spread popularity; so much so that with a view to promote Buddhism and to bring down the Brāhmanical sway, he betook himself to the measure of writing dramas. The use of Sanskrit, as opposed to Prākrit, in his dramas is sufficient to warrant an establishment of its definite form in his time, for Aśvaghoṣa himself, being a strong Buddhist, would never have thought of deliberately introducing Sanskrit. The Buddhists always encouraged the use of vernaculars, as opposed to Sanskrit, for a universal appreciation of their religion and ideas. But Aśvaghoṣa had to write his dramas in Sanskrit to gain popularity. This was the stage achieved by the drama in the time of Kaniṣka. All these

I See Sanskrit Drama by Dr. A. B. Keith, pp. 43, 44.

I.H.Q., JUNE, In POSITE Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

arguments are sufficient to enable us to trace a continuous and constant development of the drama in the Mauryan times and thereafter. Mr. Ghose has a kind of support from the terms such as nacca, dassana and pekkhā; their mention strengthens his conclusion that the primitive Buddhists were averse to arts like naccagītavāditāni. No drama, therefore, in his opinion, seems to have existed then. But as Dr. Keith has already shown, this argument is far from being sound. "We see, however," he says, "that the objection of the sacred Canon to monks engaging in the amusement of watching these shows, whatever their nature, was gradually overcome, and it is an important fact that the earliest dramas known to us by fragments are the Buddhist dramas of Aśvaghosa," Moreover, the very mention of such terms leads us to decide that the drama was extant in that age (for other arguments, see Keith's Sanskrit Drama). Furthermore, we may say that the Buddhists of that time did not form the entire society, i.e., there were people who took interest in the drama.

Mr. Ghose takes it to be a well-known fact "that the natas who belonged to the Sūdra-class were to the orthodox society a much despised people." Those people, who appreciated this art, are, in the main, according to his views, responsible for having made the untrust-worthy legend which makes Bharata the eponymous hero of the drama. Bharata was a famous legendary name, and it made the business of the legend-maker easier. This seems to have been deliberately done, in his opinion, to give it an air of antiquity.

But this argument is not sound. If the appreciation of dramatic performances is mainly to be ascribed to the heterodox society, the orthodox people of that time would have raised strong objections with a view to bring down the attempts of those who wanted to glorify it to the level of the Vedas (e.g. Nāṭyaveda). The opinion of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasāstras, if recorded at all which Mr. Ghose does not do, may be proved to have gained ground in a different time far from that in which the Nāṭyaśāstra originated. The strong oppositions of the primitive Buddhists and Jains are sufficient to testify the attributions of its origin to the orthodox religious society; and, therefore, the legend seems not to have been deliberately made to promote its level as the heterodox people could not have had any connection with it.

The plausible view, with regard to the contradictory opinions found in the Buddhist books, is this. In the beginning the Buddhists seem to have raised strong objections against it, but as it began to

invoke wide appreciation and attract the attention of the entire society, the Buddhists betook themselves to write dramas with a view to propagate their religion. Thus Aśvaghoṣa's plays make their appearance.

In the Śāriputraprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa we find a remarkable peculiarity; its close accordance with the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra in all the points, rarely to be found in any other of the extant dramas, leads us to decide that the rules, as given in the Nāṭyaśāstra, must have been definitely established in his time. The upper limit that can be allowed to the Nāṭyaśāstra is the second century B. C. This is sufficient to show that the drama might have obtained definite form and the necessity for its rules might have been felt then. This gave rise to the appearance of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and thus a due limit to the precedence of the drama should be at least a century, or even two, before the time when the Nāṭyaśāstra was written. Thus also we can trace its existence in the Mauryan and Kusāṇa times, and thus no break in the continuity of its existence seems reasonable. There is not the slightest possibility, then, to see "the disuse for a long time," as Mr. Ghose observes.

I hesitate to believe with Dr. Keith that the drama must have come into being so late as in the second century B.C. or about that time. I am convinced that the age of the origin of drama should go earlier by at least a century, or even two, than this time. Thus it receives a striking accordance with the Mauryan times, and there are sufficient positive proofs of its existence then. Since then we are able to trace a continuous developments in its performances, and no explicit mention of the influence of Kautilya's writings is recorded. Silālin and Kṛśāśva might have been the ancient writers of some Națasūtras, but as no such writings have reached us, besides their mere mention, and as any definite information regarding their authorship is lacking, they are, to us, no more than mythical names. Consequently we are left to no other alternative but to attribute the origin of the drama to Bharata. The Nātyaśāstra is, of course, of a later origin, but the legend seems to have gained ground since earlier times.

HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI -

# On a Few Technical Terms in the "Hindu Revenue System"

In the course of his review of my Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System in the January number of the J.R.A.S., (pp. 165-166), Dr. L. D. Barnett, while expressing his general appreciation of the work, has thought fit to differ from my interpretation of a number of technical terms and a couple of passages from the classical authors. In view of the difficulty of the subject it seems desirable to consider these criticisms with some care.

I

#### Uparikara

The two terms udranga and uparikara signifying as many distinct kinds of revenue are found side by side in scores of Ancient Indian land-grants, but they have hitherto baffled any satisfactory explanation. In my work under notice I had suggested for them the meanings 'tax on permanent and temporary tenants respectively.' Dr. Barnett disagrees with these explanations, but overlooks the three-fold argument which I adduced (H.R.S., pp. 210-211) in favour of the same. He identifies uparikara, curiously enough, with the Tamil mel vāram, i.e., 'the Crown's share of [the] produce' while he is unaccountably silent about the meaning of udranga. Admitting it to have the merit of novelty, Dr. Barnett's explanation of uparikara may be shown to be wrong on the following grounds:—

- (I) The Ancient Indian land-grants have other and distinct terms to signify 'the Crown's share of the produce.' The most common of these are *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiranya*, which I have shown in my work to mean the king's share of the produce in kind and in cash respectively. Very often the *bhāgabhogakara* and *hiranya* are included with the *udranga* and *uparikara* in the list of privileges assigned to the donees by the authors of the grants (cf. H.R.S., pp. 218, 235, 238, 240-241, etc.).
- (2) A grant of Balavarman (one of the old kings of Assam who has been approximately assigned to 990 A.C.) couples the officers charged with collection of the *uparikara* and those charged with the *utkhetana* impost in a list of oppressors who are forbidden to enter the donated land. Two grants of Ratnapala (1010-1050 A.C.?) and one of Indrapala (1060 A.C.?)—both of whom belong likewise to the old

royal dynasties of Assam—similarly include the uparikara and the utkhetana in a list of 'oppressions' from which the land in question is to be exempted (H.R.S., pp. 247-248). Other instances of the same kind mentioned in these three records are concerned with the royal princes and favourites, the persons fastening elephants and mooring boats (evidently in the State service), the officers charged with tracking thieves and the arrest of criminals. Evidently, then, the uparikara was not a regular item of revenue like "the Crown's share of the produce," but was an irregular tax which bore harshly upon the cultivators.

II Setu

Dr. Barnett writes, "His [Ghoshal's] rendering of setu as 'gardens and fields owned by the king' seems unlikely: may not setu rather be a sort of water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs?" This statement is unsatisfactory for more reasons than one. In the first place it is not a fact that setu as such was 'rendered' by me into the 'gardens and fields owned by the king'. What I wrote with reference to this term in the passage to which Dr. Barnett refers (H. R. S., p. 108) was as follows. "It is called embanked reservoir which is defined [by Kautilya] as consisting of flower-gardens, fruitgardens, vegetable-gardens, rice-fields and fields producing other crops. Evidently the term was used in a technical sense to indicate the gardens and fields owned by the king". It will be seen that my 'rendering' of the term is in precise accordance with the definition as given in the Arthasastra itself. Dr. Barnett has forgotten to notice the difference between the ordinary and the technical sense of setu in the Arthasastra. Coming to Dr. Barnett's own rendering of setu, we have to observe that it is contradicted not only by the definition of Kautilya to which reference has been made above, but also by his use of a distinct revenue-term udakabhaga for "the water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs" (see H. R. S., pp. 31, 33, 290).

#### III

# Bhumicchidranyaya

Yādavaprakāsa's definition of bhūmicchidra as kasyayogyā bhūh has hitherto been held to prove that the clause bhūmicchidranyāya

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of the Ancient Indian land-grants implied the gift of the full right of ownership such as is acquired by a person making barren land cultivable for the first time (Cf. Bühler, Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 74; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p. 90). In dealing with the latter term, I followed this current explanation which I held best to suit the sense. Dr. Barnett now suggests a fundamentally different interpretation making it mean 'with reservation of the king's right to eject [the tenants] at his will'. This would make the grantees holding lands according to the bhūmicchidranyūya not proprietors but merely tenants-at-will. Dr. Barnett's explanation may be shown to be unsound on the following grounds:—

(1) Neither the definition in Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī nor the Bhūmicchidra-vidhūna section of the Arthaśāstra tends 'naturally' to prove the correctness of Dr. Barnett's rendering. The former gives only the general meaning of bhūmicchidra, but fails to throw any light upon the significance of the maxim relating thereto. The latter, while doubtless describing "the royal conversion of forests and wildernesses into grazing grounds, retreats for Brāhmanas, royal parks and the like", contains nothing to show that the Brāhmanas or the occupiers of grazing grounds e.g. were liable to ejection at the king's will. The true meaning of the maxim can be found out by comparing (as Bühler and Jolly have done) Yādavaprakāśa's definiton with the rules and maxims of the Smṛtis relating to the right of the first clearer, and the seizure of unclaimed property.

(2) The clause bhūmicchidranyūya is attached to the endowments granted by kings and ruling chiefs in favour of Brāhmaṇas, temples and the like. Very often these grants contain another clause, viz. that they are to last as long as the sun and the moon shall endure, with the most solemn appeals of the donor to later kings to respect the gift. Frequently such appeals are fortified by quotations from the Mahābhārata (the so-called "imprecatory verses"), of which the following may serve as specimens:—"Whoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell" (Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 242). Indeed the Smṛtis again and again set forth the sinfulness of resuming the gifts to Brāhmaṇas. A unique example of a land-grant

made to Brahmanas in effect on the conditions of loyalty and good conduct is the Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II (H.R.S., p. 195), but even there the donor is careful to include the clause that the king will not be guilty of theft in the event of his resuming the grant for violation of the conditions by the donees.

#### IV

# The question of ownership of the soil

Dr. Barnett with genuine pleasure claims to have found in me a whole-hearted supporter of his long-cherished view that "in ancient India the Crown owned the land". In doing this he has done scant justice to myself. Not only did I expressly mention in the Preface my intention of reserving a full consideration of this difficult question for my forthcoming Calcutta University Readership Lectures, but I also indicated in the body of my present work whenever the topic came up for mention, the limitations with which doctrine of the ownership of the king could be accepted. (See H.R.S., pp. 169-170, 192, 226). Thus in connexion with Megasthenes' statement about the royal ownership of all lands, after indicating the evidence for and against it, I wrote the following words (Ibid., p. 170). "On the whole we are inclined to think that the comprehensive statement of Megasthenes was a rash generalisation from certain tendencies of development of the land-tenures that had already begun to manifest themselves".1

# The land-revenue passages in Strabo and Diodorus

Megasthenes' account of the land-revenue conditions in Maurya India, which is given in connexion with his description of the caste of husbandmen, has come down to us principally in two parallel versions, those of Strabo and Diodorus. The first of these versions, according to the very recent rendering of Monahan (Early History of Bengal, p. 142) whom I followed in my work, stands thus: "The whole

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I Dr. Barnett's opinion on the point under notice is on a par with his characterization of a printing-mistake (duly corrected in the list of additions and corrections in my work) as "very unhappy".

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of the land is the property of the king, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one-fourth of the produce." Dr. Barnett confidently asserts this to be an "ancient blunder," and proposes to correct the last clause as follows: "they till it on condition of paying onefourth of the produce as rent." Unfortunately for Dr. Barnett's selfcomplacence his version is at complete variance with that of other recent scholars whose rendering agrees with that of Monahan. We may instance Bernhard Breloer, the author of an interesting series of Kautalya-studies, who translates the clause as follows: "Als Lohn bearbeiten Sie es um den vierten Teil der Fürchte" (Kautalīya-Studien, I, p. 52). In the most up-to-date and authoritative English version of Strabo's Geography in the Loeb Classical Library series, the passage in question is translated as follows (Ibid., vol. VII, p. 69): "The whole of the country is of royal ownership and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce." Here we have a fresh alternative translation which agrees only in part with Dr. Barnett's version. But in the footnote to the above the translator writes, "Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek would be 'the farmers cultivate it for wages on condition of receiving a fourth part of the produce', whether 'wages' and 'fourth part' are appositional, 'on condition of' means, as it might, 'in addition to'. Diodorus Siculus says, 'The rentals of the country they pay to the king...but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury." Here we have the important admission that the translation in the foot-note (which, it will be observed, agrees completely with Monahan's version) is the more natural one, while that given in the text (which, as before observed, partly supports Dr. Barnett's rendering) is wholly due to the assimilation of the corresponding passage of Diodorus. In any case it follows from the above quotations that the extract of Strabo is capable of being translated in a variety of ways. Till the meaning of this extract is clearly established by discussion among competent scholars, it is obviously premature to hold with Dr. Barnett that Monahan's version is "absolutely wrong."

With regard to the corresponding extract from Diodorus, Dr. Barnett comments as follows, "Diodorus is also misunderstood by Messrs. Monahan and Ghoshal; the true meaning is very skilfully explained by Dr. Breloer in his Grundeigentum in Indien, a work which throws some valuable light on the subject." Now this criticism is no doubt justified with regard to Monahan's writing. But it is altogether contrary to the truth in my own case, for I not only

quoted but commented on Breloer's improved translation in the context just mentioned (H. R. S., pp. 168-169) immediately after giving the version of Monahan. Comment is superfluous.

#### VI

#### Sītā, kṣāra, kalyānadhana

The first two terms occur in the Arthasastra as technical titles for as many items of revenue. In the Hindu Revenue System (pp. 274ff. and p. 90) reasons were shown for translating the first as 'produce of the king's farms' and as 'sugar' respectively. Dr. Barnett declares his dissatisfaction with these interpretations, but as he neither gives his reasons nor suggests any alternative explanation, it is impossible to meet his objections. For the present it will be sufficient to state in my favour that 'sītā' is defined in the Arthasastra itself as comprising all kinds of crops that are brought in by the sītādhyakṣa, an officer whose functions practically make him equivalent to the royal steward (for references see H. R. S., pp. 29.32). The rendering of kṣāra as 'sugar' is supported by the explanation of Ganapati Sastri (kṣārah gudavikrayi) and J. J. Meyer's translation 'Zucker.' As to the term kalyanadhana which occurs in the land-grants of the Haihayas of Cedi and the Paramaras of Malwa, I left its meaning unexplained for want of evidence. Dr. Barnett now suggests for it the meaning 'marriage-tax', but his argument which is based 'on the analogy of the South-Indian inscriptions' is too vague to be depended upon.

U. N. GHOSHAL

# The English Translation of the Kautiliya

The publication of the third edition of Dr. R. Shamashastry's English translation of the Kautiliya Arthaśāstra is an index to the great demand of the reading public for an acquaintance with the contents of one of the most important documents brought to light in recent years. The existence of this demand as well as the importance of the document itself makes the task of the translator all the more onerous, because the creeping in of errors can mislead thousands of readers. It becomes specially regrettable, if the blemishes be of such

a nature as could have been avoided by the application of a little more energy and labour. When the translation first came out in the Mysore Review (1906-1908) and in the Indian Antiquary (1909-1910) in instalments, and was published in book-form in 1915, the scholars appreciated the industry with which the pioneering work was done by the learned translator, removing many great difficulties which could have been encountered by any one who would have attempted to understand the text unaided. The readers in their eagerness to have a translation in their hand were then ready to make a large allowance for the inaccuracies that could not be removed. A perusal of Dr. S.'s prefaces to the 1st and 2nd editions of the translation shows that he was well aware of the existence of inaccuracies and obscurities which he could not remove but which he had a mind to eliminate by consulting the available commentaries discovered since the publication of the 1st edition of the translation. When the 3rd edition of the translation came out in 1929, Dr. T. Ganapati Shastri's illuminating Sanskrit exegesis written with the aid of three old commentaries was available. Moreover, since 1909 when the text of the Kautiliya was first published, scholars began to apply their minds to the interpretation of the text and bring out books and dissertations treating of the various aspects of the subject-matter of the treatise. In all these publications, light has been thrown on many passages which had been misinterpreted in the translation. Dr. S. does not appear to have taken the pains to avail himself of the results of the labours of these scholars. He has even ignored suggestions for correction made for instance by Dr. Ganapati Sastri in his Preface (p. 2) to the first Part of his edition Says he, "I obtained a copy of it (Dr. of the Kautiliva. Shamasastry's English translation) in order to see whether it would be of any use to my edition. But it seemed to me that many passages were not correctly translated. For example:

मर्यादां स्थापयेदाचार्यानमात्याम् वा य एनमपायस्थानेभ्यो वारयेयु:।
इष्टायानालिकाप्रतोदेन वा रहिंस प्रमाद्यन्तमभितृदेयु:। (I. 7)

After giving general instruction in regard to some of the duties of Kings, Kautalya mentions in the above passage the supreme duty of making Ācāryas and Ministers a barrier, as it were, of the Kings. The meaning of the passage is that a King should appoint, as a barrier, either Ācāryas or Ministers who would boldly and effectively check him whenever he shows inclination to stray away from the path of righteousness. Here, Kautalya gives expression to a noble

conception of Government, the summum bonum of the subjects, namely, a King, though he has control over all his subjects, should appoint certain persons who would keep him under control. Mr. Shama Sastri has taken the passage in quite a different sense. He renders it thus: 'those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret shall invariably be respected'. I do not see how this meaning was made out. If the word मर्शेदा is taken as meaning 'respect' in Sanskrit as it does colloquially in Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, those who study the Arthasāstra will not grasp the real meaning and perceive the noble conception of Ācārya Kauṭalya."

There are many such blemishes in the translation, some of which will be pointed out in this note. There are such errors as have not only vitiated detached passages, but have rendered useless whole chapters. Such errors could have been avoided, if, as already stated, Dr. S. had undergone the necessary labours of making his translation correct by taking due note of the light that could be forthcoming on many portions of the Arthaśāstra from the writings of scholars who are engaged in the investigations regarding the Kautilīya and the ancient Hindu administrative system.

I take up the Seventh Book in view of its importance as the portion of the treatise where inter-state relations have been dealt with. Sometimes, the misinterpretation of a term which occurs several times in one or more chapters has led to the repetition of the errors vitiating whole passages and sometimes whole chapters. I shall now point out some of these errors in the order of the chapters of the VIIth Book:

Bk. VII, I. At page 263 (text, 2nd ed.), K. points out only the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a sovereign in the adoption of one or more of the six courses of actions, viz., sandhi, vigraha, āsana, yāna, saṃśraya, and dvaidhībhāva. Dr. S. has translated the passages enumerating these chief conditions in such a way as to mislead an unwary reader into thinking that each condition is the only determining factor in regard to the connected course of action. For instance, he has translated abhyuccīyamāno vigrhniyāt into 'whoever is superior in power shall wage war.' The emphasis laid on the

term 'whoever' leads one to have the impression that whenever a sovereign acquires power, he must wage war with a weak sovereign to bring him under submission whether there be any cause for conflict with him or not. That such an impression is wrong can well be seen by a reference to such passages as hino'pi vigrhniyat (one should enter into hostility even if he be inferior in strength -K., p. 269), hīno 'py abhiyāyāt (one, though inferior in strength, should march against the enemy— $K_{\rm s}$ , 270) and also by such passages as ".....jyāyān api sandhīyeta" (.....even a strong king should enter into a sandhi-K., p. 269), "...... jyāyān api samśrayeta" (......even a strong king should take to samśraya-K., p. 270). It is much to be regretted that Mr. V. A. Smith in his Early History of India (4th ed., pp. 146, 147) bases his conclusions regarding inter-state relations of the time of Candragupta Maurya on the misleading translations of passages like the one cited above without caring to draw correct inferences after taking into account the combined effect of all the passages in the Kautiliya bearing on the points.1

- VII, 2, p. 267. Chidresu praharet has been translated as "he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself." Here the utilisation of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder.
- VII, 3, p. 268. 'Guṇābhiniveśa' in the heading of the chapter cannot be taken to mean 'character.' It means the adoption of the Guṇas or courses of action.
- VII, 4, p. 272. In the first paragraph of the Ch., K. explains the variants of Āsana viz. sthāna, āsana and upekṣaṇa. Āsana is usually resorted to in cases of equality of strength between two conflicting sovereigns. But it may happen that though the two sovereigns approximate to each other in strength, one may be slightly inferior or superior to the other. In the case of such slight inferiority, the form of āsana is called sthāna, while in the other case it is called upekṣaṇa. K. has guṇaikadese sthānam. Here guṇaikadesa means that the requisite circumstances demanding a resort to the particular guṇa (āsana) exist partially. In such circumstances, the form of āsana to be adopted is called sthāna. Dr. S. translates the passage as "keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy, is

I See Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. XXXI (1924), p. 71.

sthāna." Here I think, it has been contemplated by Dr. S. that guṇa refers to a course of action other than āsana which is not the case.

VII, 4, p. 273. The translation of the last passage in the paragraph delineating the circumstances in which vigṛhyāsana is to be resorted to has been made as follows by Dr. S.: "Since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like myself......" The situation contemplated in the passage has been misunderstood. The meaning conveyed by it may be put thus: when the enemy is about to march with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, slighting the existence of the king who is being advised to adopt vigṛhyāsana, then the latter should take to that course of action.

VII, 5, p. 278. The passage kṛtārthā jyāyaso (which should be kṛtārthāj jyāyaso) gūdhah sāpadesam apasrjet should not be made a part of the paragraph in prose, but should tagged on to the following verses. This misplacement of the verse is also found in Dr. Jolly's edition, but has Trivandrum edition, I think, the the been rectified in misunderstanding of the meaning of the passages is responsible for this error. Dr. S.'s translation is: (p. 307) "when the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of his superior. Till his discharge, the good conduct of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised'. The passage forms part of the suggestion meant for a king who responds to a call for combination. He should be careful in regard to certain points at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful completion of the operations. The passage in question mentions one such point, viz., if the king, who has called him, be of superior strength and shows symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage, the latter should come away from him secretly (gūdhaḥ) on some pretext or other (sāpadeśam); should the former be just in his dealings (sucivittat tu), the latter may wait up to the last to have his share of gains finally made over to him.

VII, 6, p. 280. Sandhi has been translated by the word 'peace' not only here, but also in a large number of other passages wherever the

term occurs. In the K., however, the term has been used in two senses viz., (i) alliance which may not have any connection with war and (ii) treaty of peace after the settlement of a conflict. Hence the use of the word 'peace' without any regard to the distinctions in the implications of the word sandhi in the particular cases has given rise to many inappropriate interpretations. In the passage which, for instance, enumerates the four features of the activities in regard to sandhis (text p. 280) such as akṛtacikīrṣā, kṛtaśleṣaṇa, the term sandhi has been translated as 'peace.' But this sandhi may be an alliance concluded at a time when there is no necessity to enter into any treaty of peace to avert a disturbance of same. Moreover akrtacikīrṣā has been translated as 'with no specific end.' The translation should be 'desire to form a new (akṛta) agreement.' The translation of the expression krtaślesanam should be 'strengthening the agreement already made' instead of 'peace with binding terms.' In regard to the translation of the next terms krtavidūṣaṇam and apaśīrṇakriyā as 'the breaking of peace' and 'restoration of peace' respectively, the use of the word 'peace' is inappropriate, because in the former case it is unduly restricted to the treaties of peace only, while in the latter, the use of the term 'peace' is out of place in view of the fact that relations with court-officials and servants are involved.

In chapter X, the heading Bhūmisandhi has been translated as 'agreement of peace for the acquisition of land,' Here the use of the word 'agreement' only would have sufficed, as otherwise the impression is created that the sandhi has something to do with war in all cases. In the translation of Bk. VII, ch. 7, paragraph 3, the passage 'when the kings of superior, equal or inferior power make peace with the conqueror' is extreamely misleading, because the use of the term 'conqueror' for vijigīṣu creates the impression as if the sovereign in question has conquered a king of superior, equal or inferior strength and that a treaty of peace is being concluded. As a matter of fact only the question of alliance for strengthening the position of the king (vijigīṣu) in difficulty is being treated and therefore the uses of both the words 'conqueror' and 'peace' are inappropriate. Vijigīṣu literally means a sovereign 'bent on conquest'. But as this desire for conquest was not peculiar to any particular king, the word should be translated by some term of colourless signification. I have used the expression central sovereign or state' for the purpose, because we find in the Kautiliva that the sovereign with reference to whom a particular piece of advice is being given, or with reference to whom a Mandala (circle of states) is being taken into account in a particular context is looked upon as the vijigīṣu (see Inter-state Relations in Ancient India, 1920, pp. 2, 3).

VII, 7. In the second paragraph of the translation (p. 312), the reference to 'the enemy suing peace' is out of place, because in the circumstances contemplated, there is no enemy suing for peace. Hence the application of the terms 'even peace' and 'uneven peace' is also wide of the mark.

VII, 7 (transl., p. 314). In the paragraph, two classes of circumstances have been contemplated in the K. But the translation does not take note of these two classes of circumstances, interpreting the whole paragraph as speaking of one class of circumstances only. In the first portion of the paragraph, mention is made of the situations in which the king who has been asked by another king to help the latter is advised by K. to demand a large consideration for the help to be rendered without any reference to his position as a hīna, sama, or jyāyas king. In the second portion, the king who is in need of help is advised by K. to accede to the demand for a large consideration mentioned above in the detailed circumstances. The mixing up of the two classes of circumstances in the translation has created a confusion.1 Moreover, the passage 'one though frequently getting immense (subsidy) from an assailable enemy of equal, inferior, or superior power, sends demands to him again and again' is meaningless. The word bhuyah in two places in the text has been taken by Dr. S., to signify 'frequently' and 'again and again', while it means here 'large'.

The beginning of the next paragraph in the translation (p. 314) yields no cogent meaning, because it speaks of an inferior king trying to keep a superior power under him as an assailable enemy, though there is nothing in the passage to show that the superior king has become really inferior in strength on account of his

I See my article on Dvæidhībhāva in this number of the I. H.Q., pp. 257, 258.

difficulties. I think the text upon which this translation is based is defective and should be as that adopted by Dr. Ganapati Sastri. The first word in the passage should be jyāyān and not jyāyāmsam. The reference to the sending of a 'proposal of peace to another' is also without any support of the text. The passage on the basis of the correction would mean that an offer of a special gain may be made by a king of superior strength adopting dvaidhībhāva to a king of inferior power to attract him into a sandhi with him with the ostensible object of facing the former's enemy (yātavyāpadeśena). There may be a sinister motive on the part of the king of superior strength to bring to book the inimical king of inferior power by crushing him after defeating his enemy, or realising from him what he has given away as consideration after the victory over the enemy is achieved.

VII, 8, p. 286. In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 315), paropakāra has been translated by the word misery, while the reference is to reminding a king helping the enemy of the fact that the king is really helping his own enemy (paropakāra) and not advancing his own interest at all. It is not clear from the last portion of the sentence in the translation whether the disunion that takes place is between the king making the offer of wealth and one of the allies of the invader, or, between the invader and one of his allies. The latter meaning is the one supported by the text.

For the reading svārabdham vā yātrāsiddham vighā tayitukāmah in the second paragraph of the text, the Trivandrum edition has svārabdhāyām vā yātrāyām siddhim vighātayıtukāmah which yields a good meaning, viz., 'with a view to frustrate the success in his well-commenced march', instead of Dr. Ś.'s translation 'to frustrate the latter in the attempt of achieving large profit from well-begun undertakings'. The variant reading of siddhim for siddham in footnote 2 in Dr. S's. text suggests a partial improvement of the reading. But it has not been accepted in the body of the text.

At p. 316 of the translation, sambandhāvekṣī (expecting to have a matrimonial connection) has not at all been translated.

The translation constituting the third paragraph of p. 316 is obscure. The situation contemplated is as follows: If a king

who has entered into an alliance with another king (marching against a yatavya) wants to recede from the alliance either to help the yatavya, or to refrain from increasing the strength of the other king who may attack him (parābhiyogāc chankamānah) after the operations are ended successfully, he can demand an immediate payment of his dues, or can demand a larger sum as his remuneration, which will serve to put a financial pressure upon the subjects (prakṛtikarśana), or invite other parties (mitrāmitra) to alliances with the king to rescind their agreements following the example.

In the paragraph after next, the translation of sakyārambhi is faulty.

Text

S.'s Translation.

Suggested Transl.

Sakyārambhin

Whoever undertakes beginner of possible work.

One who is engaged tolerable work is the in an operation, the completion of which is within the limits of his ability.

In the same paragraph, the translation 'without losing anything in the form of favour' is not at all faithful to the text (alpenapy anugrahena kāryam sādhayati). The translation should be accomplishes his work even with small help'.

The circumstances delineated in the next passage have been misunderstood by Dr. S.

Text

Dr. S.'s Transl.

Suggested Transl.

tayor ekapurusānugrahe yo mitram mitrataram vā 'nugrhnāti so 'tisandhatte.

Of the two, conqueror and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who helps a true or truer friend over-reaches the other.

Of the two kings, each helping another king, one an enemy (but now an ally) and the other a friend, the king who happens to render assistance to the friend becomes a gainer; and of the two kings, each helping another king, one friendly and the other friendly a special degree, the king who assists the king friendly to him a special degree (mitratara) becomes a greater gainer.

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The situation next described bearing on the assistance rendered by the Vijigīṣu and the Ari each to the Madhyama king within his own Maṇḍala has also been misunderstood as the same Madhyama king has been supposed to be receiving help from the Vijigīṣu and the Ari. Further, viguṇa has been taken to mean 'devoid of good qualities'. It signifies 'unfavourable' or 'turning false'.

The translation of udāsīna by 'a neutral king' is extremely misleading. About its correct meaning, I shall speak later in detail. I would only point out here that Āsana has also been rendered by 'neutrality after proclaiming war' (Dr. S.'s transl. p. 301). Apart from the fact that a contradiction is involved in the words themselves, a king taking to Āsana and the king occupying the position of Udāsīna can never be brought under the same category of neutral. Āsana consists in an outwardly calm attitude towards the enemy after the declaration of hostility, while Udāsīna is a king who has been so named in view of his being the strongest power within the first zone of the Vijigīṣu.

The use of the word defeat for *vikrama* (transl. p. 368) is without any shadow of justification. Vikrama means prakāśayuddha, kūṭa-yuddha, or tūṣṇīṃyuddha (see K., vii, ch., 6, pp. 280, 283).

VII, 9, (transl., p. 320), Towards the end of chapter 9, the third stanza enumerating the six kinds of submissive (vasya) friends has been grossly misinterpreted. The stanza runs thus:

sarvacitramahābhogam trividham vasyam ucyate / ekatobhogy ubhayatah sarvatobhogi cāparam //

It has been translated as 'that friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend, and is said to be of three forms: one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third'. Here in the expression sarvacitra-mahābhogam citra and mahā have not been translated. Further, the whole expression has been treated as referring to a single person, while it means three kinds of submissive friends. A paragraph in Bk. vii, ch. 17, pp. 311, 312 explains the meanings of all the six terms, and light could have been had from here to make the translation correct. The six kinds of friends are: sarva-bhoga, citra-bhoga, mahā-bhoga ekata-bhogin, ubhayatobhogin and sarvato-bhogin.

#### THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE KAUTILIYA

An attempt has been made to explain only the last three terms, but the explanation is wrong.

VII, p. 295. The heading of the chapter has been translated as 'interminable agreement'. The opening lines of the chapter show that the object of the alliance is to colonize waste lands and the heading is as a matter of fact in consonance with this object of the alliance treated in the chapter. The heading anavasita sandhi means 'alliance for colonizing waste lands' instead of 'interminable agreement' as interpreted by Dr. S. The derivation may be put thus: vas+kta=ūṣita, or vasita (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 932, col. 3); na+vasita=avasita (uninhabited); na+avasita=anavasita, i.e., uninhabited (lands) converted into a colony.

In the second sentence of the chapter pratyupasthitūrtha and yathoktaguņū have not been properly translated. So far as I understand, he takes the first expression to mean 'reaping the harvest earlier,' while it should be 'having the requisites ready at hand'. The second expression taken by Dr. S. in the sense of 'fertile land' refers in fact to lands 'having the qualities as already stated.'

VII, 12, transl., p. 327. In the comparison between various kinds of works of irrigation, omission has been made to translate vāpa in prabhūtavāpasthāna (extensive area under cultivation). Inasmuch as the cultivable nature of the land served by the works of irrigation forms the criterion by which their superiority is judged, the English equivalent of the word vāpa should have appeared in the translation.

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While comparing the game forests containing a larger number of shy (kuṇṭha) and a lesser number of bold (śūra) elephants, reference is made in the fifth paragraph of p. 299 to the differing opinions of the Ācāryas and Kauṭilya. The connection underlying the three paragraphs devoted to the comparison of elephant forests is clear by the use of the expression tatrāpi at the beginning of this paragraph. Dr. S., however, ignores the reference to elephants and translates as follows:

"My teacher says that of the two countries, one with a large number of effete persons, and another with a small number of brave persons, the latter is better, inasmuch as a few persons can destroy a large mass of effete persons, whose slaughter brings about the destruction of the entire army of their master. Not so, says Kautilya, a large number of effete persons is better, inasmuch as they can be employed to do other kinds of works in the camp: to serve the soldiers in the battle fields, and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm in the timid by means of discipline and training."

VII, 13. In order to bring out the various factors that should be taken into consideration in deciding whether an attack upon the rear of an enemy should be made, two sets of three kings have been supposed and in each set one king is out for an attack upon another and a third king in each set is to attack the rear of the king out on the invasion. These rear invaders have been taken to be neighbours and therefore natural enemies, but they are for the time being in alliance for mutual benefit. The object of the chapter is the comparison of advantages derived from the car attacks upon the kings who in their turn are invading their enemies. These advantages may not always be palpable and hence in the choice of the state against which the hostile operations are to be directed, one has more chances of acquisition of gain than the other.

In the first paragraph of the translation (p. 329) the term samhatva has been rendered by the word 'simultaneously' which does not bring out the real meaning. The Vijigīşu (central state) and the Ari (enemy) have been taken to be in alliance and hence the word samhatya has been used. In the later portion of the paragraph, the passage has to put down the rear only after doing away with one's frontal enemy already attacked' misinterprets the situation. The vidhilin form ucchindyat in the text here as well as in the next paragraph has been taken to convey the sense of vidhi (for which 'has to put down' has been used), while it should be taken in the sense of sambhavana. The use of 'only' is out of place. The situation contemplated is this: If there be two kings, one strong and the other weak, and if both are out on expedition against their respective enemies, then of the two kings who are enemies (of the invading kings) in alliance in the rear, the one who attacks the strong king becomes the gainer, because the strong king after defeating his enemy in front would have grown stronger, and consequently could have brought about the ruin of his rear enemy, if he had not been thwarted during his expedition against the frontal enemy; while the other rear enemy who attacks the weak king during his operation against the enemy in front does not make any gain, because left to himself, these operations alone would have weakened him further, leaving in him no desire to make an attack upon the rear enemy.

As a variant reading to labdhalābha in the text, alabdhalābha has been put in the foot-note by Dr. S. But as a matter of fact he has translated the latter word because of its appropriateness for which it should have been adopted in the text itself.

Cakra in the second paragraph of the text has been translated as the 'circle of states', while it means 'army'.

Transl. p. 330. The renderings of calāmitra and sthitāmitra are rather unhappy. They have been translated as 'wandering enemy' and 'entrenched enemy'. Enemies with or without forts are meant.

The terms  $m\overline{u}lahara$ ,  $t\overline{a}d\overline{a}tvika$  and kadarya have been explained in the K., Bk. II, ch. 9. p. 69. They are explained as (i) spend-thrift in regard to patrimony (ii) squandering wealth soon after acquisition, and (ii) accumulating wealth by oppressing the officials and relations. But Dr. S. does not take any note of these explanations. He has translated the terms as 'extravagant, living from hand to mouth and niggardly.'

Dr. S.'s translation of the next passage, viz., 'the same reasons hold good in the case of those who have marched against their own friends' is likely to create the impression that a king used to attack his friends' territory, though the friendship continued. That this was not the case will be evident from what has been said by K. in connection with the mitrabhävin, ucchedanīya or karŝanīya mitras in Bk. VII, ch. 18. The next paragraph in the translation should also be taken with the limitation mentioned above.

At p. 302 of the text, in the last paragraph, mitra has been put instead of amitra in coddharator yo mitroddhārinah. In the 1st edition of the Kautiliya the right term appeared in the list of corrections. But in the 2nd edition the incorrect word has crept in. The translation (p. 331) has become self-contradictory, because it has been stated that 'he who attacks the rear of the former (referring to the friend = mitra) gains more advantages' which is just the reverse of what is meant.

In the second paragraph of the translation at p. 331 alabahalabha-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar vagamane has been rendered as 'to enforce the payment of what is not due to them', which is altogether wide of the mark. The correct rendering is 'in the case of returning unsuccessful.'

The sentence in the text (p. 303) beginning with yasya vā yātavyah up to satror vigrahāpakārasamarthah syāt is related to the previous sentence, because it describes a situation alternative to the preceding one. It has no connection with the succeeding sentence to which it has been tagged. The resulting meaning as understood by Dr. S. and evidenced in his translation is very much confused. Two sets of circumstances contemplated in the two sentences are: (i) Of the two Pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on invasion against their respective enemies, the parsnigraha of the king whose enemy is able to cause him much harm becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not have this advantage. (ii) Of the two parsnigrahas themselves, the one who possesses a larger and more efficient army, and is fighting with a fort as his base of operations (sthitasatruh) or has his kingdom situated on either side of that of the king attacked (pārśvasthāyin) and is therefore near the yatavya (i.e. the yatavya of the king whose territory is invaded from the rear) becomes a gainer. The advantages enjoyed by a pārśvasthāyin rear-invader is that being near the aforesaid yatavya, he can easily combine with him and can make a raid upon the capital of the king whose rear has been attacked. The second set of circumstances described above has a direct bearing upon the parsnigrahas themselves, while in the preceding sets of circumstances, the kings attacked constituted the principal subject-matter for consideration.

In the succeeding śloka (p. 303) sāmantāt should be sāmantāh a variant which has been relegated by Dr. S. to the foot-note. This word has been left untranslated. Though the text mentions three classes of pārṣṇigrāhas, viz., sāmanta, pṛṣṭhatovarga and prativeśa, Dr. S. has tried to make up these three by the second and the third, taking the latter to constitute two classes, one being on each side of the king attacked, though as a matter of fact they constitute only one class.

The misleading translation of the term udasina as already pointed out has been repeated here (transl, p. 331).

Dr. S. translates pārsnigrahanābhiyānayos tu mantrayuddhād abhyuccayah as follows: Of attacks from the rear and front, that

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which affords opportunities of carrying on a treacherous fight (mantrayuddha) is preferable. The translation ought to be 'In rear as well as frontal attack Mantrayuddha brings about increase of strength.' In the text the next two sentences have been put within inverted commas as the opinion of the Ācaryas. The opinion should, however, include the sentence referred to above. This sentence makes a statement in support of which the next two sentences put forward the reasons.

VII, 13, p.304. Dr. S.'s translation of the second paragraph is incorrect. It should be as follows: 'When in war, the expenditure in men and money is apparently the same, the king who first of all engages the recalcitrant portion of his army in the fight by which its destruction takes place, and next, i.e., when the likely source of internal trouble viz. the recalcitrant portion of his army is destroyed, utilises the submissive portion of his army in the fight, he becomes a gainer (as compared with the king who does not do so).

The next sentence also is wrong. It seems that he has taken  $d\bar{u}syabala$  and vasyabala of the text for 'frontal enemy' and 'rear enemy'.

The translation of the śloka that comes next is utterly wrong. It runs thus: 'when an enemy in the rear and in the front, and an assailable enemy to be marched against happen together, then the conqueror should adopt the following policy'.

It should be: 'when the Vijigīṣu happens to be in the position of either the rear-invader (pārṣṇigrāha), or the invader (abhiyoktṛ), or the king invaded (yātavya), he should thus conduct the operations (naitram etat samācaret)'. The misconception about Vijigīṣu is, I think, responsible for the mistranslation. Vijigīṣu should not be translated as conqueror. I prefer the expression 'central king' (or the central state), because he (or it) forms the central point with reference to which deliberations are carried on in the particular context. Here the fact that the Vijigīṣu can be supposed in the positions of the rear-invader etc. corroborates this view.

Dr. S. misses the real point in the first verse of the following sloka upon which the meaning of the sloka depends. His translation is this: 'The rear enemy would usually lead the conqueror's frontal enemy to attack the conqueror's friend'. The correct rendering would be: The Netr (here the vijigīṣu) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the vijigīṣu).

Transl., p. 332. The word 'them' in the first line of the translation of the śloka commencing with akrandenabhiyunjanah refers to Ākranda and Pārṣṇigrāhābhisārin mentioned in the latter portion of the translation of the previous śloka, but as a matter of fact advice has been given in the text to check Pārṣṇigrāha (and not Pārṣṇigrāhāsāra) by Ākranda.

The śloka commencing with mitrena is meant for the king attacked (abhiyukta or yātavya); hence, the use of the word 'he,' which stands for the conqueror in the translations of the preceding ślokas, also implies 'conqueror' in this śloka and is therefore inappropriate. Instead of 'he should with his friends' help hold his rear-enemy at bay' the translation should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should cause his friend (mitra) to attack the rear of his enemy.' The translation of the next portion of the śloka is also wrong. In the place of 'with the help of his friend's friend he should prevent his rear-enemy attacking the Ākranda (his rear ally),' the rendering should be 'the king attacked (abhiyukta) should prevent the Ākranda (here the rear-ally of the invader) from obstructing the rear-invader (of the invader) with the help of his (yātavya's) mitra-mitra'.

The next verse evam mandalam ātmārtham vijigisur nivešayet has been translated by Dr. S. as 'thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the circle of States under his own sway.' The question of 'bringing under sway' does not arise in this context. Only the utilisation of the services of the kings of the Mandala is the subject dealt with in the text.

VII, 13, p. 305. In the last śloka but one of the chapter, the translation of the last verse is defective. It should be 'killing (the enemies) secretly under the guise of their friend' and not 'having again and again destroyed the strength of his enemies, he should keep his counsels concealed, being friendly with his friends.'

VII, 14, p. 305, last 2 lines. Dr. S. translates "Then the recipients of salaries from two States, exhibiting the acquisition of large profits (to the leader) may satirize the kings, saying, "you are all very well combined." The rendering should be: "The ubhayavetanas (i.e. spies drawing salary from the attacked king but ostensibly in the pay of the minor allies of the enemy) should condemn the action of the allies by saying 'you have been outwitted

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(by the leader)": Atisamhitah in the text means that a secret gain has been made by the leader at the cost of the allies. The word atisandhana or the verb ati-sam-dha has been used in this sense in various places in the Kautiliya.

VII. 14. At p. 305, l. I the word dusta in the sentence dustesu sandhim dusayet should not be translated as 'wicked' having regard to the context. The reference is to the alienation of the allies from their leader by the suggestion made above that they have been outwitted.

Pūrvānyatarābhāve, kanyādān ayauvanābhyām and krtasandhihinam at p. 306 should be rectified. The existence of these expressions in the text has vitiated the translation. The right forms would be purvan uttarabhave, kanyadana-yapanabhyam and kṛtasandhir hīnam (see Trivandrum edition).

VII, 15. The heading of this chapter has been written as 'Measures Conducive to Peace with a Strong and Provoked Enemy; and the Attitude of a Conquered Enemy.' The Sanskrit heading is 'balavatā vigrhyoparodhahetavah dandopanatavrttam ca', the meaning of which has not been faithfully reflected in the English heading. The first part of the heading should be rendered as 'the reasons for shutting oneself (in a fort) while waging war with a powerful enemy.' This meaning finds support in the contents of the chapter. As regards the second portion of the heading, 'dandopanata' cannot properly be rendered by 'a conquered enemy,' because conquered enemy, as the Kautiliva itself will show, is not always a dandopanata. I have used the expression 'self-submitter' for the purpose (Inter-state Relations, pt. I, pp. 61 f.).

The translation (p. 336) of tulyadurgānām nicayāpasārato visesah [of two or more forts of similar advantages, the superiority lies in the one from which the supply of necessaries of life (nicaya) can be maintained, and which affords a means of escape (apasāra)] is wrong, because the right significance of tulvadurganam and apasāra has been missed. Dr. S's. translation runs thus: 'When there are many forts, difference should be sought in their affording facility for the collection of stores and supplies'.

VII, 16. The heading of this chapter is dandopanayivettam which has been rendered as 'the attitude of a conquered king'. This oblitera-I,H,Q., JUQCE, In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

tes the distinction between dandopanāyin and dandopanata, the latter being treated in the previous chapter under the heading 'the attitude of a conquered enemy'. In fact the position of the dandopanāyin is just the reverse of dandopanata who is under the domination of the other. I have styled him 'dominator' in my Inter-state Relations, pt. I. The palpable mistake of putting this wrong heading should not have been repeated through all the three editions of the translation. The impression that the chapter is dealing with the 'conquered king' has given rise to mistaken translations in several places.

The opening paragraph reflects the confusion of ideas as to the difference between the dominator and the self-submitter. Dr. S. writes: 'In view of causing financial trouble to his protector, a powerful vassal king, desirous of making conquests, may under the permission of his protector, march on countries..........'. The rendering should be 'when a powerful king (i.e. the dominator) intends to subdue one who, after making a promise (to pay), causes anxiety in regard to the payment of the money, he should march..................'.

Dr. S. in his translation speaks of 'a powerful vassal king' who goes out to make conquest with the permission of his protector intending to subdue other kings by the application of sāma, dāna, bheda and daṇḍa. This is absurd because the dominator is the central figure in the chapter and his relation to the weak king is explained in it. The dominator is to apply sāma, dāna, etc. in regard to the weak king according to the particular circumstances of each case. The misunderstanding of the basic object of the chapter has vitiated it altogether.

VII, 16, p. 311. The sentence which begins with evam utsāhavato has been made to end after sthāpayet, but as a matter of fact it should be linked up with the next line which should come to a stop after bhūmyupakāriṇah. The translation (p. 339) speaks of the reinstatement of kings by the 'powerful vassal king', while in fact it deals with the question as to how the dominator will utilise the services of the self-submitters of various descriptions.

The last paragraph at p. 311 of the text which has been continued to the next page describes six kinds of helping kings, the first set of three kings rendering their help to the dominator

directly, and the second set of three giving their assistance indirectly by causing harm to the dominator's enemy. In view of this fact the text (p. 312) yad amitram āsāram copakaroti tad ubhayatobhogi as well as its translation (p. 339) 'whoever helps also his enemy and his enemy's allies is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides' is incorrect and self-contradictory in its meaning. The correct reading is yad amitram āsāram cāpakaroti (see Trivandrum ed.), of which the translation would be 'he who harms the enemy as well as the enemy's ally is one who helps in two ways.....'.

In the rendering (p. 340) of the last sentence of the text (p. 312) pareṇānadhivāsyayā svayam eva bhartāram upagrāhayet, the word pareṇa remains untranslated, while the rest of the sentence has been translated wrongly. The translation runs thus: (he should provide) 'his own protector with an uninhabitable piece of land'. As the advice contained in the whole paragraph is meant for the daṇḍopanāyin and not for the daṇḍopanata, the translation has become the reverse of the actual meaning which is '(the daṇḍopanāyin) should conciliate (the daṇḍopanata) by giving the (former) holder (i.e., the daṇḍopanata) himself a piece of land which cannot be occupied except by him'.

The first word (teṣām) of the next paragraph refers to the various descriptions of the dandopanatas mentioned in the preceding lines and the nominative of the sentence is evidently the dandopanāyin and not the vassal king desirous of making conquests as pointed out by Dr. S. This wrong impression pervades the whole paragraph and has vitiated its correct import. The last three lines of the paragraph cannot appropriately be taken to refer to what should be done by a 'vassal king' 'to the protector' (dandopanāyin). On the other hand, they speak of the line of action to be taken by the dandopanāyin towards the dandopanata. The sentence (p. 313) evam asya dandopanatāh putrapautrān anuvartante [thus (i.e. by the line of action mentioned in the preceding lines) the dandopanatas will follow loyally his (dandopanāyin's) sons and grandsons] explains the situation.

In view of the errors shown above the translation of the whole chapter should be re-written.

VII, 18. The opening sentence of the chapter should be madhyamasya ātmā tṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ (Trivandrum ed.)

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instead of madhyamasyātmatṛtīyā pañcamī ca prakṛtī prakṛtayaḥ, as otherwise the use of the word prakṛtayaḥ in bahuvacana would not be justified as there will be only two prakṛtis viz., ātmatṛtīyā and pañcamī.

The translation which has been based on the wrong text is therefore incorrect. Here in the first two sentences of the chapter a grouping of certain States has been made with reference to the dealings of the king under our consideration, viz., the VijigIşu (the central king or state) with the madhyama. The madhyama (medium power) and the third and the fifth states from him are prakṛtis, i.e., natural friends, while the second, fourth and the sixth states from the same are vikṛtis, i.e., natural enemies.

The situation contemplated in the next two sentences of the first paragraph of the chapter has been misunderstood.

It is stated in the text that if the Madhyama be friendly to both the sets of kings (prakṛtis and vikṛtis), the Central State should be friendly to him. Should the Madhyama show no leaning to any of these two sets of kings, the Central State should take the side of his own prakṛtis (i.e. friends). But Dr. S. translates (p. 344) the last sentence thus: 'If he does not favour them, the conqueror should be friendly with those states.' Here 'those states' evidently refer to both prakṛtis and vikṛtis, while the text speaks only of the prakṛtis, implying thereby the prakṛtis with reference to the Vijigīṣu (cf. vijigīṣur mitram mitramitram vā 'sya prakṛtayaḥ — K., VI, 2, p. 261).

- VII, 18 (transl. p. 344). The first sentence of the second paragraph of the translation should be "if the Madhyama wants to bring under sway a really friendly king (mitrabhāvin mitra) of the sovereign of the 'Central State', the latter should save him", instead of "if the Madhyama king is desirous of securing the friendship of the conqueror's would-be friend,.....the conqueror should preserve his own friend" as translated by Dr. S.
- VII, 18 (transl. p. 346). The rendering of the term udāsīna by neutral is, as already pointed out, extremly misleading. A reader who does not consult the text will be puzzled to find that a 'neutral' king is coming into conflict inspite of his 'neutrality.' The udāsīna, as a matter of fact, has a technical signification attached to it in the Kautilīya as also the term madhyama which

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has been translated by Dr. S. as mediatory (transl. 290). The name mediatory would prima facie convey the impression that the sovereign so called mediates between two other kings, but according to the description of the Madhyama found in the text, the name has a reference to the amount of strength possessed by a sovereign situated in the neighbourhood. The name Udāsīna has also a similar implication as to the amount of strength of the sovereign so called. The Madhyama is situated within the first zone of both the Vijigīṣu and the Ari (arivijigīṣvor bhūmya[na]ntaraḥ.—vi, 2, p. 261) and is therefore within the zone of enmity to each of them. The text (vi, 2, p. 261) lays down that the Madhyama is capable of subduing each of the Ari and Vijigīṣu when they are not combined, but can help them whether they are combined or not i.e. when they are allied, he is able only to help them and not to subdue them, It follows from this that the strength of the Madhyama is greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīşu, but less than the combined strength of the two powers.

The Udāsīna (ut = ūrdhvam āsīnaḥ i.e. seated on a height) is the strongest power supposed to exist within the first zone of the 'Central State.' It is stated in the text (vi, 2, p. 261) that besides Ari, Vijigīṣu and Madhyama, there is another sovereign capable of subduing each of them when they are combined, but can help them whether they are combind or not i.e., when they are allied, he is able only to help them and cannot subdue them. The inference should therefore be that the strength of the Udāsīna is greater than that of the Madhyama and necessarily much greater than that of either the Ari or the Vijigīṣu taken separately, but less than the combined strength of the three taken together.

VII, 18, p. 320. The translation of the verse nopakurvāt amitram vā gacched yad atikarŝitam has been made as follows: 'The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating.' It should however be: 'The Vijigīṣu should not help one (referring to mitra mentioned in the second verse) who, much reduced in strength (atikarŝita), goes over to the enemy (amitram gacchet).'

There is also a defect in the translation of the following sloka. The words calam mitram should be rendered as 'an unstable friend' instead of as 'a wandering friend (i.e. a nomadic king).'

Nivesya purvam tatranyam dandanugrahahetuna has been tran-

#### AN INSCRIPTION IN THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

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slated by Dr. S. thus: 'having made some previous arrangements to punish or favour the friend.' This should be: "having previously stationed (nivesya) there another person for rendering military help (dandanugrahahetuna)."

The first portion of the next śloka apakuryāt samartham vā has been wrongly translated. It has been rendered as 'the conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful,' while it should be translated as (the mitra) 'who does harm (to the Central State) when powerful'.

Dr. S.'s translation of the last śloka at p. 320 of the text is altogether wide of the mark. His translation runs thus: 'when a friend keeps quiet after rising against an enemy under troubles, that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.' The rendering should be as follows: 'if a Mitra after growing in power (utthitam) owing to the vyasanas (calamities) of his enemy becomes disaffected (towards the Vijigīṣu), then by the removal of the vyasanas of the enemy (of the Mitra), he (the Mitra) is brought under control through the enemy (of the Mitra).

I refrain from pointing out the blemishes from the other Books in the translation of the Kautiliva as I think that those shown above are sufficiently illustrative of the nature and number of the errors to be found more or less in other portions of the treatise. I hope the learned translator will try to remove them when the opportunity presents itself, while in the mean time, I caution the readers against relying on the translation alone for arriving at correct meanings of the passages of the Kautiliva.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

### An Inscription dated in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah

There is a stone (1008,) in scribed with Devanāgarī characters, in the gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is marked "Not Read". From the label attached thereto it appears that neither the provenance of the inscription nor the name of the donor is known. The language seems to be a Sanskritised form of the "Khatolā Bundelī of Damoh," illustrated in the Linguistic Survey of India, IX, pt. I, p. 464. The epigraph was probably discovered in the Damoh region.

The inscription records the erection of a funeral pillar in honour of a private individual. Its importance lies in its form of dating. It is dated not only in both the Vikrama and the Saka eras, but also in the "gati-varṣa" (current regnal year) of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Mughal emperor of Delhi, who ruled from 1719-1748 A.D. Another interesting thing is that it contains more than one instance of that philological fact, about which M. Sylvain Lévi has said, "les deux lettres 'ṣa' et 'kha' s'emploient constamment l'une pour l'autre, et les théoriciens posent en principe leur identité absolue dans les jeux de mots." (Le Népal, II. p. 145).

The inscription contains fourteen lines, which we read as follows:

- I Sidhi (11) Śrī-Gaņesāya namaḥ I Śrī-Sarasvati
- 2 namah (1) Dhrttesvara-nāma (?) samvatsare Śrī
- 3 Vikramādittyarājye Samvat 1803 (,) Sā-
- 4 ke 1668 Śrī-sūrya utrāyane vasa-

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- 5 tti \* \* Śrī Pāttisāhi Mahammada Sāhi-gativarṣa
- 6 28 vaisāṣamāse krasnapakṣe trayodasī 13 camdravāsare
- 7 vadi nemahā uttipakaraje (?) nijabāgamadhye Udeyapura-
- 8 nagre Subha asthāne (II) Suve Mālava \* \* -nivāsabāva-
- 9 lī isthitticharī (?) Vaisyavarane parmadharmaḥma Śrī-Cauḥ Capaṇita
- 10 Rāīji-laghubhrātā Jasavamta Rāiji (11) Tīnanai nivahaī-Mīra
- 11 Śrī-Cauḥ-Capamta Rāījī (,) tasya putra Śrī-Cauḥ Amanata Rāī-
- 12 jī tasya putra Ciḥ (?) Śrī-Cauḥ-Varajora Siṃgha (II) Dighāyu-rastū
- 13 leşaka (11) Sübham bhavatü mamgalam (11)
- 14 Kārīgara Cainduvā Simghamana (II)

#### TRANSLATION

"Success. Adoration to Śrī-Gaņeśa. Adoration to Śrī-Sarasvatt. In the year 1803 according to the era founded in the reign of Srī-Vikramāditya, in Śāka 1668, when the illustrious Sun is in the Uttarāyaṇa (Northern course), in the current year 28 of the illustrious emperor Mahaṃmada Sāha, in the thirteenth 13 lunar day of the black fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha.....in an auspicious place in (their) own garden at the town of Udeyapura. Jasavanta Rāījī, the younger brother of Srī Caudhuri (?) Capaṃtæ Rāījī, a very pious man of the Vaiśya sect,.....who is an inhabitant of the Mālava Suvā.

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(These) three perform (it)—Mīra Śrī Caudhuri Capaṃta Rāījī, his son Śrī Caudhuri Amānata Rāījī, (and) his son Śrī Caudhuri Varajora Siṃgha. May the writer live long. Let it be auspicious and prosperous.

The scribe (is) Cainduvā Simghamana.

#### NOTES

- 1. Muhammad Shah (1719-48) is the Mughal emperor of Delhi. The 28th year of his reign was 1719+27=1746 A.D. The Vikrama and Saka years referred to in the inscription (1803 V.E.—57=1746 A.D.; 1668 S.E.+78=1746 A.D.) also give the same date.
- 2. Udayapura-nagara appears to be an unimportant town in Malava.
- 3. The omission of the word 'Srī' before the name of Jasavamta shows that he was dead. We have left this word untranslated except in two places for the sake of avoiding awkwardness.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

## "Camdasutanam" in the Nanaghat Cave Inscription

In the Nanaghat Cave Inscription No. I, edited by G. Bühler in the Archaelogical Survey of Western India, vol. V, the passage "Namo Samkasana-Vāsudevānam camdasutānam mahimāvatānam cātumnam ca lokapālānam Yama-Varuna-Kuvera-Vāsavānam" (line 1) has been translated as "Adoration to Samkarṣana and Vāsudeva, the descendants of the Moon, who are endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera and Vāsava."

Bühler translates "Camdasutānam" as the descendants of Camda and takes it as an epithet of "Samkasana-Vāsudeva." I, however. differ from him on the following grounds:

The vowel-mark in "s," the third letter of the word "camdasutānam," is distinctly "ū," and there is hardly any instance of Sanskrit long "ū" being changed into short "u" in Prakrit. Then the next letter, of which the lower part is lost, seems to me to be "ra" and not 'ta.' The word therefore is "Candasūrānam," (=candrasūryayoḥ) and the epithet "mahimāvatānam," then suits-it excellently.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

## The Bhagavrtti

Prof. Chakravarti's second argument is that Bhartrhari is mentioned as the author of the Bhāgavṛtti in several grammatical treatises. He says:—"As to its authorship the following statement is found in the तन्तप्रदीप by मैंवेयरचित on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 21, viz.,—भर्व हरिणा चास्य नित्यायंतेनीता। तथा च भागहत्तिकता प्रत्युदाहरणसुपन्यस्तं तन्त्रे उत्तरं तन्त्रयुक्तमिति। वामनीऽपि सोपेनैवोदाहरणसुक्तवान्।—शरणदेव says in his दुर्घटहत्ति on the Sūtra VIII, 3, 37— उपराम उदयाम इत्येव भवतीति भर्व हरिणा भागहत्तिकता चीक्तम्। सृष्टिघराचार्यः, the author of the भाषाहत्त्रयंथिहति, a commentary on the भाषाहत्ति by पुरुषोत्तमदेव, remarks in the end of his book—भागहत्तिभंद हरिणा विरचिता श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा।"

Prof. Chakravarti evidently thought that the three passages quoted above pointed to the same conclusion, but the fact is just the reverse. In the quotation from मैन बरचित who certainly was most intimately acquainted with the भागवति, तथाच means 'similarly', so the passage contains the views of three grammarians, viz., भागवित्रत, भन्ने हरि and वामन . In the second passage quoted बरचदेव distinctly says—'it has been said by Bhartrhari as also the author of the भागवति'

I.H.Q., JUNE, 1031 Demain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

( भर इरिणा भागहत्तिकता चोक्तम् ). As regards the statement of मृष्टिभर, it is clear that मृष्टिभर confuses भागहत्ति with भद्दि . As a matter of fact the author of the Bhāgavṛtti was quite distinct from Bhartṛhari as in numerous passages in commentaries on grammar the opinions of both have been quoted side by side.

In a learned preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. VI), Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī does not offer any suggestion of his own but contents himself with showing the unreliable character of the facts and arguments put forward by Mr. Chakravarti. Says Mm. Sastri: "No reliance can be placed on any historical statements of Sṛṣṭidharācārya as he belongs to the 17th century and to North Bengal. In this very quotation he confounds Bhaṭṭi and Bhartṛ-hari, for Srīdharasena was the patron of Bhaṭṭi the poet, and not of Bhartṛhari the grammarian".

I shall now try to glean some information about the author of the Bhāgavṛtti and his approximate date from the references to the work I have come across in the course of my studies in Sanskrit grammar.

Though भागवित्त and भागवित्त are pretty frequently referred to in Sanskrit grammatical literature, in only one passage have I found the name of the author mentioned. In his Kātantra-Parišiṣṭa (I. 142). Srīpatidatta says: दौरीकोऽस्य दिवीका:, श्रीलमोकारस्य। यदापि दिवर्षे दिविमिति निश्चितम् तथास्योकारनिवृत्त्यर्थमिष्ट दिवीकस: पाठ:। तथाच भागवित्तक्षता विमलमितनापाप निपातित:।

It would appear from the above extract that Vimalamati is the author of the Bhāgavṛtti. One Vimalamati is mentioned by Eggeling as the author of a commentary on the Candravyākaraṇa. Trilocanadāsa in his Kātantravṛttipañcikā on Kātantra, Samāsapāda I, quotes the following verse from Vimalamati:

विशेष्यस्य निशेषेण मिलितं युक्तमुच्यते। समासाखं तदेन स्यात्तितीतपत्तिरेव च॥

In our present state of knowledge it is difficult to say whether all these three Vimalamatis refer to one and the same person or not.

That the Bhāgavṛtti was not among the early इति on Pāṇini would be clear from the following remarks of Śrīpati (Ibid., II, 16): भागवित्रज्ञता छान्दसं वचनम् इत्यस्य पगतम्। न तन्मतमाद्यानां वित्रज्ञतां न चन्द्रस्य i.e., the author of the Bhāgavṛtti holds that the dictum is applicable to the Vedas alone; but that is not the view of the early Vṛttikāras nor of Candra. The early Vṛttikāras refer, of course, to Kuṇi, Jayāditya, Vāmana and others.

That the author of the भागवित्त could not have been Bhartrhari is evident from the following:

[प्रहिखनम्, प्रहिन्बनम्] भर्ट हरिसम्मतिमदसुदाहरणं भागवित्तकताप्युदाहतम्। भव णत्व' वामनादीनामसम्मतम्।—Goyīcandra on Sankṣiptasāra, I. 328.

[ अरामसदगुणीभृतसदयहणेन यद्याने इति परिभाषायां ] सत्याम् प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभिक्तिषु च [ ५ । ११ ] इत्यत नुम्यहणस्य प्रयोजनं न हय्यते । भर्ट हरिणा तूक्तम्—यः प्रातिपदिकान्तो नकारो न भवति तदर्थं नुम्यहणम्, प्राहिष्वदिति । अत्र हि हिवेर्लुङि नुमी णलमिति ॥ तत्र च पूर्वपदाधिकारः समासे च पूर्वोत्तरपदव्यवहारः, तत् कथमिह णलमिति न व्यक्तीक्रतमिति भागवित्तक्रतोक्तम् ।—Stradeva on Paribhāṣā, 4.

गतताच्छील्य इति भागवृत्ति:। गतिवधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्थो इति भट हिर:।—Durghatavṛtti on

उपराम उदयाम इत्येव भवतीति भर्ट हरिणा भागक्षतिक्रता चीक्रम् (Ibid., VII. 3, 31).

That it was posterior to the Kāśikā is clear from the fact that it discusses quotations from माच as also the fact that in many cases it seems to controvert the views of the Kāśikā.

#### Thus-

"वार्गीमदिवश्क्षमयाविश्वज्ञषोऽभवदसाविव रागः" इति माचे [१०।१२] व्यवहितप्रयोगः प्रमादेन इति भागवृत्तः—Ujjvaladatta on उणादि २।१०२.

कथं चिक्रंसया क्रिविमपितपङ्क्ते रिति माघ: [३।५१]। उच्यते ग्रेडिनंधृचया इति पाठ इति भागवितः (दुर्घटवित्तः on सुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदिनिम्ते 7.2.36). प्राच्यास्तु "निघत्सया" इति पठिन इति भागवित्तः—Goyīcandra on Sankṣiptasāra, 1097.

भतएव तत्र व स्वे [१।१।२७] भागहत्ति:—पुरातनमुनेर्मुनितामिति पुरातनीर्नदीरिति च प्रमाद-पाठावेती। गतानुगतिकतया कवय: प्रयुद्धते न तेषां लचणं चच्चरिति। — Sīradeva on Paribhāṣā, 29.

साहाय्यमित्यपि त्राह्मणादिलादिति ज्यादित्य:। नीति भागवत्ति: (भाषावत्ति: 5. 1. 132).

हत्ती हेत्यस्यानुहत्ती दीर्घो नेहास्तीति वामनहत्ति:। अस्तीति भागहत्ति: (भाषाहत्ति on किरय पश्चभ्य: 7. 2. 75).

Commenting on Pāṇini VI. I, 9 the Kāśikā remarks अनम्याससीखेव।
जुगुसिवते। लोलूयिवते। On this the Padamañjari remarks: भागहत्तिकारस्वाह—
पूर्वस्त्ते "धातोः" "अनम्यासस्य" इति इयमपि प्रत्याख्याय भाष्यकारेणोक्तम— तिष्ठतु तावत् साव्यासिकं धातुग्रहणमिति, उत्तरार्थमिति भावः। अनम्यासग्रहणस्य तु न किश्चित् प्रयोजनसुक्तम्, ततयोत्तरार्थमपि तत्र
भवतीति भाष्यकारस्याभिप्रायो लन्द्यते, तेनात्र भवितव्यमेव दिवैचनेनेति।

भागवित्तकार: पुन: प्राह—शपेरपलम्भने प्रकाशने कथने वर्ता भागादात्मनेपदं भवति । देवदत्ताय श्रपते । देवदत्ताय श्रपते । देवदत्तां यत्किश्चित् कथयतीव्यर्थ: । वाचा श्ररीरस्पर्शनमुपालम्भनमिव्यदः कस्यचित् काव्यम् ।—( प्ररूपकार on देव cxxxii). Here the last sentence seems to be a hit at Jayāditya who explains उपालम्भनम् as वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनम् ।

Sometimes it has a fling at the Nyāsakāra also. Cf. कर्ण पतन्यनेके जलधेरि-वीमैय: इति भारिव:। तथा अनेकियां नानास्थानेति न्यास:। \* \* \* भागहत्तिकता ' "अनेकियाम्' इति जैनेन्द्रोक्तम्। कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दा:' इति। Durghatavṛtti, II, 2, 6.

हत्तिक्रता नेष्यते, भागहत्तिकारिण विष्यते ( पदमञ्जरी vol. I, p. 251. l. 2).

Instances could be multiplied to any extent to show that on many important points of grammar the Bhāgavṛtti differed from the Kāśikā. It would appear also that it followed the Bhāṣya much more closely than Jayāditya or Vāmana.

वामनेनास्य [दिभाश्रात्यग्रेथीनां लिटि] नित्यलमुक्तम्, भागवित्तितता तु श्रनार्थलम् उक्तम् (Goyī-candra on Sauksiptasāra II. 1709).

बानुहत्तिर्जयादित्यचन्द्रप्रसितिभक्ता, वाचन्यत्यादिसतकोषे च विकल्पो दृग्यते, भाष्येऽनुदाहतत्वाद भाग-इत्तिकता नित्यत्वसृक्तम् । (Ibid., Taddhitapāda, 47).

भाष्यकारखरसेन बुद्धार्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्तमाने एव क्रो न तु सूते भवति, श्रतः षष्टरेष भवितव्यमिति भागवित्रकातो मतम्। (Ibid. Kārakapāda, 177).

Bhāgavṛtti's view on षाजम्ने विषमविजीचनस्य वर्च: [किराते १७। ६३] has been quoted or referred to by all subsequent commentators. Unlike most grammarians the author of the Bhāgavṛtti takes the bull by the horns and pronounces the form षाजम्ने in the line incorrect. He suggests the emendation षापेदे for षाजम्ने. Vide Jumaranandī and Goylcandra on Sankṣiptasāra, 504.

Bhāgavṛtti often discusses the peculiar forms occurring in the Bhatti-kāvya. Cf, Bhāṣāvṛtti, 4, 1, 178. कथं प्राक् नेकयीती भरतस्रतीऽस्दिति। आद्यप्रकृतिरेव

कुलहारेण सोऽयिनिति स्तीवनी: गार्क्षरवाद यङो ङीन् इति भागवितः। (See also Rāmatarkavāgiša on Mugdhabodha, 429). Cf. also डरिति क्रती विभिषणम्, तेन उदन्तिविधः, धनं राष्ट्राः, रचीगणं चिष्ट्रिति भागवित्तिक्षता दर्शितम् (Goyīcandra on Sankṣiptasāra Kārakapāda, 1641).

One important point on which the Bhāgavṛtti appears to differ from most grammarians is that according to it a transitive root can be conjugated in the भाववाचा. Says Goyīcandra (Kṛdantapāda, 180): कान्दिशं गन्तव्यमिति कादम्बरीप्रयोगे कमोँपादानेऽपि भावे तव्यङ्; अनुक्तत्वात् कर्मणो दिश्मिति दितीया। तथा च, गन्यते गामं विप्रे णेताायपि भावे भवतौति भागवित्तक्षतोक्तम्। अनेत्र त्वे ने ने निक्ति। Similarly Rāmatarkavāgiša on Mugdhabodha 308: सदाद धोरपि भावे त्व इति भागवित्तः।

Its views on मतिवुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्य have not generally been followed by later grammarians. Strictly following the Bhasya it restricts a in the case of these roots to the वर्त्तमानकाल and holds that such uses as लया जाती मया रचित: are wrong, इह वर्ष मानकोन भूतक्तस्य वाधनिमध्यते तेन लया जातो मया रचित इत्याय-चिकित्स्यमिति भागवत्त:-Bhāṣāvṛtti, 3, 2, 188. कालदुष्टा एवापशब्दा इति भागवत्त:-Durghatavrtti 3, 2, 188. On Jumaranandin's line लया जाती नया जात इत्यमाध्रिति भागव्रत्त:, Goyīcandra remarks: भाषाकारखरसेन नुदार्थादिप्रयोगे च वर्त्तं माने एव क्रो न तु भूते भवति ; षतः षष्ठेरव भवितव्यमिति भागवृत्तिक्वतो मतम् । अव खरसाभावादिति भागवित्तरिखपन्यस्तवान् (Kārakapāda 177). Haradatta (following Kaiyaṭa) steers a middle course in his Padamañjarī on 2. 2, 12 and says : कर्ष राजसमात राजाभिमत इति। ष्मिति हि भट्टिकावी प्रयोग:--कलहं स राममहित: क्षतवानिति,मह पूजायां रामस्य महित इत्यथं:। कियदाह। यदा वर्त्त माने क्तसदा षष्ठी समासनिषेधय, यदा भूते क्तसदा कर्त्त हि हतीयैव भवति, यथा पूजितो यः सुरैरपीति तस्या: कर्व करणे कता बहुलमिति समास:। स्यादेवं यदि भूते को लभ्य:। नाप्राप्ते तिसद्वारम्य-माणी मित्रविद्विपूत्रार्थेभ्यये ति वर्तं माने क्रानस्य वाधको भवति, यथा च वडवाया विषे वाचा इत्यपत्ये प्राप्ती ढक् ततोऽपक्तवा विधीयतेऽपत्ये लगीव भवतीति वत्त्यति, एवं च पूजिती यः सुरैरपीत्यचिकित्स्योऽपगव्दः, लया जाती मया जात इति तु भवलेव, तेनेलिधिकारे उपज्ञात इति निर्यात्। Sripatidatta in his Kātantraparišista taking strong exception to the view of the Bhagavṛttikāra holds there can be no बाध्यवाधकभाव here because the two have been prescribed for different times, and then quotes a host of examples from well-known authors to show that क्र is used with मतिवृद्धिपूजार्थक roots to denote past time, the enominative taking the instrumental case. The author of the अनुवास simply extends the जापक to all cases saying सामान्यापेचं जापकम्। This appears to be the view of all later grammarians.

It would appear that the name Bhāgavṛtti had its origin in the fact that it divided the अष्टाध्यायी of Pāṇini into two parts—the first part dealing with classical Sanskrit (भाषा) and the second with Vedic Sanskrit (कृन्दः). Cf. Goyicandra on Sankṣiptasāra II. 1729—कसुकानची कृन्दस्थेव विद्विताविति भाषात्र्याख्यात्वभिन्यं विद्यतम्, अतएव भाषाभागे भागवित्तक्षद्भाषाविक्तारय कसुकानज्विधान- खच्यां न लिखितवान्, and on I, 190 अण् सानुनासिक इति वक्तव्यम्। अवसाने वर्तमानोऽन् सानु- नासिको वा भवति।.....अथवैतन्न वक्तव्यं क्षान्दस्वात्। अतएव भागवत्ती भाषाभागे नास्तेतत्।

As regards the date of the Bhāgavṛttikāra it is difficult to be very definite until further data are forthcoming. But since the Bhāgavṛtti-kāra quotes or refers to Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Kāśikā, Nyāsa and Māgha and has been referred to by Kramadīśvara (in his rule क्रिति भागवित: (कारकपाद, 101) and Maitreya Rakṣita, we shall not be very far wrong if we put him between A.D. 850 and 1050.

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

## The Authorship of the Anunyasa

Prof. Sriscandra Chakravarti in the introduction to his edition of the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā remarks: "Some say that this तन्त्रप्रीप is probably identical with the अनुनास or नासोद्योत।" This opinion is clearly untenable. From quotations in various works on grammar, we can easily make out that the Tantrapradīpa by Maitreya Rakṣita is quite a different work from the Anunyāsa. The following extract from Sīradeva's Paribhāṣāvṛtti (Benares edition, p. 79) settles the question of the authorship of the Anunyāsa:

एतियन्यनेनार्थान् इति प्रत्ययः। एरच् इत्यच्। पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण इति वा घ इति। मैत्रोयः पुनिश्चि पंज्ञायां निर्मायां चः प्रायेण इति वा घ इति। मैत्रोयः पुनिश्चि पंज्ञायां निर्मायां चः प्रायेण इति वा घ इति। मैत्रोयः पुनिश्चि पंज्ञायां निर्मित्रायः एव। एरच् इत्यच्प्रत्ययः करणे ल्याटा वाधितलान्न शक्यते कर्तुम्। न च वासद्वपविधिरित्ति त्रालुप्रित्यादिवचनात्। अत्र मैत्रोयाभिप्रायः अनुन्यासकारस्य लयन्मिम्रायः

From the above it is clear that इन्द्र (often referred to in commentaries as इन्द्रिसव) is the author of the Anunyasa. In the Durghata-

vṛtti (3, 3, 58) we read: कथं क्रियते सारसंग्रहः। "हलय" इति करणाधिकरणयोधैनापी वाधनात्। उच्यते। "करणाधिकरणयोय" इति ख्यटा घन् वाधितः, सोऽपि "हल्य" इति घन्ना, तत्य वासक्पविधिना यया लुग्रट्, तथा तिह्वये वासक्पविधिना अविति। भविति "क्लुग्रट्तुसुन्खल्येषु वासक्पविधिनां स्ति। तव भावलुग्रटो ग्रहणम् इति प्रतायम् वे "एरच्" इताच् प्रवर्त्तते इति इन्दुनीक्तम्। रिचितेन तु सामान्येन ख्युट ग्रहीतः। तन्मते वाहलकादच्।

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI

हिंसी भाषेर तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु। विप्रकीर्णस्य तत्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः॥

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The reference is evidently to the introductory verse of the Kāśikā which runs thus:

#### REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF RĀJPUTĀNĀ (in Hindi)—(Fasciculus 111), by Mahāmahopādhyāya, Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirāchānd Ojhā, (pp. 737-1136).

The present fasciculus continues the history of the state of Udayapur or Mevār for nearly 300 years—from about the third quarter of the sixteenth century to that of the nineteenth. It begins with an account of the reign of the celebrated Rānā Pratāp and closes with that of Mahārāna Sajjanasimha who was still ruling when this fasciculus went for publication.

As in the case of the earlier ones, the author has made use of all possible materials in the preparation of this volume. The careful student comparing the contents of the earlier volumes with those in the present one will, however, notice that whereas in the former ones references to inscriptions loom large in the eyes, in the present volume literary evidence has been laid much more in debt. Historical (?) poems like Rājavilās, Bhīmavilās, Rājapraśasti, Mahākāvya, Amarasimhābhiseka Kāvya etc. or later works written on the authority of such compositions like the Vamsabhāskar and the Viravinoda etc. will be found referred to at almost every page in the present volume. The reason is not far to seek. As we enter into the history of Rajaputana of the sixteenth century—we seem to enter into a new world. Dr. Tessitori has shown that the Rajput princes when they came in contact with the Mughal emperors sought to imitate them in every possible way and especially in their patronage of historical literature. But unlike the historical works written under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, those written under the auspices of the Rajput princes were very crude in their form and matter. Their value as historical evidence has been very carefully examined by that distinguished scholar, and those who are interested in Rājasthāni literature as a source of Rājput history must go through the most illuminating articles contributed by him to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The fact is that no one, who is not conversant with the western scientific method, can be expected to extract the truth, out of this mixture of fact and fancy. It is easy for a student who has an idea of how European scholars have dealt, for example, with the traditions relating to early Roman history

contained in the pages of Polybius or Livy, to appreciate the amount of credence to be put upon the Rājasthāni literature professing to be historical in character.

The present writer has his own views regarding the value to be attached to the Rājasthāni literature and it is quite permissible to differ from him in this matter. If therefore any person may disagree here and there with him, it is because there is the fundamental difference in the outlook of their respective estimation of the Rājasthāni literature as a source of history. To take an example out of many, in his account of the early history of Rānā Pratāp the author has given preference to Rājput tradition over the evidence of the contemporary Moslem records.

One could not expect—and the author, it is hoped, did not also entertain the idea that the views expressed in this work would be universally accepted. To do so is to lose sight of the scientific character of historical studies. Leaving, therefore, questions of difference of opinion aside every person going through the volumes on the history of Mevār will agree that here is a really monumental work second only to Tod's famous Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

DIE KULTER UM DEN PERSISCHEN GOLF UND IHRE AUSBREITUNG. Von Amelia Hertz, Klio, Beiheft XX. Leipzig, 1930. Pp. 140, and 8 plates.

Recent discoveries in Mesopotamia and India have made it clear that the essential elements of "civilisation" were already in being in the fourth millennium B.C.; upon these foundations of the modern world all else has been elaboration rather than discovery. These beginnings are to be connected with the first great development of agriculture, and antedate that of organised empires and warfare. The present work is an initial synthesis, arguing that the Persian Gulf culture (a term practically equivalent to "Early Asiatic") survives recognizably, with further evolution, in the later Indian, Greek and Hebrew civilisations. Above all in the Indian not as the result of later influences but as a tendency inherited from a common source or closely related sources the authoress regards it as certain that the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley cultures were both of Elamite origin. The ultimate debt of existing civilisations to the

I.H.Q., JUNE, 1931 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar most ancient cultures of Western Asia is undeniable, and thus it becomes more and more clear that "Indo-European" is by no means the same thing as "Indo-Aryan". The latter term has an almost exclusively linguistic significance, the former primarily a cultural and only incidentally a linguistic significance. From the Mediterranean to the Ganges valley the Aryans inherited the pre-Aryan culture of the conquered races, contributing only the new language and nomenclature which became the vehicle of a new synthetic and more conscious civilisation, equally in the Mediterranean area and in India (in Mesopotamia where Aryan language failed to take root, no such consequences followed). Thus, for example, the vegetation cults in religion and the technique of metal work in industry are Indo-European, but Indo-Aryan only in the sense that "Aryan" peoples inherited these culture goods equally in both areas.

Civilisation may then be said to have started with Proto-Elamite I. The special merit of the present work lies in its attempt to recognize the survivals of this early tradition, not merely as fossils, but as living tendencies. The religious aspect of the question is summarily treated; this is perhaps due to the fact that in comparative mythology it so often, and unfortunately, happens that more stress is laid on the names of deities than upon their essential nature (in India, for example, the fundamental identity of Varuna-Prajapati-Brahmā-Nārāyana is often overlooked, though in all of these and in the myths connected with them, one and the same general concept of God is clearly preserved). The chief emphasis of the argument is made to rest on mathematics, a subject to which the authoress has devoted particular attention (see "Les débuts de la géometrie", Rev. de Synthèse Historique, June, 1929): the advanced mathematical formulæ implied in the Indian rules for the construction of the Firealtars (acquaintance with "root-rectangles" etc., in the Apastamba Sulba Sūtra, etc.) is connected with the early development of a kind of mathematical theology and of geometrical design on pottery in Mesopotamia and Susa I. Somewhat imperfectly preserved in Babylonia and Egypt, the mathematical tradition is continued in India more clearly than anywhere else; until in the middle ages Indian arithmetic and algebra reached Europe via the Arabs. Einstein, the spiritual descendant of the Proto-Elamites! a sweeping synthesis, a grandiose conception of human unity, by no means altogether fanciful.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Luzac and Co., 1930, 324 pp.

The object of this valuable work is to apprise the world of the fact that the Tamils have a distinctive culture of their own as hoary, noble, and varied as that of Northern India of the post-Vedic period. The author Mr. Dikshitar brings out in bold relief the part played by Sangams in the production of the Tamil literary treasures. He is of opinion that the origin of the Sangams may be shrouded in obscurity but there remains the fact that "there was something like an organized Academy from ancient times and it continued to exist for several centuries" (p. 15). The information collected here about the Sangams is interesting. The author has experienced some difficulty in establishing the history of all the three Sangams and in fixing their dates. Sangam, the author points out, meant an Institution or Academy, the functions of which were not only to produce the Sangam works but also to act as censor of new literary compositions.

The author is of opinion that some historical truth is embedded in the local traditions of a country. In purusance of that opinion, he has collected the traditions about the origin and activities of the institutions in a neat and concise form. He first gives an account of the extant Sangam works, the ten literary pieces forming the Pattuppāttu—a production of the third Sangam, and the eighteen minor works collectively known as the Padinem-kūlakkanakku. He then proceeds to give biographies of notable Sangam writers, including the poetess Avvaiyar, the prince Ilankoadgal who wrote the Silappadikāram, and Sittalai Sāttanār, author of the Manimekalai.

In the third chapter Mr. Dikshitar deals with the religious writers in two groups: (i) Saiva Samayācāryas and (ii) Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas. The biographies of the Saiva Samayācāryas reveal to us among other things the facts that they had to carry on a vigorous campaign against the Samaṇas, i.e., the Jainas and the Buddhists who must have at that time become obnoxious to the Saivas on account of their great popularity and large number of adherents. The mystic love-poems of the Vaiṣṇava Samayācāryas, as the author points out, were indeed very charming and they well bear comparison with the noted Vaiṣṇava writings of the North. Among the Vaiṣṇava writers, he speaks of the celebrated poetess Āṇḍāl (716 A.C.) as also of the later religious and philosophical writers like Rāmalingaswāmigal (1823 A.C.). It is a well-known fact that Southern India can claim to have produced the greatest religious thinkers of the mediaeval

period and it is not improbable that much of the doctrines and philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism was contributed by the Southern Indian thinkers. So the information collected in this book about the religious thinkers and their productions is very valuable for the religious history of India.

The fourth chapter is devoted to an examination of the life and times of the author of the Tirukkural (1st or 2nd century B.C.), which abounds in Nīti maxims similar to those found in the Hitopadeśa, Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, Kautalīya Arthaśāstra, etc. Mr. Dikshitar analyses this treatise under the three heads: dharma (aram), artha (porul) and kāma (imbam) and shows by citations from Sanskrit Nīti works that the Tamil conception of Muppāl (Trivarga) was not different from that of Aryan India, whence it percolated into Tamil India at a very early date.

So far the author of the present work has been cautious in drawing his conclusions, but when he comes to the chapters on the "Administrative Institutions" and the "Art of War," his patriotic instinct seems to dominate his critical sense, the scanty materials scattered here and there in one or two Sangam works, supplemented by materials collected from some of the later Tamil works and inscriptions he infers the existence of "a wonderful system of polity, having very much in common with the North Indian polity, though in some respects strikingly original" (p. 177).

In the last chapter the author treats of "Social Life in Tamil Land." The information about life in towns and villages is scanty, but it has been partially recompensed by the interesting and well-written sections on marriage and marriage customs, dancing, music, amusements, festivals and superstitions.

We quite appreciate the remark of the author that it is not an easy task to present a complete picture of the ancient Tamil society within the small compass of 50 pages. The task undertaken by him viz., to present us with not only a social picture of the ancient Tamils but also a fairly comprehensive picture of their political institutions, religious and literary activities is really onerous. He has enlivened the book by biographical accounts of the personages who have contributed to the culture which makes Drāvida what it is today. The value of the work has been much enhanced by the accounts of the Sangam works, their probable dates and the nature of the historical materials that can be found in them.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA—by Francis Buchanan—Edited by V. H. Jackson M.A., I.E.S.—1928 (Bihar and Orisa Research Society).

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has done considerable service by undertaking the gradual publication of those portions of the Buchanan Mss. which relate to the districts of Bihar. The Journals of Francis Buchanan kept during the survey of the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12, and the district of Shahbad in 1812-13 were published by the Society in 1925 and 1926 respectively. These volumes were enriched by valuable editorial introductions and notes by two well-known scholars-the Patna report being edited by Mr. V. H. Jackson and the Shahbad report being edited by Mr. C.E.A.W. Oldham. The volume under notice is not the Journal, but the Report of the survey of the Purnea district made in 1809-10. The Journal kept by Buchanan during the survey appears to have been lost, which enhances the value of the Report. In the Buchanan Mss. the Journals are quite distinct from the Reports on the corresponding districts. Buchanan used to keep a daily journal, not intended for publication, recording the information which he received and his own observations on the day's march, The matter recorded in the Journal together with a large amount of supplementary information was at the end of the survey of each district rearranged and put under the appropriate sections for publication as a Report. The Reports are therefore carefully finished works following in their arrangement the actual order of Buchanan's instructions.

When in January 1807 the Court of Directors selected Dr. Francis Buchanan to carry out a "statistical survey" of the Bengal presidency, their choice fell upon a person who was eminently qualified for that kind of work. Dr. Buchanan came to India in 1794 as a surgeon on the Bengal establishment. From the first, the scientific turn of his mind inclined him towards Botanical and Zoological enquiries. He was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava in course of which he acquired knowledge of the plants of the Andamans, Pegu and Ava. On his return he was stationed at Luckipore, where he wrote a description of the fishes of the Brahmaputra. He was then sent by the Board of Trade at Calcutta to Chittagong and its neighbourhood to conduct investigations. In 1800, after the conquest of Mysore, Lord Wellesley selected Buchanan to make investigations which were to extend "throughout the dominions of the present Raja of Mysore, and the country acquired by the Company in the late war from the Sultan, as

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well as to that part of Malabar which the Company annexed to their own territories in the former war under Marquis Cornwallis," directing that "the first great and essential object of your attention should be the agriculture of the country under which your enquiries should include the following points:—esculent vegetables, cattle, farms, cotton, pepper, sandal wood and cardamums, mines, quarries, minerals and mineral springs, manufactures and manufacturers, climate and seasons and inhabitants of Mysore." These inquiries carried on during the years 1800-1 resulted in a daily journal entitled "A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar" and was published in 1807 by order of the Court of Directors. In 1802 again Buchanan accompanied the embassy of Capt. Knox to Nepal and made collections of rare plants. It was to such a man that the statistical survey of the Bengal presidency was entrusted in 1807.

"The subjects of more particular inquiry were as follows: I. A full topographical account of each district; its climate and meteorology; its history and antiquities. 2. The number and condition of the inhabitants; their food, habits, diseases etc,; education and resources for the indigent. 3. Religion; the different sects or tribes; the emoluments and power of their priests and chiefs; their feeling towards our Government. 4. Natural productions, animal, vegetable and mineral; fisheries, forests, mines and quarries. 5. Agriculture, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, including the state of the landed property and tenures. 6. The progress made by the natives in the fine arts, the common arts, and manufactures. 7. Commerce."

This work was carried on from 1807-14 during which time the districts of Gaya and Patna, Shahbad, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, part of Bogra, Malda and Assam were surveyed at a cost of about Rs. 3 lakhs. The materials thus collected were forwarded by the Bengal Government to London in 1816 and did not see the light of day until published in abridged form in 1838 (nine years after Buchanan's death) in Montgomery Martin's "Eastern India." Martin's abridgement was unfortunately defective, having omitted matters of considerable value. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has therefore undertaken a very useful task in gradually publishing in full the Journals and Reports relating to the districts of Bihar. So far as the publication in extenso of the Mss. relating to the Bengal districts are concerned, only the Dinajpur Report appears to have been published in 1833. It will be a great boon to the

students of the economic and social condition of eastern India in the early years of the 19th century, if these reports too are made available in print.

Apart from the historical portions, there cannot be any word as to the great value of the Report under notice. The scientific bent of Buchanan's mind, his careful methods of investigation, his unflagging zeal which enabled him to surmount the difficulties of poincer work,—all these have gone to make his mss. a reliable source of information. An introduction to the Purnea Report from the pen of Mr. Jackson would have enhanced the value of the present publication.

A. D.

### Select Contents of Oriental Journals

#### Indian Antiquary, June 1931

- PRANNATH.—The Date of the Compilation of Kautalya's Arthakāstra. In support of the writer's view that the author of the Arthakāstra could not have been the minister of Candragupta Maurya and that the work was compiled at a time between 480 and 510 A.D., the following reasons have been put forward in this article continued to the next issue of the Journal:
  - (I) The references in the Arthasastra to seaports, ships sailing for pearl fishery and pirate vessels show that the author lived in a country situated somewhere near the sea coast. (2) The chapter dealing with the management of crown lands (svabhūmi) indicates that the king contemplated therein possessed landed properties near the Western sea, forming a political unit including Konkana, Kaccha, Surāstra, Sindh etc. with its capital at Ujjain in Malwa. (3) Historical evidences point to the existence of a Malwa empire answering to the conditions of the supposed 'political unit' in Western India during the early centuries of the Christian era (from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D.). (4) The author's references to a law punishing offences against the Hūṇas show that his work was written at a time when his country occupied a dependent position and was afraid of the Hūṇas. This was in fact the position of the Malwa empire during the last part of the 5th century.
- A. Venkatasubbia.—A Buddhist Parallel to the Avimāraka Story. Parallelism between a story in the Kuṇālajātaka and the main facts of the drama Avimāraka has been pointed out in this paper. Different versions of the story have also been shown to exist in the Kathāsaritsāgara as well as in the Jayamangalā commentary on the Kāmasūtra.

# Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

vol. xvi, pts. iii and iv.

K. P. JAYASWAL. - Problems of Saka Satavahana History. - Mr. Jayaswal first states the conclusions of Dr. Sten Konow, with which

he agrees, e.g., ayasa, the date (year I) on the Peshawar casket of Kaniska Khalastse Inscription, identification of Kuyula Kaphasa, arrangement of the Kharosthi Inscriptions, and Kamboja. The writer then states the points, on which he differs from Dr. Sten Konow and gives his own views. They are

Re. Śaka History:—Bhūmaka—The two Śaka Eras and the Founder of the Era of 78 A.D.—The Date of the earlier Śaka Conquest—Date of the earlier Śaka Era—Years of Gondophares—Chinese date for Kuṣāṇa Kadphises and Wima—Date of Śoḍāsa—Patika—Nahapāṇa—Vikrama era—Kuṣāṇas.

Re. Śātavāhana History:—Struggle of the Śātavāhana dynasty with the Śuṅgas and the Śakas—Chronology of Śātakaṛṇi II and his son Pulumāvi—Early Śātavāhana or Andhra kings—Fixed Points in the Śātavāhana Chronology—Order of the Kings—Purāṇas and Nahapāṇa—New Light on Nahapāṇa—Identification of the Nānāghāt Statues—Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Appendix A: Extracts from Āvaśyakasūtra (uttarārdha pūrvabhāga) and Abhidhāna-rājendra—The last Kāṇvāyana and his Śātavāhana Conqueror—Identification of Guṇāḍhya's and Somadeva's Vikramāditya and the Śātavāhana of 78 A.D.—Course of events after 83 A.D.—Identification of the Dynasties contemporary with the Andhras—Their Reign-Periods—Verification of the numbers of kings and reign-periods in the contemporary dynasties—The Śakas of the Purāṇas—Traikūṭa Era—The Purāṇas and the so-called Dark Period.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—Linguistic Analysis and Dravidian Names denoting 'Peacock' and 'Bat.'—The object of the writer is to substantiate the theory propounded by Prof. J. Przyluski that there were in pre-Aryan India not only Dravidians but also a large population of Austrics by showing that there were mutual loans of words between Dravidians and Austrics. In this paper, the writer proposes "to discuss purely from the standpoint of the Dravidist, the possibilities of Dravido-Austric relationship" in connection with certain Dravidian forms denoting the names of (i) Peacock and (ii) Bat.

SYED MOHAMMAD.—Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna.—The writer has edited and translated 112 inscriptions dating from 916 to 1276 (Hijri era). He classifies them into four sections, the first section includes those which "refer to the royalties, governors, their deputies and there were and fall within the time of the public bland between the content of the royalties."

of Aurangzeb; the second contains the inscriptions of the weak rulers who followed Aurangzeb within 50 years (i.e. up to 1757—the date of the battle of Plassey); the third speaks of the inscriptions on mosques and tombs (1757-1807) and the fourth of mosques built by barbers, drum-makers and the like (1807-1857). There is also an index to names in the above mentioned inscriptions.

- N. TRIPATHI.—Two Sulki Plates. These records were published by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī in vol. II, pt. iv of this journal (JBORS.). The present writer identifies the following geographical names and titles: Kodālo, Stambha and Stambheśvarī, and Gondrama. He gives the readings, in which he differs from those of Mm. H. P. Šāstr.
- N. TRIPATHI.—Jayapura Copper-plate grant of Dhruvānanda Deva. The writer gives a revised reading of this inscription first published by Dr. A. Banerji Šāstrī in the JBORS. 1929 with a free translation of the text and notes on the script, date, language and the identification of Jayapura and Gondrama. He has appended a note on the words. Nanda, Varņacatuṣṭayaḥ, Godhā, Parama Saugata, Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda and Rājanaka.

#### March, 1931

- BINAYAK MISRA.—Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakeśarī Mahā-bhavagupta IV. This inscription has been edited with translation and ample historical notes. It was a grant issued from Yayātinagara (=Biṅkā in the Sonepur State), the donor of the grant was Uddyotakeśarī, son of Yayāti II, whose reign falls between 960-70 A.C. The date of Uddyotakeśarī is placed at the 11th century A.C.
- TARAPADA CHOWDHURY.—On the Interpretation of some Doubtful Words in the Atharva-veda. The writer deals with the following words:—ákṣu, ákṣya, ádrūkṣṇa, ádroghāvitā, aparāparaṇáḥ, arāṭakī, alají, álpaśayu, ávarjuṣṇām, aśvakṣabhā, asaṃsūktagilá, áharjāta, aṇḍīka, āśuṅgá, āsrāvá, uttaradraú, rdantu, éru, kákutsala, kanáknaka, kamála, kalmalí, kúmba, kurīra, kurūṭinī, khadūra, khṛgala, galuntáḥ, ghṛtastāvas, cīti, jabhya, tardá, tāyādarám, tirīṭin, turmiśam, taimātá, taulá, duradabhnā, dūrśá, nyá, paṭūrá, paruṣá, párśāna, pavásta, pṛṣṭi, péṣṭra, prārtha, bhṛmalá, maṇ(n)aú, madhyamaśīr, mūra,ṃūradeva, vrā, samuṣpalā, səiśīma.

- HIRANANDA SASTRI.—Were Rāgamālās painted by the Artists of Kangara. The object of this paper is to refute the contention of Coomaraswamy that the "Kāngrā painters never painted Rāgamālās." He comments also on the sense of the nomenclature 'Kāngrā School' or 'Pāhārī School.'
- BINAYAK MISRA.—Copper-plate Grant of Nettabhañja. "The grant records the gift of the village Sthambakāralaundaka of the Olā-śṛṇga District." The gift was made in memory of the merit of Bāsaṭādevī, the deceased queen of the donor. In the introduction the writer deals with the history of the Bhañja family of Mayūrabhañja.
- SUDHAKAR PATNAIK,—Śobhaneśvar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanāth. This inscription contains a Praśasti and was found on the Śobhaneśvar temple (near Puri). The temple was built by King Vaidhanāth.
- PARAMATMA ŚARAN.—Sher Shah's Revenue System. The object of the writer is to examine the conclusions already arrived at by Qanungo and Moreland in the light of evidences supplied by the original works. He takes up three main questions: "(1) the mode of assessment, (2) the form of payment, (3) the proportion or amount of the state share," and studies them "in respect of the two periods of Sher Shah's administration, viz., the period of his governorship of his father's jagir, and second, the period of his kingship."
- MATHURALAL SHARMA.—Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism. The writer has collected the beliefs and superstitions referred to in the early Buddhist literature as well as in the works of later Buddhism,

## Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. ii

- A. PADMANABHAYYA.—Ancient Bhygus. In continuation of the article amplifying the theme that the Drāvidas, Asūras and Bhygus are identical, an account of the chief Bhygu leaders mentioned in literature has been given here as also of their original home and their relation with the outside world.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—References to Ancient Stories in the Rāmā-yaṇa.
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Kaṇḍvakolnu to Viśvanātha, a Śaiva teacher at Śrī Parvata by Bhaktirāja Coḍa who was also known by the name Kāmarāja belonging to the Sūryavaṃśa. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the genealogy of an unknown line of local chiefs, who call themselves Coḍas of the solar race.

# Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

- G. Tucci.—Notes on the Nyāyapraveśa by Śankarasvāmin. Prof. Tucci has studied the commentary of Kúei-chi on the Nyāyapraveśa recently published in the Gækwad's Oriental Series. Kúei-chi was a disclple of Yuan Chwang and had a wide knowledge of the Indian philosophy. Prof. Tucci presents in this article only those discussions which seemed to him to have elucidated the problems tackled in the Nyāyapraveśa in greater details.
- S. K. DE. A Note on Pañcakāla in connection with Pañcarātra.

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P. 197 line 23, Read houses for horses

P. 200 line 5, "embellishments for embellishment

P. 200 line 20, "friezes for griezes



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### THE

# Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VII

SEPTEMBER, 1931

No. 3

### Finger-posts of Bengal History\*

In Bengal, many historical land-marks have been completely effaced; the identity of famous cities like Paundravardhana or Karnasuvarna is now a matter of conjecture, and contradictory opinions prevail about the conquest of Nadia where, according to Minhaj (1260 A.D.), the king of Bengal was residing when Ikhtiar-ud-din took it about 1200 A.D. The existence of the Hindu king Ganesa, who for a short time ousted the Pathans from the throne of Gaur, is also a matter of conjecture. In fact, till Akbar came, and with the Mongolian instinct (evidence of which we see in the chronicles of the Chinese and the Ahoms) had the Ain-i-Akbari (1558 A.D.) compiled, we possess no contemporary chronicles of Bengal. We have indeed the Rāmacarita, a 12th century work brought from Nepal by MM. Haraprasad Sastri and the comparatively modern Kulapañjis of several sections of the Brahmanas and the Kayasthas, but the former is a dvyartha-kāvya, for nearly two thirds of which again, no authoritative key is available, while the latter are of a more recent date and are in conflict with certain known facts of history.

Another factor, from which the other parts of India are comparatively free, has confused the history of Bengal. Four rivers of entirely different

<sup>\*</sup>Read at the Literary Conference of the Varendra Research Society, March 1931.

The following abbreviations have been used: I.H.Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly. Fleet = Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions. Allan = Allan's Gupta Coins.

characters have been at work in its bosom for ages, viz., the snow fed Ganges from the north-west, the hill torrents of the Damodar and the Rūpnārāyana bringing down heavy loads of sand in the monsoons from the hills of the west, the mighty Brahmaputra with its tributary, the Surma on the east, and the smaller and clear streams of North-Bengal, such as the Karatoyā, which is represented now by the Atreyī and is realistically described in the verse sarva raktavaha nadyah Karatoyambuvāhinī (V. R. S. Monographs No. 2, p. 27, v. 41). The working of this hydrographical factor may be detected, even in the present days of unification, in the speech and culture of the four divisions of Bengal, viz., Varendra, Rāḍha, Vaiga and Bagri (Pravāsī, Bhādra, 1335, p. 692; Bhāratavarṣa, 1338, p. 236), the divisions of the Bengalee Brāhmaņas into the four sections, Varendra, Rādhī, Pāścātya-Vaidika and Dākṣiṇātya-Vaidika and of the Bengalee Kāyasthas into the four sections, Varendra, Uttara-Rādhī, Daksiņa-Rādhī and Vangaja and possibly in the predominence of the Muslim population in Varendra and Vaiiga. These rivers again have changed their spheres of action from time to time effacing old land-marks, so that it is hard to trace even comparatively recent changes, e.g., the birth of the Padma (1.A.S.B., 1924, Art. 8 and Adams Williams, Gangetic Delta, p. 1), not to speak of older land-marks, e.g., the confluence of the Karatoyā and the Ganges, where Rāmapāla founded Rāmāvatī (Rāmacarita, III, 10 and 31). The present hydrographical condition of Bengal has given rise to much discussions among scholars from Sir Arthur Cotton's time to that of Sir William William Willcocks.

Thus several factors have obscured our ancient history. Bankim Chandra referred in his woks to many historical incidents (of the Mughal and early British periods and of North, West and South Bengal, which he personally knew) and at places he paid glowing eulogies to ancient Hindu monuments, e.g., the Mātṛkā images on the Lalitagiri hill (Sītārāma, ch. 13) which are attracting the attention of archaeologistis now, after forty years (Chakladar, Modern Review, August, 1928, p. 217, and Chanda, Arch. S. 1. Memoir, No. 44). Since Bankim's time much work has been put in, in Bengal, by the publication of Bengali histories of many districts and several Kulapañjis, and some parts of Mr. Nagendranath Basu's comprehensive work on the 'Castes and Sects of Bengal', and by articles and discussions in the vernacular monthlies, few of which are issued now-a days without one or more contributions of this class. Articles of a more scholarly

nature find place in the learned journals, while the two parts of Rakhaldas Banerji's Bāṅglār Itihāsa are a veritable mine of information on Bengal history down to the 16th century A.D.

But the real advance in our knowledge has been due to the discovery of numerous important inscriptions during the last 20 years or so, which has pushed back our documented history to the Gupta period (cf. Monahan, Early History of Bengal with the corresponding chapters of Banerji's Itihāsa). Our literary evidences are poor, while images and sculptures throw but an uncertain light even on art and religious movements, and the find of coins is insufficient, a few being of the Guptas and none of the Pālas or Senas. Of the Pathan Sultans, many coins have come down to us, but by themselves they do not yield history. So for 1200 years from 350 to 1550 A.D., corresponding roughly to the Middle Ages of Europe but divided in our history into the four periods, Gupta, Pāla, Sena and Pathan (i.e., Pre-Mughal Muslim), the inscriptions are the real finger-posts of history for Bengal.

Of the Gupta period some 30 inscriptions are now available, including those found in Magadha (Bihar) and Kāmarūpa (Assam) with which in this as in the next period, Bengal was linked up. The recent notable find is a plate of Samudragupta discovered at Nalanda in 1928. Some sixty inscriptions and manuscripts refer to the Palas themselves and some twenty to their contemporaries, and they are being discovered even now; a recent addition is a copper-plate of Dharmapāla found at Nalanda in 1928. Again, one plate, the long lost Munger plate of Devapala has been recovered in curious circumstances, 'hidden away between a beam and the roof of Kenwood house' (E.I., XVIII, p. 304). Of the Senas who wielded a shorter sway, and of their contemporaries a much smaller number is available, all of which have been brought together in the Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. III, except the one from Saktipur, Mursidabad District recently deposited in, and published by, the Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣat (S. P. Patrikā, Saka 1837, p. 216).

Of the Pathan period, some 180 inscriptions have come to light, including one recently found near the Bhawanipur shrine (south of Bogra). For an authentic history of Bengal it is essential to have these 'finger-posts' presented in a connected and properly edited form. This task the Varendra Research Society began some years ago when they published in Bengali the principal Pāla inscriptions then known as Gaudalekha-mālā, vol. I, edited by the well-known scholar, the late Mr.

Akshay Kumar Maitra. The task has since vastly increased, and at the instance mainly of Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar, sometime Curator of their Museum, the Society have decided to publish a work named the Inscriptions of Bengal in English, in four volumes for the four periods, of which Vol. III is the first issue. We are shortly expecting a corpus of the Assam inscriptions of the Gupta and Pāla periods entitled Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali from the pen of the erudite scholar MM. Padmanatha Vidyavinoda who has made a life-long study of them.

But even in their present state, these inscriptions point to several striking facts, one of which is that although some of them, such as the copper-plates, are portable, they are seldom found far removed from the localities to which they relate. Again, copper-plate grants and deeds are peculiar to Hindu India. They are all of oblong shape, but their size and seals vary. The only plate of any Gupta emperor published so far is the Gaya plate of Samudragupta, which, however, was issued by an aksapataladhikrta and is said to be spurious (Fleet, p. 254), though the Nalanda plate of the same Emperor may possibly upset this opinion. Its seal bears the figure of Garuda. The other plates of the period are mostly deeds of landtransfer issued by governors (uparika or samanta) except the Nidhanpur grant of king Bhāskaravarman. Their sizes vary from about 7"×5" to 10"×7". Only one seal of a Gupta uparika is legible. It bears the figure of a trident and the name of the bhukti. Of the plates of the uparikas of other kings, several bear the 'Gaja-Laksmi' seal and a few the 'Couchant bull' seal. The grants of the Pāla kings measure 16" x 11" or more, and all bear the 'dharma-cakra' seal with the king's name. Of the contemporaries, Śrīcandra's plates measure 9" x 8" and have the 'dharma-cakra' seal, Kantideva's plate measures 7" x 7" and its seal bears the figure of a lion en face below a trifoil arch, and Bhojavarman's one measures 10" × 10" and has a 'Viṣṇu-cakra' seal. The plates of the Sena kings measure about 13" x 12" and bear the 'Sadāsiva' seal. Of their successors, the Adavadi plate of Dasaratha is 12" × 9" and its seal bears the figure of a 'Caturbhuja Viṣṇu' and the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara measures 7" × 7" and is surmounted by the figure of 'Visnu riding on Garuda'. Regarding Kāmarūpa, all the plates found from the time of Bhāskaravarman to that of Vaidyadeva are about 10" × 7" and their seals bear the same figure of an elephant en face inspite of all the changes of regime.

### The Gupta Period c. 350-750 A.D.

About the year 1910, a copper-plate of 433 A.D., referring to Kumāragupta and the Khātā-pāḍā viṣaya was found at Dhanaidaha (7 miles north of Ishurdi Ry. Stn., and near Santail) where a Kālī image is said to have preserved the memory of the Sanyals, who dominated this tract in the seventeenth century and whose line is continued in the present Puthia house. Connecting this with other Gupta inscriptions and literature then known, Prof. Rādhāgovinda Basāk made a sketch of the condition of Bengal in the Gupta age (Manasi of Aṣāḍh, 1322). Since then many more antiquities of that age have come to light, enabling us to develop that sketch. Thus five copper-plates (of dates between 444 and 544 A.D.) have been discovered at Damodarpur, a Jaina copper-plate of 479 A.D. and several stone images at Paharpur (see Modern Review, 1928, p. 502 and Arch. Survey Ind. Ann. Rep., 1925-26, p. 110), and several coins, bronze images and stone carvings in and around Mahāsthāna, which some writers identify with the ancient city of Paundravardhana (V. R. S. Monograph No. 2). A sand-stone image of Buddha of the Sarnath type has been found at a place bearing the significant name of Bihar-il. All these places are in Varendra.

As for other parts of Bengal, the finds reported are: a hoard of 200 Gupta coins at Kālīghāṭ in Warren Hastings' time and lesser hoards near Hughli, Tanda and Muhammadpur (Allan, Catalogue, p. xccv); a copper-plate referring to a king Jayanāga in the Mallia Indigo estate (probably near Tanda); four similar plates of Samācāradeva and others in the Koṭālīpāra tract; a similar copper-plate of Lokanātha in the Tippera state, a plate of 508 A.D., of Vainyagupta at Gunaighar, near Chittagong (I. H. Q., 1930, p. 45); inscriptions referring to king Śaśānka in Rhotas-garh and Ganjam; a bronze caitya (Banerji, Itihāsa, pl. 8); two grants of the Khaḍga kings at Asraſpur; and imitations of Gupta coins in the ruins at Sabhar.

In Bihar, to the inscriptions published by Fleet, there have been some important additions, such as an inscribed image of Neminātha on the Vaibhāra hill of Rajagir, which is ascribed to the reign of Candragupta II (Annual Report A. S. I., 1925-26, p. 125), a copper-plate grant of Samudragupta discovered at Nalanda in 1928, the seals, found at the same place some years before, which are ascribed to certain Maukhari and Vais kings and king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (J. B. O. R. S., 1919, p. 302), and the Nālanda stone

inscription referring to Bālāditya and Yasovarman (E. I., XX, p. 37;

Modern Review, 191, p. 306).

As regards Assam, besides the above seal and reference to Bhāskaravarman's father in the Aphsad Inscription (Fleet, p. 206) we have his Nidhanpur grant. It is significant that all the copper-plate grants discovered in the province dating from Bhāskaravarman's to Vaidyadeva's time are invariably of the Gupta type, and the Gupta era was in use as late as 830 A.D., as seen in king Harjara's rock inscription at Tezpur (J. B. O. R. S., 1917, p. 508).

Some scholars are of opinion that it is really the Guptas who under the poetic disguise of the Raghus form the theme of Kālīdāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, and that Canto IV of the poem is a disguised version of the conquering tour of Samudragupta, a record of whose conquest is inscribed on the pillar now in Allahabad fort (but originally at Kauśāmbī, 30 miles westward on the Jumna). With regard to the eastern powers of the age, this inscription describes Samudragupta as Samatata-Davaka-Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Karttrpurādi-pratyanta-nrpatibhih.....pranāmāgamana-paritoṣita-pracanḍa-śāsanasya (Fleet, p. 8). It may be noted incidentally that Karttipura is identified with present Kumaon (V. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1897, p. 881).

Raghu's progress through Bengal is thus described by Kālīdāsa (Canto IV, verses 34 to 38).

पौरस्थानेवमाक्रामन् तांसान् जनपदान् जयौ। प्राप तालीवनश्यामसुपकग्छं महोदधे: ॥ अनसाणां समुद्रतर्भसमात् सिन्धुरयादिव। आत्मा संरचितः सुचैवं तिमायित्य वैतसीम् ॥ वङ्गानृत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् । निचखान जयसमान् गङ्गास्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः ॥ आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा दव ते रष्ठम् । फलैः संवर्षयोमासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः ॥ स तीर्लो कपिशां सैनैकंबिदरदसेतुभिः । उत्कलादिशितपयः कलिङ्गाभिसुखो ययौ॥

There is little agreement between the two versions. It is significiant of the hydrographical condition of the time that the poet—always very accurate in his geographical details—makes the conqueror reach first the seacoast and then cross Suhma and then Vanga. The Hadaha inscription of 553 A.D., of Īsānavarma of the Maukhari dynasty which dominated the Madhyadesa after the Guptas also calls the Gaudas samudrāśrayas (Banerji, Itihāsa, I, p. 94). This is the earliest record which mentions Gauda. It is interesting to note that different degrees of martial spirit are attributed to the three peoples by Kālīdāsa who describes the Suhmas and Utkalas as tamely submitting to Raghu, and the Vangas putting up a tough fight. Regarding the omission of their names in Canto VI it may be said that before

the herald reached any of their chiefs her task was cut short by Indumati accepting Aja, as was the case with the king of Kāmarūpa who is omitted in Canto VI but mentioned as Aja's best man in verse 17 of Canto VII.

From the fact that the plates found in west Varendra refer to Gupta emperors while those found elsewhere in Bengal refer to kings of other lines, it appears that the Gupta sway in Bengal was confined to west Varendra or what was afterwards known as the kingdom of Gauda, while the rest of Bengal and Kāmarūpa merely adopted the Gupta script and the Gupta system of administration but were not under their sway. From the fact that none of these inscriptions go beyond Kumāragupta's time we may conclude that Bengal was included in the Gupta empire when it reached its palmy days under that emperor, as the poet Vatsa-Bhaṭṭi puts it in the verse catuḥ-samudrānta etc. (Fleet, p. 82).

We also find that even in the Gupta age Nalanda in Magadha and Paharpur in Varendra were important religious centres—the latter being a Jaina one. The importance of Nalanda even in that age can be judged from the fact that about 539 A.D., a mission came there from China and after several years' stay left with a collection of Buddhist manuscripts along with the learned scholar Paramārtha (Guide to Nalanda, p. 9). In Samudragupta's Nalanda plate, Skandagupta's inscribed pillar at Bihar town, the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, (c. 672) and the Maukhari, Vais and Bhāskaravarma seals and the inscription referring to Bālāditya (c. 530) and Yaśovarman of Kanauj (728-740) found at Nalanda, we have an almost unbroken chain of evidence of the political importance of the Nalanda-Bihar tract throughout the Gupta period.

It is difficult to say exactly which faith was professed by the Guptas or where was the capital of their vast empire. From Garuda standard and Laksmi figures on their coins some scholars infer that they were Vaisnavas,—a view confirmed by the Garuda seal of the Gayā plate. Their capital is said by some to have been Patna. But Kālīdāsa refers to that city (or Puṣpapura—Raghu, VI, 24) as the capital of Parantapa, king of Magadha, and places the capital of the Raghus i.e., the Guptas at Sāketa or Ayodhyā (Raghu, XIII, 61 and 99). According to Rhys Davids the two places were close to each other (Buddhist India, p. 39). The latter name is confirmed by the Gayā plate (though V. Smith questions it, J. R. A. S., 1897, p. 24). Some scholars think that Bhittri, near Ghazipur, was the capital of the Guptas as several inscribed pillars and other relics of their sway have been found in its

vicinity, and probably it was there that the Sarayu joined the Ganges in those days (Raghu, VIII. 95). We look to the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta to throw decisive light on the above two points as also on the antiquity of Nalanda and the authenticity of the Gayā plate.

The art of bronze-casting and stone sculpture were carried to excellence in the Gupta age, as is proved by the few samples that have survived in Bengal. The gilt bronze Bodhisattva in the V. R. S. Museum is remarkable not only as a work of art but also for the skill in bronze-casting which it exhibits (*Modern Review*, 1926, p. 426). The engraver of the Aphsad inscription was a Gauda artizan (Fleet, p. 201).

### Transition from Gupta to Pala Period

It is not known which power rose in Gauda when the Gupta power fell before the Huns about the middle of the 6th century, A.D. The Mallia plates suggest the name of a king Jaya-naga at Karnasuvarna, as will be discussed later. Early in the seventh century, however, the kingdom of Gauda with its capital at Karnasuvarna was under the sway of Sasanka. His name occurs in a seal matrix, in several coins and in the Ganjam grant of his Samanta Madhava-Varman (one piece of whose Puri plate is in the V. R. S. Museum, Sāhitya, 1319, p. 889) as well as in Bāṇa's Hars v-carita, and Hiuen Tsang's Records. He probably succeeded king Jaya-naga at Karnasuvarna. According to Mr. Allan, he reigned from c. 600 to 625 A.D. (Catalague, p. lxiv). No viru la of his is known but his coins as well as the seal on his Samanta's copperplate bear the figure of a bull, though an image of Laksmī figures on the reverse of the coins. He is said to have been a Saiva and a persecutor of Buddhism. He was a powerful ruler exercising his sway as far as Rhotasgarh in the west and Ganjam in the south, and though his attempt on Kanauj failed, he held his own against Harsa-vardhana, whose sway never reached Bengal. Kanauj, it may be noted, was made a capital by the Maukharis in the 6th century, and thereafter for 600 years, until the Muslim conquest, with various names (Kuśasthali, Mahodaya, Gādhipura), and under various dynasties (Harşa, Yasovarma, the Ayudha, Gurjjara and Gahadavala kings) it was the principal province of the Madhyadesa (Pravāsī, 1336, Bhādra p. 705).

After Saśāńka's death his kingdom probably passed to Bhāskaravarma of Kāmarūpa as the latter's Nidhanpur grant was issued from Karnasuvarna, and he appears, from H. Tsang's account to have controlled the sea-route from Bengal (Beal's Hiuen Tsang, p. 188), while the discovery of his seal at Nalanda and the reference to his father in the Aphsad inscription prove that there was a close contact between Magadha and Kāmarūpa in those days. It is to be noted also that, the inscriptions so ably edited now in the Kāmarūpa sāsanāvalī show that it was the Kāmarūpa kings,—both before and after Bhāskara, e.g., Bhūtivarma (5th century A.D.) and Vanamāla (9th century A.D.),—who held the Bengal Duar between the Tista and the Karatoya, calling it the Candrapurī viṣaya. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit (643 A.D., Eastern Varendra or Puṇḍravardhana formed a separate principality, but it is not known under which ruler.

On Bhāskaravarma's death about 630 A.D. (Gait, Assam, p. 363), or on the overthrow of some successor of his by Yaśovarma of Kanauj (c. 740 A.D.,) as commemorated in the poem of Gauda-vaho, anarchy ensued in Gaud. His name occurs in an inscription found at Nalanda, and Yaśovarmapura close to it (Gaudalekhāmālā, p. 52) was very likely named after him. It was probably at this time that Śrī-harṣa of Kāmarūpa overran Gaud-Odrādi-Kalinga-Kośala as recorded in the inscription (A.D. 748) of his son-in-law, king Jayadeva, at Paśupatināth (Nepal) (Ind. Ant., IX, p. 178).

During the transition period as in the early Gupta age, other parts of Bengal pursued different courses of history. Of the early period we have the doubtful Sisunia hill inscription near Bankura town and the Travels of Fa Hien (405-411 A.D.) who mentions Tamluk as the capital of Suhma. Hiuen Tsang (630-645 A.D.) mentions also Samatata and four principalities to the east of it, which are identified with Sylhet, Comilla, Tippera and Manipur by Mm. Padmanath Vidyavinod (I.H.Q., 1928, p. 169). In the 6th and 7th centuries there were at least three principalities in Southern Bengal which though so far apart as Tanda, Koṭālipāḍā and Tippera, yet had, as evidenced in the use of their Sāmantas, the same type of seal consisting of an image of Lakṣmī with an elephant on either side pouring water on her. It may be noted that this figure occurs in ancient Buddhist architecture, e.g., on a gate at Sāñcī (Buddhist India, p. 279), a Barhut pillar and a Bodh-Gaya railing.

One copper-plate with this seal, found about the year 1854 in the indigo estate of Mallia and deposited in the Museum of Perth, has recently been published (E.I., XVIII, p. 60). It refers to king Jayanaga of Karnasuvarna, a Bhūgavata and records the grant of a village in the Audum-

barika viṣaya by his sāmanta Nārāyaṇa-bhadra. Mr. Banerji identified this visaya with sarkar Audambar or Tanda of later days (E.I., XIX. p. 286). The term ganginika occurs in this as in two other grants viz., the Nidhanpur grant which was issued from Karnasuvarna and the Khalimpur grant which was found near Tanda. Another term yanaka, meaning a channel, also occurs in the Mallia and Khalimpur grants. From these and the find of Gupta coins at Tanda, it appears that the kingdom of Karnasuvarna or Gaud, as it was also called, centred round Tanda, and it is in that locality that we should look for the lost site of its capital. Kansat near Gaud suggests a clue. To this king Jayanaga Mr. Allan attributes certain coins which he left unattributed on p. 150-51 of his Catalogue, and which bear the word Jaya on obverse and prakāda yasah on reverse. One is tempted to go further and suggest that the same king is referred to by Jaya on the obverse of Sasanka's coins (Allan, Catalogue, p. 147-48) and that it was under him that Śiśānka was a mahāsāmanta, as referred to in the Rhotas garh seal matrix (Fleet, p. 284), before he became king himself as recorded in the Ganjam plate of 620 A.D. of Madhavavarma (E.I., VI, p. 144).

In the Koțălipada tract four inscriptions with the Gaja-Laksmi seal have been found, two of which refer to king Dharmaditya and uparikas Sthānudatta and Nāgadeva, one to king Gopacandra and uparika Nāgadeva and the fourth one to king Samācāradeva and uparika Jiva-datta (I.A., 1910, p. 193; J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 475 and E.I., XVIII, p. 47). The order of succession of these kings is uncertain, but Mr. Bhattasāli attributes to the last named king two coins (Allan, Catalogue, p. 149-150) which bear the words Samacha on obverse and Narendrāditya on reverse (E.I., XVIII, p. 80). One of these coins was found with a coin of Śaśāńka at Muhammadpur, 30 miles west of Koṭālipāḍā and is pronounced to be of an earlier date, probably end of the 6th century A. D. All the four grants were issued by Uparikas of Varaka mandala of which Navyavakāsikā was the capital and they give no indication of either the capital or the faith of the kings over them. One of the coins, however, bears a 'bull' standard on its obverse and both of them, the figure of Laksmī on their reverse. Varaka mandala may be identified with the present Koţālipādā tract, where many Gupta coins as well as a Sena copper-plate have been found,

In the Tippera tract only one plate with the Gaja-Lakṣmī seal has been discovered, viz., that of year 44 of Lokanātha found in the Tippera State (E. I., XV, p. 301). The seal, however, is 4" in diameter,

while that of each of the other plates is 3", and in its middle the word Lokanāthasya is stamped in characters of probably the 7th century, while the original legend Kumārāmātyādhykaraņasya is of the early Gupta age. No overlord is referred to, nor has any coin been found which can be connected with this grant. There is mention, however, of a suzerain Jīvadhāraṇa who apparently relinquished his authority over Lokanātha and there is also mention of the latter's fight with one Jayatunga varṣa. The grant begins with an invocation to Siva and records the genealogy of Lokanātha for six generations down to his son Lakṣmīnātha, and a grant of land in the 'forest region' of Suvvunga viṣaya to the mahāsāmanta Pradeša Sarman for a temple of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. Incidentally it indicates the setting of over 100 families of Brāhmaṇas in this forest region and speaks of their mixed marriages.

In (British) Tippera a plate with a different seal and of an earlier date has been found at Gunaighar, about 18 miles N. W. of Comilla town. It is a grant of Vainya-gupta of 188 G. E. or 507 A. D. (I. H. Q., 1930, p. 45). The seal is oval, 4"×5" containing the figure of a couchant bull (an emblem also of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, Fleet, p. 164) with the king's name below it. The grant was issued from Krīpura and conveyed land to a vihūra of Mahāyāna Buddhists. Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharya who has published the grant traces in it several non-Sanskrit words which are in use in modern Bengali.

Two plates of the same size and with 'bull' seal but of a later date and different dynasty, the Khadgas, were found along with a small bronze caitya (Banerji, Itihās, I, pl. 8) at Ashrafpur, in the N. E. corner of the Dacca Dist. (A. S. B. Memoirs, Vol. I, pl. 85). Both of them record the grant of land for a Buddhist vihāra, and were issued from Karmanta. They tell us of four generations of the line, viz., Khadgodyama, Jata-Khadga, Deva-Khadga (whose queen Prabhāvatī's name was read on an inscribed image which has again disappeared) and Rāja-rāja. Mr. Bhattasali identifies Karmanta with Kanta (12 miles W. of Comilla town and some 50 miles S. of Asrafpur) and the last named king with King Rājabhaṭṭa of Samataṭa mentioned by I-sting (673-687 A. D.) (J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 86) and connects Śīla-bhadra, the Abbot of Nālanda, the teacher of Hiuen Tsang (640 A. D.), with this dynasty.

About the same time probably another dynasty ruled at Sabhar N, W. of Dacca town. Of it, however, the only evidence are the ruins

there from which several 'imitation' Gupta coins (one of which is now in the V.R. S. Museum) have been discovered (Modern Review, January, 1929, p. 42). Some scholars hold that the renowned abbot Padmasambhava, who went from Nalanda to Tibet in 747 A.D. and initiated Lamaism there (Guide to Nalanda, p. 7), and his relative Santa-rakṣita, author of the Tattvasamgraha, were connected with Sabhar (Proceedings, Oriental Conference, 1924, p. 132).

From this time until about the end of the Pāla period, about 1000 A. D., the history of South and East Bengal is almost a blank.

#### Pāla Period c. 750-1050

It was to end the anarchy that had ensued in Bengal about the end of the seventh century that Gopāla was made king. After him, however, the succession to the throne was hereditary, as was also that to the office of minister for the first four generations.

The history of the Palas falls into two halves, which differ not only in time but in their character and location. The first half which ended with king Nārāyanapāla was a glorious one when the Pāla power was in the ascendant, During this period their sway was over Eastern Magadha to which practically all their inscriptions of the time relate, except notably the Khalimpur grant of year 32 of Dharmapāla's reign, granting land in the Mahantaprakās viṣaya (probably present Manda) in Vyaghratati mandala of Paundravardhana bhukti, and the Śrī Somapure Śrī Dharmapīladeva mahāvihārīya seals at Paharpur. Somapura vihāra, it may be noted, is mentioned in an inscription on a Buddha image at Bodh-Gaya and by Tāranātha as well as in the Pag-sam-jon-sang, where it is said that king Devapala founded it after conquering Varendra (Majumdar, Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā, XXIII, p. 69 and p. 72). The Pāla headquarters of the period were in Magadha, first at Patna, from which the Khalimpur grant was issued and later at Munger, from which Devapala and Nārāyaṇapāla issued their grants, and which was invaded by the Gurjara chief Kakka (Banerji, Itihās, I, p. 223). The second plate of Dharmapāla found at Nalanda will, it is hoped, further elucidate this point.

During this half, in king Devapāla's reign, Nalanda reached its palmy days as a Buddhist centre, drawing votaries from far and near. King Balaputra of Sumatra erected there a vihāra for his subjects (V. R. S. Monographs, No. 1, p. 31) in the ruins of which Devapāla's plate and a number of bronze images have been found (A. S. I.,

Annual Report, 1926-27, p. 133). Vīrade va repaired here from Nagarhar (modern Jelalabad) and became, the abbot erecting shrines at Ghoswara (ancient Yaśovarmapur) near by. The attraction of Nalanda continued in Nārāyaṇapāla's time, as we find from the inscription of Dharmamitra of Andhradesa, and even later.

The Palas came into conflict with their neighbours at the very outset of their sway. Their first opponents were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who contested their westward expansion. It was the Gurjjaras, however, who pressed the Palas home and eventually their king Mahendrapāla (890-908 A. D., J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 265), whose inscriptions have been found in the Gaya-Hazaribagh tract, dispossessed the Pālas of Magadha and penetrated into Varendra, as indicated by a stone pillar inscription of year 5 of his reign turned up in the Pāhārpur mound by the 'magic' spade of late Rakhaldas Banerji (London News, 29th January, 1927, p. 160). This reversion to Pala sway occurred probably at the end of Nārāyanapāla's reign. The old line of ministers, who claimed to have been the power behind the Pala throne, in the Badal inscription, probably died at this time with Gurava Miśra. According to the inscription on the Laksmana temple at Śrīpur (Raipur Dt. C. P) ascribed to the 9th century A. D., there ruled in Magadha at that time a Varman dynasty to which belonged Sūrya-Varma whose daughter Vasata married the Śrīpur king and built the temple (E. I., IV, p. 196).

Then commenced the second half of the Pala history, which witnessed a decline of their power and its final extinction and during which their dominions shrank to west Varendra or Gaud, to which all their three grants of the period relate. Their head-quarters too must have been in this tract and we can clearly see the precarious condition of their rule in the frequent change and obscurity of the headquarters. Mahīpāla's Bangarh grant was issued from Vilāsapura: Vigrahapāla III's Amgachi grant from Haradhama (E. I., XV, p. 295) while Rāmapāla overthrowing the Kaivarttas founded a new capital at Ramāvātī, from which Madanapāla issued his Manahali grant. Between Nārāyaṇapāla and Mahīpāla, an interval, according to Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharyya, of 90 years (I. H. Q., 1930, p. 167), no Pāla inscription has come to light. The Pala power was evidently in an eclipse under the Gurjjaras. It reappeared with Mahīpāla who, according to his own and his successors' grants, recovered the anadhikrtavilupta rājya of his fathers (l. 13 of Bangarh, l. 15 of Amgachi and l. 14 of Manahali grant)-probably, only Gaud or west Varendra. It is

significant that in his Sarnath inscription of 1025 A. D., Mahīpāla is called 'Gaudādhipa' the only instance of a Pāla king being definitely so called, and that it is in west Varendra that his memory is still cherished in such sayings as dhān bhānte Mahīpāler gīt, though inscriptions referring to him have been found at Sarnath, Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya and even at Baghaura (in Tippera Dt.), the last (E. I., XVII, p. 355) being the only Pāla inscription found in Bengal outside Gaud.

Even of the whole of Gaud, the Palas did not have undisturbed possesion, for an inscribed pillar-the date of which is uncertainrecords the erection of a temple to Siva at Bangarh by a king of the Kamboja race, who claims to be 'Gaudapati'. But what gave the death the Pala power was a rising of the Kaivarttas, which Vigrahapāla III from the throne. Certain drammas are ascribed to Vigrahapāla (V. Smith, Catalogue of Indian Museum coins, I, pp. 223, 239) with but little probability. After a generation of Kaivartta rule, the Pāla sway revived by Rāmapāla and even extended to Kāmarūpa under his son Kumārapāla, as we learn from the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva. This grant indicates that the power of the Kāmarūpa kings, who, as noted before, held the Bengal Duar in the later Gupta age, had disappeared. In this grant we find the first mention of a Bengalee Brāhmaṇa in the rôle of a king and the earliest mention of Varendri. Of Kumārapāla's son and successor, Gopāla III, little is known beyond a mere mention in 1. 24 of the Manahali grant and probably also in a cryptic stone inscription discovered at Nimdighi, 12 miles N. W. of Manda (Sāhitya Parișat Patrikā, 1319, p. 155). With his successor Madanapāla the line came to an end, Laksmanasena probably succeeding to the throne of Gaud, as will be seen later.

A contemporary history of the last phase of Pāla rule (Rāmapāla to Madanapāla) is contained in the cryptic poem of Rāmacarita and an effort is being made by the Varenda Research Society to publish a fully annotated edition of it, but in the absence of any authoritative key to nearly two-thirds of the poem, it is defying the attempts of scholars to unlock its meaning fully.

In this second period a monastery grew up at Vikramaśilā, the site of which is identified with present Patharghata, 24 miles east of Bhagalpur and 6 miles north of Colgong. It is from this monastery that Dīpankara is said to have carried the torch of Indian culture to Tibet.

At this time the monastery at Nalanda appears to have declin-

ed and it is doubtful if the Pālas had any temporal authority over this tract though inscriptions referring to Mahīpāla, Rāmapāla and even Madanapāla have been found there. Some scholars hold that a branch of the family continued to rule at Udantapur (subsequently named Bihar by the Pathans) until about 1200 A. D, when it was wiped off by Ikhtiar-ud-din.

Gaya, unlike Nalanda, was never a popular Buddhist centre, at any rate after the 7th century A.D., for the Buddhist inscriptions even at Bodh-Gaya are of earlier dates (I.H,Q., 1930, p. 26). Even in Dharmapāla's reign a caturmukha Mahādeva with a Trimurti slab was set up there and the Vandadeva inscription of year 7 of Nārāyaṇa-pāla's reign, near the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gaya records the erection of a monastery for Brāhmaṇical ascetics (Banerji, Pālas, p. 60) and later—probably as a result of the Gurjjara occupation—Gaya became a Vedic or Vaiṣṇava centre—to which eloquent testimony is borne by Viśvāditya's Viṣṇupāda temple and Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple inscriptions of year 15 of Mahīpāla's son, Nayapāla's reign (Banerji, Itihās, I, p. 262).

All the grants of the Pāla kings bear the dharma-cakra seal and begin with an invocation to Buddha, and all of them record the samkalpa in Buddha's name with the single exception of Nārāyaṇapāla, who in his Bhagalpur plate records it in Siva's name. He is credited with having erected and endowed several temples to Siva and was probably a Saiva, while all other Pāla kings—before and after him—were Buddhists. But they evidently tolerated other faiths, for, besides the inscriptions at Gaya noted before we find Dharmapāla in his Khalimpur plate granting land for a Nara-Nārāyaṇa temple and among the inscribed bronzes of Devapāla's reign found at Nalanda is an image of Balarāma (Annual Report A.S.I., 1927-28, p. 132fn.) while the family of their minister, Gurava Miśra, appears from the Badal inscription to have been ardent Vaiṣṇavas.

The Pāla kings were married into several Cedī and Rāṣṭrakūṭa families. Dharmapāla married Ranna-devī, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Paravāla, Vigrahapāla I married a Haihaya or Cedi princess Lajjādevī, Rāyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Tuṅga. Vigrahapāla III had two queens. One was the sister of Mahana, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Aṅga, whose daughter's daughter, Kumāradevī was married to the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra as recorded in her Sarnath Buddha image inscription (D.I., IX, p, 324). The other was Yauvanaśrī, daughter of the Cedi king Karṇa, whose other daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarma, who hailed from

Surāṣṭra. The Gāhaḍavālas and the Varmans were Vaiṣṇavas. So these matrimonial unions indicate that a strange mingling of races and creeds prevailed at that time. It is to be noted that these unions were restricted to races indigenous to India and were not extended to the Gurjjara outlanders or the Colas of the south, though they too came in contact with the Pālas. It appears that many Rāṣṭrakūṭa families were settled in Kanauj (J.A.S.B., 1925 p. 106). Aṅga, Nepal (Inscriptions of Bengal, III, p. 44) and other places in north India and it was in some of these families and not those in the Deccan that the Pālas married.

Another evidence of the great impression that the Pālas made on their age is furnished by the fact that their family name was borrowed by other royal families, e.g., the Gurjjara king Mahendrapāla and his successors, the dynasty of Brahmapāla in Kāmarūpa and that of Jayapāla in the Punjab.

Under the Pālas, image making in Bengal as well as in Magadha assumed a new character, which it retained in the Sena period. Some examples of Bengal sculpture of this age are illustrated in the Calcutta Sahitya Parisat Handbook, Mr. French's Pāla Art, Mr. Bhattasali's Iconography and Dr. Kramrisch's article in the Rupam of October, 1929. The study of the technical side of the art is yet an untrodden field. Magadha artizens had probably a hand in the erection of the Laksmana temple at Śrīpur (E.I., XI. p. 188) and one is clearly mentioned as the engraver of the Silimpur inscription (E.I., XIII, p. 295). The neighbourhood of Gaya, probably present Patharkati, was an image-making centre in this age, as Mathurā had been in the Gupta age. The art of bronze casting also thrived in Magadha as proved by the hoards discovered at Nalanda (Arch. Survey Report, 1928-29, p. 132) and recently at Kurkihar, where some 160 bronze images of great variety and sizes, varying from 2 in. to 4 ft. in height have come to light. It flourished also on the environs of Pala sway as indicated by a hoard consisting of a miniature temple of Nāgara type studded with gems, and 63 images of Buddha varying in height from 2" to 15" ascribed to the period, from 7th to 10th century A.D. found at Thewri village, near Chittagong town, and the beautiful Jaina bronzes recently brought to the Patna Museum from Chausa.

### Transition from Pala to Sena Period

When the Pala power was hastening to its end in Gaud, the western

part of Magadha was under the sway of the Gāhadavālas who had succeeded the Gurjjaras on the throne of Kanauj. This is indicated by Govindacandra's Maner grant of 1124 A.D., and Lar grant of 1144 A.D. (I.A.S.B., 1929, p. 81 and E.I., VII, p. 98) and Jayacandra's Bodh-Gaya inscriptions of about 1190 A.D. (I.H.Q., 1929, p. 18). Anga or Eastern Magadha north of the Nalanda tract was held by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Mahana, which was the chief support of Rāmapāla and Madanapāla (I.H.Q., 1929, p. 46) and the Yādava family of Jātavarman, which migrated afterwards to East Bengal.

In Bengal, Pāla sway being confined to Gaud, the rest of the country must have pursued different courses of history, of which, however, the records relating to this period are meagre and uncertain. The Silimpur inscription of Prahasa (E.I., XIII, p. 290) mentions a king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa. which indicates that the Bengal Duar came under Kāmarūpa sway. In Paundravardhana, a Nandī family appears to have risen to power as recorded in the fragmentary Mahāsthāngarh inscription (J.A.S.B., 1922, p. 439).

Rādh or south west Bengal appears to have been invaded successively by the Candels, Colas and Cedis. In his Khajuraho inscriptions of 954 A.D., a Candel king named Yasovarma claims to have defeated the king of Gaud (Banerji, Itihas, I, p. 231). It is interesting to note that certain Brahmin families near Kandi in Uttara Rādh, of which the late Ramendrasundar Trivedi was a prominent member, claim to have migrated from the Khajuraho tract, and that Kṛṣṇa Miśra who composed the play of Prabodhacandrodaya to celebrate the victory of the Candel king Kīrtivarma (c. 1098 A.D.) over the Cedi king Karna (Ibid, p. 260) belonged to Rāḍh-probably Uttara-Rāḍh as in Act 2 of the play he flings many cutting remarks against Daksina-Rādhī Brāhmana whom he personifies as Ahamkāra and Dambha. The passage Gaudam rastram anuttamam nirupamā tatrāpi Rādhapurī at that dhama indicates that Bhūrisresthika nāma Bhūriśresthika Rāḍh was included in the kingdom of Gaud. is present Bhursut, south of Tarakesvar and the birth place of the poet Bharatcandra (18th century). There Śridhara composed his Nyāyakandalī commentary on Vaišesika Philosophy in 991 A.D. (Benares 1897, ed. p. 13).

Bhursut was evidently the centre of a flourshing settlement of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas who probably migrated from the Madhyadeśa and settled in the valley of the Sarasvatī (which river as well as Triveni are named after their North Indian prototypes). Nyāya

philosophy was cultivated here (culminating much later in the foundation of the school of Navya-nyāya at Navadvīp). Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇ, author of the Veṇī-Saṃhāra probably belonged to this tract. From this age probably dates the hydrographical change by which Tamluk ceased to be a port and Triveṇī or Sapta-grām took its place, and drew to it the influential Suvarṇa-vanik community. The Gupta coins found there (Allan, CXXVIII) as well as the Buddhist and Jaina relics, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and other Hindu relics which occur in the Muslim structures there (J A.S.B., 1909, p. 245) testify to the antiquity of the locality. Similar remains occur at Pandua (Bengal Past and Present, Oct. 1908, p. 431).

It is significant that in the Prabodhacandrodara as well as in the Maner and certain other grants of the Gāhaḍavālas the word Turuṣka occurs. After the Candels came the Cola king Rājendra who, according to his Terumalai inscription of 1023 A.D., overran Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍh (Banerji, Itihās, I, p. 247) but there is no other evidence of this raid, unless we take it that the Senas came in his train. Then came the Cedi king Karṇa (c. 1042 A.D.), as a pillar bearing his name is seen at Palkor in Uttara Rāḍh (Ibid., p. 265) along with one of Vijayasena (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 168). The daughters of this Cedi king married king Vigrahapāla III and the Anga chief Jātavarma.

About this time probably occurred a migration of people from West to East Bengal, and in the Belāva plate (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 14) we find Jātavarma's grandson, Bhojavarma ruling at Vikramapura. He came there evidently after Śrī-candra (whose grants also are issued from Vikramapura, as will be seen later) and ruled over a smaller area in the east part of Dacca district. The plate tells us that the family which professed the Vaiṣṇava faith came originally from Simhapura, where one of its members led a Yādava army to victory. This points to Surāṣṭra as their original home, Simhapura being modern Sihor. Such distant migrations appear to have been common in olden days e.g., Brāhmaṇas from Lāṭa (modern Gujrat) were settled in Varendra (Khailmpur grant) and according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nāgara Brāhmaṇas migrated to Sylhet, the very name of which is derived by Prof. Kisorimohan Gupta from Śrī-Hātakeśvara, their patron deity (I.H.Q., 1930, p. 60).

Another record which is connected with the Belava plate is an inscription in the Ananta-Vasudeva temple at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa

recording the erection of that temple and the excavation of a tank for it, by a remarkable man of the age, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 25). The tank must be the present Vindu-sāgar, for though situated in a Śiva-kṣetra and so close to the Lingarāja temple, the ministry here is vested in Brāhmanas of a different order, and the Samkalpa is made in Vāsudeva's name. The Bhaṭṭa was vastly learned and composed several treatises, some of which are extant (unlike those of Prahasa and his ancestors referred to in the Silimpur inscription). He was a Vaiṣṇava and is described metaphorically as having 'swallowed up the Buddhists.'

The inscription tells us of the existence of Savarņa and Vandyaghatīya Brāhmaṇas in Rāḍh where they are numerous even now. Read with the Belāva plate it indicates further their emigration from Madhayadeśa to Rāḍh (which is dignified by inclusion in Āryavarta probably for this very reason) and thence to East Bengal. This affinity is still recognised by intermarriage among the Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas of East and West Bengal. According to Mr. A. K. Ray, Siddhala of Uttara-Rāḍh, the original settlement of the Savarṇas was near Gaṅgārām on the Ajai river, in Burdwan District (Laṣmikānt, p. 12) and that it was a Savarṇa Caudhurī who, with the patronage of the Bansbaria family, founded the Kālīghāṭ shrine, in Akbar's time (Ibid., p. 28)—which, if true, would indicate a change from his ancestral Vaiṣṇava faith to Śāktaism.

The descent of the Bhatta is traced through six generations from Bhavadeva, a Savarna Brāhmana of Siddhala, who received the village of Hastinībhitta from a Gauda-nrpa. Fourth in descent from him was Ādideva, who was the chief minister of a Vanga-raja, and whose grandson was Bhatta Bhavadeva who was the minister of a king Harivarma and his son. Unfortunately there is no indication as to where this Harivarma ruled. Two manuscripts merely dated in year 19 and 39 of his reign were found in Nepal and so are of little help on this point. But Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu has published a copper-plate which was found at Samantasar (near Idilpur) and appears to have been of the same type and seal as the Belava plate and was issued by king Harivarma, son of king Jyotivarma from Vikramapura (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 28 and p. 168). We may take it that all these four records refer to the same king and that he ruled in East Bengal, after Bhojavarma, who was probably the Vanga-raja, whom Bhatta Bhavadeva's grand-father served as minister. The Gauda-nrpa belonged probably to an earlier generation (that is, before the migration from West Bengal

which tract, as we have seen in the Prabodha-candrodaya, was included in Gaud.

To this age also belongs two local chiefs of Buddhist persuasion who held sway in East Bengal. One was Kāntideva, of whom a draft grant with a 'lion' seal issued from Vardhamāna in Harikela, was found at Chittagong (Modern Review, 1922, November p. 612) and is now in the Dacca Museum. Prof. Dines Chandra Bhattacharyya who edited the plate has ascertained that it came from the ruins at Italia village, 2 miles N.E. of Comilla town. He has further drawn attention to the ruins on the Lalmai and Mainamati hills, 5 miles west of the town, in which another plate, that of Raṇavankamalla of 1219 A.D., has been found, and which he identifies as the centre of ancient Harikela.

The other was Śrī-candra, whose family had migrated from Rohita-giri to Candradvīp, in Harikela, and four of whose grants—all issued from Vikramapura have been found (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 2). From these grants it is concluded that Śrī-candra ruled over the western part of the Dacca District, from Dhulla in the north to Idilpur (now in Faridpur District) in the south. It was Śri-candra's grand-father who turned Buddhist (though we find Śrī-candra himself offering homa). It is to these Buddhist families and the Khadgas of Karmanta (and not the Pālas who never ruled this tract) that the spread of Buddhism in this part of Bengal was due.

In fact, in the Pāla period, as in the later Gupta, Samataṭa was a noted Buddhist centre, and it was to its ruling family that the great saint Dīpankara, the abbot of the Vikramaśilā vihāra who conveyed the Buddhist faith to Tibet, and Vīryendra-bhadra, who helped Kṣemendra in composing the Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā belonged (S. P. Patrikā, XXIII, p. 73).

These Varman inscriptions and the Śrī-candra grants indicate that a close connection existed in this age between West and East Bengal and that Vikramapura became the political centre of the whole of Southern Bengal from Rāḍh to Vaṅga. This is probably how the way was made for the spread of Sena power and why Vikramapura figures as the capital in practically all the grants of the earlier Senas.

# The Sena Period c. 1050-1200 A.D.

The founder of the dynasty was Vijayasena, whose grand-father is said to have come from Karņāţaka, the identity of which is uncertain.

So also is the caste of the Sena kings, but following Rai Bahadur Kalicharan Sen (Bhāratavarṣa, Bhādra, 1337, p. 419) we may class them as Vaidyas, of which term 'Sena' is almost a synonym in Bengal. Vijayasena's queen Vilāsadevī belonged to a Śūra-family, which one is tempted to connect with Raṇa-śūra of Rājendra Cola's Tirumalai inscription (E.I., IX, p. 231) and with Ādiśura who, as tradition goes, imported the ancestors of the Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. Vallālasena married a Cālukya princess, Rāmadevī. The Sena kings were Saivas. Their seal bore an image of Sadāśiva and as the Gupta emperors had virudas ending with āditya, they had virudas ending with śankara: thus Vijayasena was Vṛṣabha-Ṣankara, Vallālasena was Niḥśanka-Ṣankara and so on. It is curious to note that some Vaidya families of Bengal affect this sort of name even at the present day.

No evidence has been found of Sena sway in the whole of South Bengal from Basirhat to Tippera and the history of the Senas like that of the Pālas falls into two distinct halves. The sway of the first three kings of the line, Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena was apparently confined to Western Bengal, as all their inscriptions except one (see specially Vijayasena's Paikor pillar inscription and the Barrackpur grant of year 62) relates to this tract and are mostly found in this neighbourhood of the Ganges along its present course from Murshidabad to Calcutta and then along the Ādigaṅgā through the Sundarvan, where the explorations of Mr. Kalidas Dutt have revealed a vast number of antiquities of this age (V.R.S. Monographs, No. 3 & 4). A Caṇḍī image of year 3 of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign is the only relic of Sena sway of this period found in East Bengal, yet all the grants, except one, are issued from Vikramapura,—which naturally raises a doubt about its identity with the East Bengal city of that name.

Lakṣmaṇasena's inscriptions introduce us to a new bhukti, Vardhamāna which lay west of the Bhāgīrathī, and extended from Salar in the north to Baruipur in the south. North of it probably was the Kankagrām bhukti of the Saktipur grant (Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1337, p. 219). The Senas made little headway into Varendra. Deopāḍā (where stood Vijayasena's lofty temple) as well as Lakṣmaṇavatī or Gauḍ (said to have been founded by Lakṣmaṇasena—though it occurs in no Sena inscription) is on the southern fringe of Varendra. The only grant found in the interior of it is the Tapandighi one. The Madhainagar grant which is probably the last grant of Lakṣmaṇasena refers to the Sena king as Gauḍeśvara for the first time and from the passages Gauḍeśvara-Śrī-hata-haraṇa-kāla yasya kaumāra-kelī applied to him in

verse II of the grant and Gaudendram adravat to his grand-father in verse 20 of the Deopāḍā inscription, it is clear that the title belonged till late in Lakṣmaṇasena's reign to kings of some other line, possibly the Pālas. It seems that when the Madhainagar grant was issued Lakṣmaṇsena had lost Lakṣmaṇavatī to the Pathans and retreated eastwards to the Doab between the Karatoyā and the Calan bil (the Rāvaṇa lake of the grant). Besides this grant (and a Pathan inscription) stone images, ruined tanks and buildings of the age have been brought to light in clearing the jungle in this tract and it is significant that Dhāryagrām from which this grant was issued is without the epithet of jayaskandavara.

The sway of the last two Sena kings, Keśava and Viśvarūpa was confined to East Bengal as all their grants are found in the Koṭālipāḍā, Idilpur and Vikramapura areas, but strangely enough none of them were issued from Vikramapura. They were issued instead from Phalgugrām which is styled jayaskandavar. Both the kings bear the epithet Garga-Yavanauvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra which probably means that they kept the Pathans out of Eastern Bengal—as we find that even in 1283 A.D., when the emperor Balban went there in pursuit of his fugitive governor Tughril Khan, he met a Hindu Rājā of Sonārgaon, Danuja Rai, who has been indentified with Daśaratha of the Adavadi inscription who claimed to have obtained the Gauda rājya (Ins. of Bengal, III, p. 182).

The ministers of the first three Sena kings, viz., Vijayasena's Sāladda Nāga, Vallālasena's Hari Ghosh and Lakṣmaṇasena's Nārāyaṇa Datta were probably Kāyasthas. Vallālasena is said to have introduced Kulinism or gradation of the various families of Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. There is no reference either to this or to the Ādiśūra tradition in any inscription, but it may well be that with the growth of Hinduism there was a reconstruction of society under the Senas. To this period probably is to be ascribed the setting of religious faiths in Bengal, Rāḍh or South-West Bengal adopting Śiva and Kṛṣṇa worship, and Varendra or North-East Bengal developing the Tāntrik faith (which lives now in Kālī and Durgā worship), Chittagong alone retaining Buddhism.

The art of image-making in stone was much patronised in this age, and to it are to be attributed the numerous Catur-bhuja Viṣṇu images which occur all over Bengal—even in the wilds of Sundarban—as well as the 'Mother and Child' images (V.R.S. Monographs, 3, p. 19) and probably the combined icons like Viṣṇu with dhyānī figure (V.R.S.

Monographs, 3, p. 48) or Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava (I.H.Q., 1930, p. 465). The architectural pieces and other sculptures of Vijayasena's temple found at Deopāḍā show that a class of artizans grew up in Bengal in this age and the engraver of the inscription on that temple is styled Vārendraka śilpī-goṣtī-cūḍāmaṇi. Though stone carving is no longer practised in Bengal (except on a very modest scale at Dainhāṭā, near Navadvīp) the art survives in the modelling of clay images for worship, which is peculiar in Bengal.

Sanskrit literature also flourished in this age, Rāḍh (S. W. Bengal) leading in Kāvya and Darŝana and Varendra (N. E. Bengal) in Tāntrik literature and Vyākaraņa.

Lakṣmaṇasena himself is said to be the auther of two learned treatises and his minister, Halāyudha of the Brūhmaṇa sarvasva, the Abhidhāna-ratna·mālū and other works and a verse is current naming the five poets who adorned his court. Of their works, the Pavana-dūtam of Dhoyī is a poetic sketch of the east coast of India and the Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva presents the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult (which was given a new turn by Caitanya in a later age). The Bengali script took its present shape in this age, as we gather from the inscriptions in early Bengali characters on the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata scenes in Jafar khan Ghazi's tomb at Triveṇī (J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 246 and pl. II), Lakṣmaṇasena is credited with introducing a new era (Ins. of Bengal III, p. 192).

But soon a foreign element—the Muslims entered Bengal and gave a shock to the system we saw growing on the soil for more than 800 years, and the government, the administrative division, the social structure, the culture and even the names of persons and places and the language of the people were thrown into confusion.

(To be continued)

BIJOY NATH SARKAR

### The 'Queen's Donation' Edict

This edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar, which has hitherto been known as 'the Queen's Edict', should more properly be called the Edict on the Queen's Donation, so as to guard against its being taken as issued by Aśoka's queen. Verily, it is the king's edict, for it commences with the authority of his word and contains some specific direction to his Mahāmātras, viz., the direction as to how to reckon, or rather, re-reckon the gifts of his second queen. It is important to note that the words Devānampiyashā vacanenā, with which the edict begins, are as peremptory as the opening words of the Separate Rock Edicts (Dhauli), and that, like the latter, the edict is meant for his Mahāmātras (savata Mahamatā vataviyā).

The record is, as is well known, inscribed on the same (Allahabad-Kosam) pillar as bears the Kosambī text¹ of the Schism Edict as well as a version of the first six Pillar Edicts. It spreads over five lines; and, "with the other edicts, found on the same monument, it agrees only in not arranging the words in groups or separating them. Its characters show a number of cursive and otherwise peculiar forms, which are not very common in Aśoka's inscriptions." Some of these peculiarities can be traced in the Jaugada version of the Separate Rock Edicts, while such use of the letter sh as occurs in piyashā (l. 1) and she (l. 4) is also observable in the Kālsi version of the Rock Edicts, with which it also agrees in respect of some grammatical forms³. In the circumstances, it will be advisable, when making restoration, to adhere first to the evidence of the edict itself and then, if need be, to such records as may be allied to it in form or matter.

Although the pillar is disfigured here and there by later scribblings and incisions, the letters of our inscription fortunately for the most part remain unimpaired. In spite of the mutilation of a few letters towards the end of line 3, the words represented by them have been satisfactorily restored. But Aśokan scholars have not been equally fortunate in respect of the lacuna of effaced letters at the end of line 4.

I The other texts are on the Samci and Sarnath pillars.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, I.A., vol. XIX, p. 123. 3 1bid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 123; Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 159.

The lacuna after [he]vam is, according to Hultzsch, one of three letters, of which the middle one he read na, tentatively completing the whole as vinati, 'request'. The reading na seems to be all right, but vinati is doubtful, as he himself believed.

With this restoration, he proceeded to construct the concluding clause as: hevam vinati dutīyāye devīye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye, rendering it: "This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother



Queen's Donation Inscription Right-half of lines 3-5.

I.H.Q., September, 1931

The difficulty, however, disappears if we follow the procedure suggested by Bühler. According to him, there is, after she nāni (l. 4), a

I Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 159, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See R. E. v, and P. E. VII, where Asoka's relatives are mentioned as having their own alms-houses and bestowing gifts.

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The lacuna after [he]vam is, according to Hultzsch, one of three letters, of which the middle one he read na, tentatively completing the whole as vinati, 'request'. The reading na seems to be all right, but vinati is doubtful, as he himself believed.

With this restoration, he proceeded to construct the concluding clause as : hevam vinati dutīvāye devīve ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye, rendering it: "This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tīvala, the Kāluvākī." Now, what is the request? The request is, as Hultzsch would have it, that "whatever gifts have been made by the second queen, etc., these shall (?) be registered in the name of that queen." It is to be noted that the word which he has been forced to render '(shall) be registered' is ganiyati, which is clearly in the Present and not in the Future, and, therefore, means 'is reckoned'. It is evident, and important at the same time to note, that Hultzsch had his doubts from the very nature of the text and could not avoid thinking that some idea of injunction was involved in the 'request', or else he would not have used the word shall within brackets, understanding ganiyati anyhow in the future even though it was grammatically unwarranted. restoration vinati is at the root of this difficulty. It gives rise to another anomaly. The donor, occupying as she did the exalted rank of a queen,-the queen of an emperor such as Asoka was, and being, as we understand her to have been, quite free under the authority of the emperor's sanction to bestow gifts2, had in all probability no need of making vinati to the Mahamatras to have her gifts 'registered', and consequently, vinati seems to be too ill chosen a a word to be attributed to her. As a matter of fact, making vinati, sounds like 'imploring', 'petitioning', and does not tally with the tone of the opening words of the inscription, where the gravity of the royal word is patent (Devānampiyashā vacanenā savata Mahamatā vataviya). To put it clearly, the term vinati does not possess that force of expression which is required to give to the concluding clause a tone of injunction compatible with the authoritative bearing of the edict.

The difficulty, however, disappears if we follow the procedure suggested by Bühler. According to him, there is, after she nāni (l. 4), a

I Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 159, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See R. E. v, and P. E. vII, where Aśoka's relatives are mentioned as having their own alms-houses and bestowing gifts.

lacuna of five or six letters, which "must have contained the word wanted to complete the chief clause which begins with she nāni"1. Hultzsch practically dealt with five letters, including hevam (e.g. [he]vam vinati), of which the second letter had already been read va by Bühler). But his restoration is, as we have seen, untenable. Now, if we turn to the alternative of six letters, we get virtually four in all to deal with, excluding hevam, which is fairly established by Hultzsch. Of these four, the first, which he doubtfully restored vi (viz. the vi of vinati), seems to be the traces of a ga, resembling the initial letter of ganipati. which occurs in this very inscription earlier in the same line. The next letter, which he read na, is, as we have noted, all right. The last two, it must be admitted, cannot be made out at all. Thus, out of four letters, the first two, viz., ga and na are fairly certain. What about the remaining two? If we remember Bühler's suggestion that the word wanted to complete the chief clause must be found among these letters, and, if, according to him, we take the clause to begin with she nani, we cannot resist the conclusion that this lacuna of four letters can only be filled by a verbal form, to complete the sense. And the sense is somewhat like this: "whatever gifts have hitherto been reckoned (ganiyati), as of the second queen, all those (she nani) . . . . thus (hevam): 'from the second queen', -i.e., 'the mother of Tīvala, the Kāluvākī'." Reading between the lines, there can be no doubt that the word of four letters which is wanted to fill the gap means must should be reckoned,' or, 'you or must or should reckon'. Half our difficulty vanishes through our acquaintance with the word ganīyati, which means 'is reckoned', and we think that a verbal form derived from Vgan will fit very well here. The task is further rendered easy by the happy coincidence of our restoration, the incomplete gana .. Now, taking our cue from P. E. vII, l. 22 (vide Hultzsch), where occurs the mandatory expression hevam ca paliyovadātha, addressed to the Lajūkas, and, again, from the Sārnāth inscription, where occur the words nikhipātha (l. 7), vivāsayātha (l. 10) and vivāsāpayāthā (l. 11), similarly addressed in all probability to the Mahāmātras, the presumption arises that here, too, in the present inscription which is also addressed to the Mahamatras, we have to do with a similar verbal form in order to complete the sense. And the only way in which gana- can be completed into the required verbal form of four letters is by making it gana(yātha), 'reckon ye',

I Op. cit., p. 124.

on the analogy of the examples just referred to, regard being also had to the fact that Sk. gan belongs to the Curādi or the tenth class of conjugation. In the light of this restoration, we understand the edict as follows:—

### TEXT

- ı Devānampiyashā v[a]canenā savata Mahamatā
- 2 vataviyā (:) e hetā dutiyāye deviye dāne (,)
- 3 ambā-vadikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va (,) e vā pi a]mne
- 4 kīchi ganīyati tāye deviye (,) she nāni [he]vam [ga]na(yātha) (:)
- 5 dutīyāye deviye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye (.)

### TRANSLATION

- I In the name<sup>1</sup> (lit. by the word) of Devānampriya, the Mahāmātras have everywhere to be told:
- 2 what(ever) gift (has been given) here by the second queen,-
- 3 (whether) mango-garden, or pleasure-ground, or alms-house, or whatever
- 4 else is reckoned as of that queen, those reckon ye thus:
- 5 "Of the second queen", i.e., "of Tīvala's mother,2 the Kāluvāki."

I There is a sense of 'keenness' coupled with 'injunction' in this expression, which imparts a peremptory character to the direction that follows. For the weighty tone of the expression, cf. Pāli mama vacanena, Dīgha, ii. 72; Ang. ii. 144; Mil. 14; PvA. 53; and also the opening words of the Separate Rock Edicts (Dhauli) and of Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmagiri and Siddāpura). I am thankful to Prof. Kshitischandra Chatterji for referring me to Raghu. XIV, 61, where occurs the forceful expression madvacanāt.

<sup>2</sup> With Tīvala-mātu cf. Pāli Rāhula-mātā, the familiar name of Yasodharā, and Jīvaputāye in Yasamatā's brick-tablet inscription (ed. J. Ph. Vogel, JRAS, 1921, which Barua also notices, Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, p. 160). It is interesting to note that teknonymy, or the practice of naming parents after their children, is very old and wide-spread also amongst primitive tribes. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Panchanan Mitra, for drawing my attention to its reference in Tylor's paper, On a Method of Investigating the development of Institutions (Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xviii. p. 248) and in Lowie's Primitive Society (1921), p. 102.

The restoration infinitely improves the sense. In the first place, it gives us a better substitute for Hultzsch's vinati, the incongruity of which has been pointed out above. Next, it does away with the compulsion under which he was driven to render ganīvati, doubtfully though, into '(shall) (?) be registered'. Moreover, it substantiates the peremptory tone of the edict by means of a suitable word of injunction, like the one occurring in P. E. VII and the Sārnāth record, just referred to. Lastly, it further establishes by its mandatory connotation that our edict is not the queen's, but out and out the king's.

Thus it appears that the purpose of the address to the Mahāmātras was not, as understood by Hultzsch, to have the second queen's gifts 'registered (in the name) of that queen',—for these gifts are stated in the edict to have been already registered as such (ganīvati),—but to have them reckoned anew (ganayātha) by a fuller statement of the name of the donor-queen—a statement that would represent her not only as 'the second queen' as previously, but also as 'the mother of (prince) Tīvala, together with her personal designation 'Kāluvākī.' Such an alteration of epithet at the time of issuing the edict could only have been necessary if the second queen had already given birth to a child and thereby attained to the much coveted glory of motherhood. The very pith and substance of womanhood lay, in those ancient times, in becoming a mother and being known preferably by the child's name when one was born (cf. the epithet Rāhula-mātā1), and especially as the mother of living children (cf. Jīvaputaye rajabharivaye Brhasvatimitadhitu Yasamataye karitam1); and the birth of a child certainly invested the mother with incomparable rank and renown, especially among womankind, even as it does to the present day. In India, even today, the gift from a woman, not blessed with a child, hardly commends itself to the acceptance of the donee. It seems that Asoka could not miss the blissful occasion of sharing with his second queen the merit and pride of parenthood, so that the new position the queen had acquired was thought proper to be reflected in an appropriate change of the donor's title. Evidently, Aśoka sought to attach a special importance not only to her exalted rank as his queen, but also to the glory of her personal name which had become hallowed by the birth of Tivala, and to her relation, as mother, to a prince who, too, was his son.

<sup>;</sup> See p. 461, n, 2,

The edict further shows that the gifts of the second queen were many. They must have been scattered, at least, over the jurisdiction of the Mahāmātras of Kosambī. If at all, as is quite possible, these donations were severally recorded (as we understand by ganiyati) and re-recorded (as we similarly understand by ganayātha), e.g., by suitable labels inscribed on enduring materials, it is not unthinkable that we may be fortunate enough some day to come across at least a few, if not all, of them. That gifts were given by the members of the royal household, both in Pāṭaliputra as well as in the cities outside, which the Dharma-mahāmātras were required to deliver, will be evident from R.E.v. (Pātalipute ca bāhirasu ca [nagarasu]-Girnar). The same R.E. further informs us that it was also the function of the Dharma-mahamatras to be occupied with the donations from the family-establishments of the king's brothers, sisters and other relatives (bhūtīnam me bhaginīnam va amnesu vā nātisu— Dhauli). Again, in P. E. vII the king has specifically mentioned, among others of his family, himself, his queens in the different royal households, and the princes of the royal blood as the persons whose grants the Dharma-mahāmātras were required to deal with, both in the capital and outside it (hida ceva disāsu ca). Further, P. E. VII makes it clear that there were queens more than one, and the 'Queen's Donation' Edict at any rate proves by the expression dutivave devive that queens there were at least two, if not more. Now, if all these various donations of the king, the queens, the princes and princesses were, as we have suggested, severally recorded by appropriate inscriptions, it is not at all difficult to understand how large the number of such donations and inscriptions would be. But the fact remains that these votive records have yet to be discovered.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

# Studies in the Kautiliya

I

THE METHODS OF SELF-DEFENCE IN THE KAUTILIYA (FOR AN INVADED WEAK KING)

When a Yātavya<sup>1</sup> is being attacked by another king assisted by one or more allies (sāmavāyika), he should try to extricate himself

The means left to the Yātavya for his rescue. from the difficulty by persuading one or more allies of the invader to join the Yātavya after seceding from the alliance and thus ceasing to help the Yātavya's enemy. The means by which this

is likely to be effected is by offering to one or more of the allies of the invader twice the amount of consideration which has been promised to them by the invader. At the same time, it should be made clear to the parties that if they secede from the alliance, they will not have to suffer the troubles of sojourn, losses and expenditure, and incur the sin involved in the operations connected with the war. Further, it should be explained to them that the alliance is only benefiting the other party and causing them discomfort.

Another alternative left to the Yātavya is to cause dissension among the parties to the alliance made against himself.

The measures suggested in the preceding paragraphs for adoption by a weak king when attacked contemplate combinations of kings on one or both the sides of the conflicting parties. The measures are directed principally to create a breach in the camps of the

I From an examination of the passages in K., VI, ch. I, p. 259; ch. 2, p. 258 and VII, ch. 5, pp. 275f., a Yātavya appears to be a sovereign whose resources have become so much handicapped that he cannot himself recover his normal strength within a short time. The term implies that with reference to another king, the sovereign mentioned above has incurred the former's displeasure somehow or other, but happens to be very weak at the time. This Yātavya may, of course, be helped by a king whose condition is not so hopeless as that of a Yātavya. Either for this reason or because his feeling of enmity is greater, he maintains a stiffer attitude towards the invading king even if he be afflicted with calamities.

opponents or to draw away the allies by offers of wealth and other inducements. Next comes the case of a powerful king who is supposed to be attacking a weak king without entering into combination with any ally for the purpose of the attack. The steps to be taken by the weak king have been delineated in the Kauţiliya, with a special reference to the circumstances in which he can take his position in a fort for opposing the force of the invasion. As the enemy is without any allies, the course of action suggested previously for adoption by the weak king for bringing about a disunion among them, winning over one or more of the allies to his side, or neutralizing one or more of them by various means has been left out of account. The steps that are suggested in this connection for adoption by the weak king comprise

- (i) Combination with one or more allies,
- (ii) Fighting by making a fort the principal centre of his operations,
- (iii) Suing for a treaty of peace, which may or may not be accepted. In the former case, the weak king may be reduced to the position of a dandopanata. In the latter, the weak king should either come out of the fort and enter into a face to face war with the enemy, or escape from the fort.

Re. (i). This line of action may consist in

(a) Taking to samśraya with a king more powerful than the invader in military strength and mantra-śakti² (strength of wisdom). If there be two or more kings of equal military strength and mantra-śakti, then the one who possesses faithful or experienced counsellors should be preferred.

Should a king superior to the invading power be not available, the assistance of two or more kings equal to the latter in strength, or at least in regard to the size of the army should be utilized. From among two or more kings equal to one another in mantra-śakti and prabhu-śakti, the one who has the capacity to make preparations for war on a larger scale is to be preferred.

If no king equal to the invader be available for help, an effort

I See K., VII, ch. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mantra-śakti means janabalam. Cf. K., VI, ch. 2, p. 261, and IX, ch. 1, p. 340.

should be made for a combination with those who though inferior to the invader in strength are his opponents and are sincere and possessed of utsāha-śakti (energy). This combination should be continued till the invaded king can overreach the invader by the application of the combined strength of mantra-, prabhu-, and utsāha-śakti. Should two or more kings of equal utsāha-śakti be there to choose from, the one whose territory can provide lands that can constitute suitable battle-fields for the invaded king should be preferred. In case there be two or more kings whose States can provide battle-fields advantageous to the invaded king, the one whose State can be reached in a season suitable for a war should be resorted to. If there be two or more kings having equally suitable lands that can be used as battle-fields in suitable seasons, the one who has draught animals, weapons, and armours in plenty should be taken as superior.

Re. (ii). In the absence of help from others, the weak king should take shelter in a fort, from which the powerful enemy cannot cut off supplies of food, grass, fuel and water, but which by its position will involve him in great loss and expense in his attempt to bring it down.

In comparing between two or more forts of similar advantages, the one, from which the supply of the necessaries of life can be maintained, and which affords a means of escape when necessary, is the best. The fort must of course be a Manusya-durga, i.e., provided with an adequate number of brave soldiers belonging to the four sections of the army.<sup>2</sup>

A fort may also be resorted to by a weak king if he finds that in any one of the following situations, he will have an advantage by fixing his station in the fort:—

- He (1) can have the help of pārṣṇigrāha, āsāra (i.e., pāṛṣṇigrāhā-sāra), madhyama, or udāsīna;
- (2) can have the help of a neighbouring king, a chief of a wild tribe, or, any member of the family of the enemy hostile to him<sup>3</sup>;

I The months of Margasirsa, Caitra and Jyaistha are the seasons suitable for war.—K, IX, I.

<sup>2</sup> The speciality of a manusya-durga lies in the numerical strength of the qualified soldiers contained in it.

<sup>3</sup> तत्कुलीनविष्डानों in the text has, I think, been converted into तत्कुलीनावष्डानां by a slip of the copyist's pen. With the latter

(3) can create disaffection among the enemy's people in his kingdom, fort, or camp;

(4) can kill those who come near through secret agents using weapons, fire and poison, (mentioned in K., Book. XII: Ābalīyasam) or, through the secret means mentioned in Book XIV: Aupaniṣadikam of the Kauṭilīya;

(5) can cause the enemy loss of men and money through spies

resorting to means other than those mentioned in (4).

(6) Can gradually cause through spies disaffection among allies or soldiers when they are worried by sojourn and losses of men and money;

(7) can cut off the enemy's supply of the necessaries of life and

help, and thus subject the people in the camp to privations;

(8) can create a vulnerable point in the arrangements made by the enemy for the war by first sending some soldiers to his camp and then attacking him with all the forces;

(9) can conclude a treaty of peace with the enemy on satisfactory

terms by chilling his courage;

(10) can rouse up the surrounding kings against the enemy for

making the attack;

(11) can attack the capital of the enemy's kingdom with the help of the allies and the wild tribes at a time when it is not likely to receive any help from outside;

(12) can effect the acquisition and preservation of wealth within

his own large kingdom from within the fort;

(13) can bring together his own scattered forces and those of his allies by stationing himself in the fort, and can make them unconquerable by the enemy by this union;

(14) can enable his soldiers expert in fighting on low grounds or trenches, or during night to shake off their fatigue by taking shelter

in the fort and then commence the fight at the required time;

(15) can inflict loss of men and money on the enemy without any effort on his own part by reason of the former having to come

reading, the meaning would be 'a member of the family of the enemy confined in a prison.' To be able to render help to the weak king, he ought to be at large and hence we have to assume that he was imprisoned at some time in the past and was continuing hostile to the enemy; or, we may assume that he is 'interned' in a particular place in the kingdom.

near the fort at an unfavourable time and occupy an unfavourable position;

(16) can continue in a position of vantage by taking his station in the fort as it can be approached by the enemy only after much loss of men and money, the surrounding region being difficult to negotiate on account of the existence of several forts and forests affording means of escape, or, the surrounding region being unhealthy may cause diseases among the soldiers of the enemy, who will also be handicapped by being unable to get proper grounds for the exercise of his troops, and if by some means he enters into the place, he is not likely to come out safely.

If by reason of his occupation of a fort the invaded king does not get any of the advantages mentioned above and if the forces of the enemy be very powerful then he should, according to the Ācāryas, escape from the fort or rush into a war with the enemy. As a flame, into which a moth rushes, may be exitinguished by chance, so success may be achieved by the desperate king as a chance result of his daring. Kautilya differs from the Ācāryas only in regard to this point that the escape from the fort or entrance into the war should be preceded by an offer of a treaty of peace which if rejected should be followed by either of the steps mentioned by the Ācāryas. If neither of these two courses succeeds, he has to surrender everything to the enemy and accept the position of the daṇḍopanata (self-submitter).

### H

# CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT AN ATTACK UPON A YATAVYA

If a defeated weak king, who has entered into a treaty of peace with a powerful enemy, disregards the terms of the treaty relating to the payment of wealth, the aim of the powerful enemy would be to reduce him to the position of a Dandopanata. He will try to march against the recalcitrant king, over lands favourable for march or fight, at a time suitable for the soldier's activities, and in a part of the country where the enemy has no fort or means of escape. The powerful king should also take precaution that at the time of the

I For details about the relation of a dandopanata to the dandopanayin, see I. S., pp. 62-64 and 66-68.

march or the fight, no rear enemy is likely to invade his territorty from the rear, and that his enemy does not receive assistance from an ally. But as all these opportunities may not be available simultaneously, the invader should adopt the necessary measures calculated to make his position secure inspite of the absence of one or more of these opportunities. These remedies consist principally in the application of one or more of the means called sama, dana, bheda. and danda to the strong or weak opponents in the first and second zones around the kingdom of the invader. Sama may be put into effect in his dealings with a weak king through the protection of the latter's cattle in villages and forests, the prevention of obstructions in the free use of his land-routes and waterways, and the capture of seditious or unfaithful officers and other persons who have absconded after causing him harms. Dana (gift) may include lands, girls (in marriage), and abhaya (assurance of safety) in danger. Bheda may consist in inciting a neighbouring king, a wild tribe, a kinsman of the enemy, or a prince interned by the to demand wealth, army, land, or family properties from him. Danda signifies capturing the enemy through prakāśayuddha, kūţayayuddha, tūṣṇīṃyuddha, or by adopting the measures mentioned in the Kautiliya in connection with the methods of storming a fort.

Just as before making a yana, the drawing of powers to one's side for material consideration is a problem, so it is also at the same

Which of the two enemies, one a Yātavya and another an Amitra should be first attacked? time a problem as to which of the two kings, one a yātavya and another an amitra (i.e., usually a king whose kingdom is in the zone next to the dominion of the king, of whom we are speaking) should be first attacked, should they form the

objects of attack simultaneously. The solution of this problem facilitates the task of the invader a good deal. The Kautiliya has dealt with the subject in detail, which may be conveniently put in a tabular form. The reasons why a particular time of action is preferred to another are also stated.

# WHO SHOULD BE FIRST ATTACKED?

The one is as much afflicted with calamities or an Amitra A Yatavya as the other.

or an Amitra in great calamities, less (2) A Yātavya calamities much than the Amitra;

according to Kautilya, the Amitra first, because his troubles will be increased still by an attack. No doubt, the troubles of the Yatavya will also increase by an invasion but the

The Yatavya first, according to a school of opinion, but

Vātavya may help the invading king. The Amitra will

not help him if the Yatavya be attacked first.

The Amitra first, because when he is invaded,

ANSWER

and unite with the Yatavya, or attack from the rear the king

about to commence the invasion.

Amitra may, if left to himself, regain his normal strength

The unjust Yatavya in light calamities should be first attacked, because his dissatisfied subjects will not help

A Yātavya just in his dealings but in great being loyal because the calamities, the subjects king is just.

subjects have (4) A Vātavya grown greedy through improverishment, whose

his dealings and in light A Yatavya unjust in calamities, the subjects being disloyal because the king is unjust.

A Yātavya whose subjects are oppressed.

him. The milder section among them will be indifferent but the extreme section may go so far as to turn him The former (in col. 1) should be first attacked according away.

of the latter can be conciliated by their king by the punishpoor and greedy are still loyal and would stand by their to one school of opinion, because his subjects can be easily won ever or kept in check, while the oppressed subjects of ment of the chief officials. Kautilya advises the invasion of the latter, because the subjects of the former though king in times of invasion of the kingdom.

The former (in col. 1) should be attacked first, because his subjects will not help him.

> tively weaker but un-A Yātavya comparajust. paratively stronger but A Yātavya comunjust.

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It is evident from the statements<sup>1</sup> in the appended Table that the discontent and disaffection of the subjects in a kingdom were recognized as a factor that exposed it to invasions, because the alienation of active sympathy of the citizens from their king was a cause for great weakness in the body politic. The Kautiliya lays a great

Causes that alienate the sympathy of the people from the sovereign and make him ill able to resist attacks. emphasis on the need for the application of the causes that bring about this state of affairs. The two main causes that should be specially guarded against are the acute economic stringency, and the oppression of the people. Some other causes

that operate to alienate the people from the sovereign are also mentioned. The list is of interest not merely from the historical standpoint but also as containing advice and warning, the widsom of which has not diminished by the lapse of centuries. These are disregarding the good and favouring the wicked; unrighteous and unprecedented slaughter of animals; prohibition of salutary customs; doing improper and unrighteous acts, and neglecting to do the proper and righteous ones; non-payment of grants and dues to the people and exaction of illegal impositions; inflicting punishments more severe than what is deserved, and not punishing the culprits; recruiting the incompetent for appointment and rejecting the competent; doing works detrimental to the interests of the kingdom and ruining those that are beneficial; not protecting the people against thieves and depriving them of their possessions; not doing works requiring enterprise and chilling the enterprise of others; injuring the leaders of the people and insulting the worthy; oppressing the elders and incurring their displeasure by impropriety and untruthfulness; not rewarding the services rendered to him and not observing the established usages; and carelessness and indolence in regard to the acquisition and preservation of wealth.2

### III

### CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT HELPING OTHER KINGS

In inter-state dealings, the rendering of help to a king does not always mean loss of men and money to the helper. It has also

K., VII, ch., 5, pp, 274-276,

another aspect, viz, that the helping king can become also a gainer in the long run by having as his ally a king who may more than compensate him for the expenditure and losses incurred. The considerations for which help should be extended with a

view to have the ultimate gain are:

- (a) that the ally is śakyārambhin i. e., engaged in an operation, the completion of which is well within the limits of his ability;
- (b) that he is Kalyārambhin (i. e. whose undertaking is not fraught with danger in a special degree);
- (c) that he is Bhavyārambhin (engaged in an undertaking which is sure to yield a good result);
- (d) that he is Sthirakarman (steady in the pursuit of his aim i. e. will not give up a work until it is completed);
- (e) that he is Anuraktaprakṛti i. e, he has his officials and subjects devoted to him. This implies that the helper will not be put to much loss of men and money in rendering the assistance.

Kings of these descriptions are likely to be successful in the operations for which the assistance is given and are expected to compensate the helper by giving him men and money in the latter's need.

Other considerations that may come in connection with this subject are:

- A. (i) Of the two kings each helping one other king, the one who helps a natural friend gains more than the one who helps a natural enemy (now an ally by virtue of the alliance). The reason is that the natural enemy rarely continues the friendship brought about by the alliance, after the need for help ceases. Hence the losses of the helper are not compensated.
- (ii) Of the two kings, each helping one other king, friendly to them, the one who happens to render assistance to the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara), becomes a gainer.
  - B. (i) Of the two kings each helping a madhyama1 (medium).
- (ii) Of the two kings, each helping a madhyama, friendly to him, the one who happens to help a madhyama, friendly to him in a special degree, becomes a greater gainer than the other.
  - C. Similarly there may be two cases in regard to the help

I For the meanings of madhyama and udasina, see I. S., pt, I, pp. II ff.; K., VI, ch. 2, p. 261.

extended to the udāsīna (superpower) in the maṇḍala of each helping king. The one who helps a friendly, or a specially friendly udāsīna becomes a greater gainer.

If both the madhyamas helped by the two kings turn false to their respective helpers, the king who had helped the inimical madhyama (temporarily in alliance with him), becomes a gainer.

The two helpers now face to face with their madhyamas turning false enter into alliance with each other in their common interest. But the one who loses the alliance with his inimical madhyamas loses less than the other who is bereft of his friendly madhyama.

Just as there may be a greater gain or a greater loss on the part of one king as compared with that of another in regard to the help rendered by each to either of two other kings selected by him, similarly there may be a greater gain or a greater loss to the side of one king in comparison with that of another in respect of the manner in which the help is rendered. As for instance, a king may have to suffer loss if in extending his help to a medium (madhyama) or a superpower. (udāsīna) he sends brave, hardy, and loyal troops well equipped with weapons instead of those of an inferior sort. The king who does not do so may stand on a better footing so far as loss is concerned. Where, of course, troop of an inferior efficiency can be of no avail in achieving the purpose for which they are sent, then he can lend out those belonging to any one of these classes viz., maula (hereditary), bhṛta (salaried) śrenī (recruited from military clans), mitra (ally), aṭavī (recruited from wild tribes). Should there be reason for the suspicion that the army sent out to help either the madhyama or the udāsīna will not be received back, or will be stationed on lands belonging to an inimical king or inhabited by wild tribes, or unfit habitation, or will be made to take the field during unfavourable seasons, or will not be allowed to appropriate to themselves their share in the booty, then he should avoid lending the army on some pretext or other. When no such pretext can achieve his object, he should lend an army inured to the kind of hardships to which it will be subjected and allow it to stay outside his dominion and fight up to the end of the operations for which it is taken. He will however remain watchful against any calamity befalling the army, and bring it back as soon as the need for its stay outside comes to an end. One other alternative is left to him viz., not to send any help, and strengthen

I K., VII, ch. 2.

his position of entering into an alliance with the Yātavya of the king seeking such help.

Four cases are mentioned by way of illustration for guiding the kings who are approached by the Yatavya for help against a strong enemy:

When a Yātavya is about to be invaded by a king, the considerations that should guide a third king approached for help.

(1) If the third king be diffident about the receipt of his remuneration from another king, who is invading a Yātavya and wants to break away

from the alliance into which he had entered under the pressure of a need for money, and if he wishes to help the Yātavya expecting to have a large consideration from him in future, he can do so for a small one for the present expecting to cause loss of men and money to the invader of the Yātavya, to obstruct the march of his army towards the Yātavya, or to attack him within the kingdom during a march.

- (2) When the third king finds that by joining the particular side he will be rendering a service to a friend and causing harm to an enemy or will be securing help from one who had helped him in the past, he should agree to render help for a lesser gain, rejecting an offer of a larger consideration.
- (3) Should a king be attacked by an enemy working in collusion with the former's traitorous subjects, or by a very powerful king threatening the ruin of the former's kingdom, then a neighbouring king can help him without any stipulation for remuneration, present or future, if he has in view that he may be similarly helped in future by the king now in distress, or if he has the hope of establishing a matrimonial connection with the latter's family.
- (4) If a king who has entered into an alliance with another king (marching against a Yātavya) wants to recede from the alliance, either to help the Yātavya, or to refrain from increasing the strength of the other king who may attack him after the operations are ended successfully, he can demand an immediate payment of his dues, or can demand a larger sum as his remuneration, which will serve to put a financial pressure upon the subjects (prakṛtikarṣaṇa), or incite other parties to alliances with the king to rescind their agreements following the example,

NARENDRA NATH LAW

# The Economic Conditions of Bengal during the Years 1793-1858

The most revolutionary change brought about in the economic system of Bengal and India during the Nineteenth Century was the new attitude towards the ownership of the soil. This new attitude was due to certain economic theories which were sharply in conflict with those of the Muhammadan and early British period.

In the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the new rulers of the country for the first time committed themselves to a definite understanding and agreement as regards the economic conditions and institutions of the country. This famous settlement, a real land-mark in Indian history, introduced factors, subtle but sure, which were to change the economic structure of large portions of India, changes which in due time made land a marketable article.

There had been sales of land also in the 18th century, even if the actual terms of buying and selling had been avoided in the documents of conveyance, but it remained for the 19th century to include land in the list of things that can be bought and sold in the open market. This makes a clear brake with all previous Indian conditions.

In earlier times, before the coming of the Muhammadans, the land had often been communal property, or at least property belonging to clans, families and other consanguine groups. Later on the Muhammadan rulers had claimed to be the owners of all the land in the realm, de jure or de facto.

In addition to what I have said in my two former papers, on the Muhammadan theories and their practice in land-holding, I should like to subjoin what Bernier, the great French traveller of the 18th century, had to say on that subject:—

"Those three states of Turkey, Persia and Indostan, for as much as they have, all three, taken away the meum and tuum as to land and propriety of possessions, cannot but very near resemble one another; they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconvenience which is the necessary consequence of it, namely tyranny, ruin and desolation. Far be

it therefore, that our monarchs of Europe should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess".1

Now land in Muhammadan times was, strictly speaking, not transferable any more than in Hindu times, with this exception, that the crown, or the state, for non-payment of land-tax, could take away land from defaulters, and grant it or lease it out to other middlemen, Zemindars, farmers and other tax collectors. But as far as these middlemen or the tenents were concerned land was not transferable property any more than in Hindu times. Just as a new Zemindar succeeding his deceased father needed a special sanad to establish him in the rights and privileges that his father had enjoyed, so probably also the tenancy of every new generation of tenants was hedged in sufficiently with restrictions to remind all concerned that the land was not their property. Land always, actually or nominally, reverted back, in the final analysis, to the state, and the state only could effect or sanction any transfer of land.

The sale of land in ancient India would have seemed as strange and impossible as the sale of air, or the sale of the water of the rivers.

By the time of British rule in Bengal we discover the first sales of Zemindari rights, the family of the Birbhum Rājāhs, selling several of their parganas to the Bose Family of Sutanuti in Calcutta, This transaction took place in 1796 A.D., involving a purchase price of Rupees 120,000 (Mitra's Types of Early Bengali Prose).

Since that time lands have changed hands in Bengal freely and frequently. Land holding has become a profession, a business like every other business. What is actually sold, legally and technically, are still only certain rights pertaining to the holding, sub-letting and leasing of that land, yet, ipso facto land has become a personal property. Like every other possession, it is transferable, no matter by how many safeguards the transaction may be hedged in, or hidden; it is a real and actual sale. That is to say, the economic life of India in this matter has been going through a process of complete transformation during the British period, and the end is not yet.

Of course, the old is still with us in the form of joint family properties; there is perhaps little property that is not held in some joint family ownership relation. But private ownership once recognised by law,

<sup>1</sup> Bernier's Travels, Bangabasi Reprint, p. 213, 1904.

the whole tendency during the 19th century has been towards that goal, and away from the restrictions of the older theories of property holding.

One important and disturbing factor in this devolution of property rights in the soil is the large and still growing number of really unproductive middlemen, patnidars of various degrees, that stand between the really large land owners and the tenants, living off the system and off the land, without making valuable contributions to the common stock of wealth in the economic system of the country.

Sir George Campbell says :-

"At the Permanent Settlement Government by abdicating its position as exclusive possessor of the soil, and contenting itself with a permanent rent-charge on the land, escaped thenceforward all the labour and risk attendant upon detailed mofussil management. The Zemindars of Bengal proper were not slow to follow the example set before them, and immediately began to dispose of their Zemindaries, in a similiar manner. Permanent under-tenures, known as putnee tenures, were created in large numbers, and extensive tracts were leased out on long terms. By the year 1819, permanent alienations of the kind described had been so extensively effected, that they were formally legalized by Regulation VIII of that year, and means afforded to the Zemindar of recovering arrears of rents from the patnidars almost identical with those by which the demands of Government were enforced against himself. The practice of granting such under-tenures has steadily continued, until at the present day with the putnee and subordinate tenures in Bengal proper and the farming system of Behar, but a small proportion of the whole permanently settled area remains in the direct possession of the Zemindars."1

### Relation of Land-rent to Government Revenue

The Permanent Settlement provided 1/10 of the gross amounts of land-rent collected to go to the Zemindar as his share, while 9/10 of it was to go to the Government. (In the Statutory Commission Report, 1/11 and 10/11 are given as the respective shares).

The assessment fixed on the land was declared to be unalterable for ever, and the government specifically undertook not to make any

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Phillips, Land Tenures of Lower Bengal, Calcutta, 1876 pp. 366-7.

demand on Zemindars, or their heirs or successors "for augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their estates."

This brings us face to face with a rather interesting question namely the relation of originally tithes of the produce of the land on one hand, and a regularly fixed and settled land-rent on the other.

Since Muhammadan times, and earlier, there had been two ways in which government, could raise their revenue, either in kind as their share of the yearly produce of the land, or as a fixed amount of annual ground-rent, or land-rent, in money, regardless of crops. The Muhammadans distinguished these two totally different kinds of revenue by these terms:

mūkasumah Kirāj, or the share of the produce of the land and wuzeefa Khirāj, or regular land-rent.

"The obligation to pay the (latter) class of Khirāj was considered a personal liability on account of a definite portion of land, depending on its actual capability, and not on its actual produce.

"It was consequently the wuzeega Khirāj, which was imposed on conquered unbelievers," (p. 45, Arthur Phillips, Land Tenures of

Lower Bengal).

Now what was the actual share which the state could or did receive of the produce of the land? In Hindu times it must have been much smaller than in Muhammadan times, when the State sometimes claimed as high as three-fifths of the income of the land (Phillips, p. 221). The question, of course, does not touch the portions of India settled by the Permanent Settlement, except as to the theory which was underlying the settlements which were made in Muhammadan, and early British, times.

Romesh Ch. Dutt states as follows:-

"In Bengal the Land Tax was fixed at over 90 per cent. of the rental (?)—and in North India at over 80 per cent. of the rental, between 1793 and 1822. It is true that the British Government only followed the precedent of the previous Mohammadan rulers, who also claimed an enormous Land Tax. But the difference was this, that what the Mohammadan rulers claimed they could never fully realize; what the British rulers claimed they realized with rigour. The last Mohammadan ruler of Bengal, in the last year of his administration (1764), realized a land revenue of £817,553; within thirty

years the British rulers realized a land revenue of £2,680,000 in the same province."1

I have not been able to verify the two figures given in this statement; from another source, however, the "Musnud of Murshidabad," I got the assessment of Mir Kasim, the last ruler of Bengal, for the year 1763, amounting, with abwabs (imposts) to Rs. 25,624,223.

Another set of figures, taken from Ramesh Ch. Dutt's book, (p. 85) gives the following amounts of land revenue, actually collected. (He quotes from Shore):

 1762-63
 ...
 Rs. 6,456,198

 1763-64
 ...
 ,, 7,618,407

 1764-65
 ...
 ,, 8,175,553

 1765-66
 ...
 ,, 14,704,875

It will be seen that there is a wide divergency between the amounts assessed and the sums actually realized. That even the Permanent Settlement did not always insure a permanent revenue approximately equal every year, is shown by the following facts.

In a list given by Romesh Ch. Dutt, of the years 1793-1837, the land revenue realized in Bengal, varies from some 30 Million Rupees in 1813-14, to over Rupees 70 Million in 1814-15. It then keeps on a high level till 1832-3, after which it drops down again in 1834-35 to a little over 30 Millions.

In figures published in 1854 by M. Wylie, a judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, we find the figure of Rs. 37,596,998 as the total revenue of Bengal Presidency as it stood then, comprising Bihar, Orissa and Assam (also included in the previous figures).

Deducting the outlying districts, which form separate provinces now, we get for Bengal people, as it is today, a total of Rs. 22,424,876 for that year. Compare with this the Rs. 32,700,000 of land-rent raised from the same area in 1928 9 according to the Bengal budget published in the Report of the Statutory Commissioner. (In all these figures the changing value of the rupee must be taken into account, of course).

In 1833 another important change took place in the history of British India. The trading business of the Company was abolished, and from now till the end of its history in 1858, the East India Company was a pure landholding stock company, but with practically

I Economic History of British India, Preface, p. ix, London 1902.

sovereign power, controling the whole sub-continent of India, the former great empire of the Mughals. Speaking of this latter event, the total abolition of the East India Company in 1858, Dutt says (Preface p. xiii):

"Their capital was paid off by loans, which were made into an Indian debt, on which interest is paid from Indian taxes. The empire was transferred from the Company to the Crown, but the people of India paid the purchase money. The Indian Debt, which was £51,000,000 in 1857, rose to £97,000,000 in 1862. Within the forty years of peace which have succeeded, the Indian Debt has increased continuously, and now (1901) amounts to £200,000,000. 'The Home Charges' remitted out of Indian revenues to Great Britain have increased to sixteen millions."

In a subsequent paper I hope to deal with the industrial and commercial aspects of this period—aspects which were of the utmost significance in the economic life of the country. The year 1833, when the East India Company abolished its own trading system, is the turning point of that development.

G. L. SCHANZLIN

## The Frontier Problem of the Mughals

The frontier problem of the Indian Mughals was no less complicated than that of the British. In fact the Mughals were more vitally concerned with the people and provinces of North-Western frontier, and to them, in a much greater degree, the frontier problem was the pivot of their political existence. Their home was beyond the frontier, and their ambition fondly cherished an empire in which the transfrontier provinces, once their ancestral dominions, should form a part. That was not all. The conquest of Hindustan had been achieved from a transfrontier kingdom, and throughout the existence of their empire they recruited their soldiers from those regions. Thus the love of motherland, the pride of possessing ancestral dominions, and the military needs of the empire had combined to make the frontier problem extremely consequential for the Mughals. As new tribes rose to power and endangered these interests, the Mughal empire grew nerveless and decayed. The satisfactory solution of the frontier problem in a way controlled the existence or extinction of the Mughal sway in Northern India, and hence it demands much more attention at the hands of the historian, trying to explain the downfall of the Mughal empire, than it has hitherto received.

The causes that were responsible for the flight of Babar from his ancestral dominions, for his unsuccessful attempts at their recovery, and for the foundation of the Mughal empire in India were also the deciding factors in the frontier policy of the Mughals. The steady rise of the Uzbegs under Shāibāṇi Khān, and their gradual conquest of the whole Timurid kingdom compelled Bābar to run away to Kābul, and to endeavour from there, to recover his lost dominions with the help of the Persians. Since he failed in his attempts and his powerful allies, the Persians, occupied Khorasan and Bokhara he had to remain content with the poor principality of Kābul, and when opportunity arrived, turned eastward to India for fresh conquests. Thus the neighbourhood of two powerful nations, the Persians and the Uzbegs set Bābar's foot on the road to India; for, Bābar's relations with the former were none too friendly and the latter were his hereditary enemies. Kābul, nemmed in between the dominions of these two hostiles nations, would have fallen an easy prey

to either, had it not been for the fact that they were themselves mortal enemies of each other. In their mutual enmity they overlooked Babar, who thus had a quiet time for himself to consolidate his kingdom, and to prepare for the conquest of Hindustan. handed down to his successors his transfrontier possessions, and therefore, ruling from India, they had to face the very same problems and had to come into conflict with the very same peoples-the Persians and the Uzbegs. The diplomatic relations subsisting between the Indian Mughals, and the Uzbegs and Persians, form the foundation of the Mughal frontier problem. The course, these relations took, depended, upon the comparative strength of the parties, and varied from time to time. Under Bābar's successors, from Akbar to Shāhjāhān, the Persians were evenly matched, and the Uzbegs, overpowered; while before Akbar, both the Persians and the Uzbegs were overpowering. Hence the policy of the Mughals before Akbar was one of respectful but defensive vigilance towards the Persians and Uzbegs; while, after Akbar it assumed a pronounced form of aggression.

The nature of the problem was also determined by the geographical situations of these nations. The physical configuration of Central Asia necessitates the mastery of Badakshan, Balkh and Kandahar for the ruler of Kābul. Otherwise there is no scientific frontier and Kābul is exposed. In the north Kabul is bounded by the lofty walls of the Hindukush penetrated by several passes, the most famous of them being the Hindukush, "This has indeed been a veritable gateway of nations. This way came Alexander with his Greek following, and it would take a chapter to record the successive tides of human migration (Scythian and Mughal) which have swept through those frozen gateways to the north of Kābul"1 To guard this gateway of the north, Balkh and Badakshan, situated between the mountain and the Oxus river flowing westwards, should be strongly held, and to hold these two provinces the line of the Oxus must be secured. In the south Kābul is equally exposed. magnificent heights of the Hindukush as they run in a southwesterly direction sink into lower altitudes, and "the western borders of the country maintain a general average of about 3000 ft. from Herat to Kandahar" From Kandahar to Herat, the country is also traversed

I Imperial Gazetteer, vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

by a number of rivers like the Helmand, the Harirud and the Khasurd, which make it fruitful. South-east of Kandahar is the desert, but north of it, as far as Ghazni and Kābul, the country is fertile, full of irrigated fields and green pastures. Once Kandahar is taken, Kābul is in a precarious position, for the distance between Herat and Kandahar is only 360 miles and takes ten days for the cavalry to cover it. "Herat was but the gateway to Kandahar and Kābul in the days when Kābul was India." Hence the two river lines, the Oxus in the north, and the Helmand in the south, were of supreme importance to the Indian Mughals, and so long as the Uzbegs were established on the former, and the Persians on the latter, they could not rest in peace at all.

But this was only a part of the problem. Behind this outer frontier there was another the inner frontier, and the Mughals were equally concerned to hold it in strength. It lay between Kābul and the Punjab formed by a rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmere. This is inhabited by wild uncivilized tribes and through it run the chief passes to Afghanistan-the Gomal, the Tochi, Kurram and the Khyber in succession from the south. To the north of the Khyber, there are the valleys of the Swat, Bajaur and Panikora, affording facilities for human habitation. Still further north lies the Kashmere state, with its fascinating landscape and salubrious climate. The communication between the two parts of the Mughal empire-Kābul aud Hindustan-was maintained through the passes, and their security was of as great a consequence to the internal peace of the empire, as that of the outer frontier, for the perfect mastery of the inner frontier meant the security of Kābul and sure supply of recruits for the army of the Indian Mughals.

Hence the Mughals had to tackle three problems in order to maintain their frontier defence intact. The first was to establish themselves in Balkh and Badakshan to the prejudice of the Uzbegs; the second was to establish themselves in Kandahar to the prejudice of the Persians; and the third was to keep the tribes on the Northwestern border of India under control, so as to keep the line of communication between Kābul and Hindustan open at all times.

With the expulsion of Bābar from his ancestral dominions, and with his conquest of Kābul in 1504 began the frontier problem. Till he conquered Hindustan more than twenty years later, the line of

I Holdich, Gates of India, p. 529.

I.H.Q., SEPTEMBER Belief Donain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Badakshan, Balkh, and Kandahar was of supreme importance. In 1505 Nasir Mirza took possession of Badakshan, only to be expelled by Shaibani Khan soon after. Shaibani not only conquered Badakshan, but Khorasan also. It was only after he was killed at the battle of Merv, that Shah Ismail occupied the latter province, and compelled, by his immense prestige, the Arghuns of Kandahar to recognize his suzerainty. If the death of Shaibani profited the Shah of Persia, it did Bābar no less. With the help of the Shah he recovered almost all his ancestral dominions. But his triumph was short-lived, and he was once again expelled from those dominions, which were the glory of his youth, the dream of his life, and the mission of all Indian Mughals.

This expulsion, however, did not mean the loss of all. During those memorable days, when for the last time he ruled from the capital of Taimur, he had bestowed upon his cousin Wais Mirza, the provinces of Badakshan along with Shadman and Khutlan', and these remained to the Mughals yet. Safe from the direction of Badakshan, which he acquired after the death of Wais Mirza in 1520 and fully aware of the futility of all attempts to recover Balkh, then under the Uzbegs, be turned his attention to Kandahar. In 1522, after much worry and vigilance he conquered it from the Arghuns, who retired into Sindh. Thus of the whole line one patch had slipped off his hands, and the rest remained under his control. But Bābar was not satisfied. Six years later, when he had become the emperor of Hindustan he attempted to recover Balkh from the Uzbegs and used Badakshan as his base. Humayun had been placed in charge of the campaigns. His sudden departure for Agra, to counteract the conspiracy hatched by Khalifa and Mahdi Khwaja, to exclude him from the throne, spoiled the projects of Bābar, and caused much annoyance to him. Bābar asked his experienced minister Khalifa to take the place of Humayun in Badakshan, but he objected to go. Humayun also showed his reluctance to return to his post, and therefore, in the last resort, he deputed Suleiman Mirza, the heir-apparent, to take possession of his father's kingdom. Babar still considered that the retention of the province was of great importance for the recovery of his lost ancestral dominions2. But he did not live to realize his ambition, and he was laid in the grave before a year was out,

I An Empire Builder of the 16th Century, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

On Humayun fell the burden of maintaining the double line of defence—the inner and outer frontiers, besides a kingdom, whose stability was extremely precarious. He lost the empire of Hindustan by his own faults, and the most outstanding of them was his leniency towards his brothers. Out of that leniency he divided his dominions among his brothers, and Kamran received the whole of the transfrontier possessions of Bābar. Hence so long as Humayun was ruling over Hindustan, as well as after his expulsion from India Kamran was concerned about the frontier defence. After 1540, he was required to maintain the outer frontier line alone. For five years more till 1545, he ruled Kabul, Kandahar and Badakshan, and successfully held his own against the Uzbegs and the Persians. He had deprived Suleiman Mirza of his hereditary principality of Badakshan, and had brought it under his direct control. When in 1544 Humayun came with Persian auxiliaries to wrest his kingdom from Kamran, he had made an agreement with the friendly Shah of Persia, that Kandahar, after its conquest, would be surrendered to him. Whether it was due to the offensive attitude of the Persians or to the strategic importance of Kandahar, whatever it be, Humayun took possession of it and broke faith with the friendly Shah. Shortly after, he recovered Kabul from Kamran, who fled away to Sindh. In the meanwhile Mirza Suleiman, who had been released by Kamran at the time of Humayun's invasion in order that he might be of some help to him, had estabilshed his independence and taking advantage of the unsettled condition of Humayun's affairs, had annexed the districts of Qunduz, Khost and Anderab. These were the dependencies of Kabul under Kamran, and when Humayun demanded them Suleiman would not part with them. In 1547 Humayun led an army into Badakshan, and defeated Suleiman Mirza, who fled from his country. Though for some time the districts were annexed, Badakshan and Qunduz were bestowed upon Hindal, Khost upon Munim Beg, and Talikan upon Bapus, yet, political expediency dictated the restoration of the country to Mirza Suleiman, who thenceforth remained a faithful ally of Humayun.

But if secure from the side of Badakshan, he was not so from the side of Balkh. It was under the Uzbegs, and they had given offence to him by helping Kamran against him in 1548. In the spring of 1549, therefore, he marched into Balkh, and commanded Suleiman, and Kamran, who had in the meanwhile submitted to Humayun, to join him with their forces. Suleiman did, and Kamran did not. In 1550

he "wandered about the country with bad intentions", and because of these bad intentions Humayun achieved nothing. On the other hand he was severly wounded in a dastardly attack by Kamran, and thus ended the Balkh expedition never to be repeated till the time of Shāhjāhān.

Until Kamran was blinded and sent away to Mecca (1553), Humayun's position in Kabul was very unsafe. Hindal had been killed (1551) and Askari, taken prisoner, was also sent to Mecca, where he died in 1557. Kandahar and Badakshan did not give him any trouble. Suleiman remained loyal to Humayun, who sealed this goodwill by giving his daughter Bakshni Banu to Suleiman's son Ibrahim. Thus free from his brothers and all frontier troubles, he invaded Hindustan, and recovered it with comparative ease. On 23rd July 1555 he sat on the throne of Delhi for the second time, and before six months were over he died by a fall from his library (27th January 1556).

Humayun lest for Akbar the legacy of a contested succession in a nascent state. His minority and insecurity gave rise to all sorts of trouble on the frontier. Kandahar fell into the hands of the Persians in 1558, and Prince Suleiman assumed airs of independence. The latter went so far as to invade Kabul, owing to extreme young age of Muhammad Hakim Mirza, who was only five at the time, and retired because his own kingdom was threatened by the Uzbegs on the north west. In 1561 Munim Khan the regent for Muhammad Hakim was called to the Court, and then began a really troublous time in Kabul. Munim Khan, had been succeeded by his son Ghani Khan, but the government was seized by Mahachuchak Begum, Hakim's mother with the help of three nobles, Shah Wali Afgan, Fazal Beg and Abul Fath Beg. When Akbar sent Munim Khan to set things right, he was defeated by the Begum. In the meanwhile she had put to death the three nobles, who had helped her in usurping power, and had taken one Haidar Kasim Kohbar, as her adviser whom she had intended to marry. At this juncture arrived the fugitive Abul Maali from India, wormed into her favour, married her daughter, and ultimately put her to death. Upon her lover also fell the same fate, and then Abul Maali seized power, and ruled like a tyrant over Kabul. Poor Muhammad Hakim fled away to the shelter of Prince Suleiman,

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Beveridge, Introduction to Humayun Nama, p. 45.

who took up his cause, defeated and captured Abul Maali, and handed him over to Muhammad Hakim, who had him strangled to death in May 1564. This friendliness was cemented by the marriage of Prince Muhammad with the daughter of Prince Suleiman. On this occasion the ruler of Badakshan was given a part of Kabul in recognition of his services, but it offended the Kabulis, and there was an insurrection. In 1566 therefore, the Badakshan prince invaded Kabul with the intention of seizing his son-in-law, but failed. Shortly after died his (Suleiman's) wife, the spirited Haram Begum, and her death landed him into all sorts of troubles. He fell out with his grandson, and successor, Prince Shah Rukh, and was driven out of the kingdom. He wandered a good deal, seeking shelter first with the Uzbeg ruler of Balkh and then with the sovereign of Bokhara, Iskandar Khan, the father of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg.

But the unsettled condition of Badakshan, and the loss of Kandahar did not stand alone. Kabul went its own way, and actually became instrumental in jeopardising the safety of Akbar's empire in Hindustan. Instead of being a bulwork of Hindustan, her ruler tried to imitate Mahmud of Ghazni or Muhammad Ghori, in attacking Hindustan when Akbar was in a critical situation. Muhammad Hakim twice invaded the Punjab, once in 1567 when Akbar was exerting to crush the rebellion of the Uzbegs and the Mirzas, and again in 1581, when Akbar had, by his religious speculations, raised a whirlwind in Hindustan. Be it said to the credit of Akbar, that he repulsed his brother both the times and in 1581, actually marched into Kabul. Muhammad Hakim had fled away before him and had retired into the hills, leaving the capital to be occupied by Akbar. Though Akbar punished Muhammad Hakim by bestowing the kingdom on his sister, the wife of Khwaja Hasan, yet he realized quite well, how very dangerous it was to be deprived of the control of the frontier. For, a less capable monarch than Akbar would have collapsed in the crisis of 1581, and its dreadful nature was due to the attack of Muhammad Hakim, when the Muslims of Northern India were seething in discontent. Whatever was the result of the triumphant return of Akbar from Kabul, he became painfully aware of the fact that unless Kabul came under his control, his empire of Hindustan would be threatened from behind the frontier, the moment there was some commotion here.

Akbar's invasions of Kabul synchronised with a very dark period in Badakshan. Owing to the continuous strifes between Suleiman and

Shahrukh "the country was now in the most lamentable confusion, the soldiery was discontented, the rayats without justice, the garrisons dismantled, and the whole country desolate."1 That was the opportunity of the Uzbegs. The days were long past when they were drifting along the current like atoms of sand. Now they were thoroughly organized under their powerful leader Abdulla Khan. Born in 1533, and the son of a petty chief Iskandar Khan, he had conquered Bokhara at twentyfour, and had proclaimed his father as the Khakan of the Uzbeg tribes at twenty-eight (1561). Then followed a series of victories, when Balkh, Samarkand, Taskand, Turkestan, Farghana and Audijan were conquered, and the glories of Shaibani again returned to the Uzbegs. In 1583 his father died, and he succeeded to Khakanship. He had watched with a keen interest the civil war between the grandfather and grandson in Badakshan, and hardly a year was out (1584) when he invaded the kingdom and "without a blow struck seized the country." Fleeing for life Prince Shahrukh met his grandfather on his way to Kabul, and the foes in prosperity became friends in adversity. They found a refuge first at Kabul, and then at the court Akbar.

The fall of Badakshan completed the loss of the whole line of the outer frontier and it was fraught with consequences for the Mughals. Kabul immediately, and Hindustan remotely, were exposed. For a moment therefore it brought about a harmony of interests between Akbar, and Muhammad Hakim. The latter applied for help to Akbar, in 1584; and Akbar promised "in the first place to despatch an embassy to Badakshan, manifestly hoping to set a bound to Abdullah's conquest by diplomacy, and if this should fail, to follow it by an army to Kabul fully equipped and with a sum of treasure under an able general."2 Akbar in fact thought, he could for the time being treat Kabul, as a buffer state, and wanted to strengthen it, so that it may be used as an outwork for Hindustan. But before any definite steps could be taken in this direction came the news of Muhammad Hakim's death in July, 1585. This changed the attitude of Akbar, and the relative importance of Kabul. It could no more be treated as a buffer; it had to be taken under direct control at once. "No question of formal annexation arose, because the territory ruled

I Von Noer, Akbar, vol. II, p. 124,

<sup>2 1</sup>bid., pp. 128-29.

by the Mirza, although in practice long administered as an independent state, had always been regarded in theory as dependency on the crown of India."1 Akbar, therefore sent Man Singh with some troops so that he might maintain order till his arrival. Man Singh came not a moment too late, for "there was in Kabul a Turanian party amongst the nobles, which sought to subverse the ambitious designs by means of the young princes Kaiqubad and Afrasiab,"2 at the instigation of Abdulla Khan, and Man Singh's arrival frustrated their move. A general amnesty was proclaimed and it created a favourable atmosphere for the Emperor's rule. Having thus pacified Kabul by politic clemency Akbar started northwards, and early in December, 1585 pitched his tents at Rawalpindi. There or in its neighbourhood he lived for full thirteen years, watching the affairs of the Uzbegs and of the Persians, and conquering the countries that formed the inner frontier of Hindustan. It is a glorious period in Akbar's career of conquest and empire-building. It reveals Akbar's insight into the importance of frontier defence, as also his consummate ability to plan extensive campaigns in one of the most difficult regions of the world, and to control each minutae thereof. It is doubtful whether there is any other epoch in his life when he showed in a more brilliant way that he had the head to plan and the hand to execute, that his originality of conception and boldness of design were on a par with his eye for strategy.

Hardly a week had passed, when Akbar's ideas took definite shape. The whole of the frontier line formed by Kashmere, the tribal territory and Baluchistan must be brought under his control—Kashmere because it was of great strategic importance for controlling all the hinterland between the last offshoots of the Himalayas and the Hindukush forming the south-eastern frontier of Badakshan;—the tribal territory because inhabited by the most fierce and fickle Yusufzai tribes, it lay between the Khyber Pass and the Hindukush, between Chitral on the north of Kabul and Kashmere, and on its control depended the security of the pass which was the line of communication between Kabul and Northern India;—and Baluchistan, because it controlled the strategic pass and its conquest was necessary either as a precaution against the Persian at Kandahar, or as a preliminary for the subjugation of Kandahar. At a time when Abdulla Khan Uzbeg held the un-

I Smith, Akbar, pp. 230-31.

<sup>2</sup> Von Noer, Akbar, vol. II, p. 130.

disputed sway over Central Asia, and threatened Kabul, it was certainly inexpedient to have the Yusufzais in open rebellion inspired by their religious zeal, and Yusuf Khan the Sultan of Kashmere in a sulky mood at the demand of the emperor to submit and pay homage in person. Hence from Rawalpindi Akbar moved to Attock and thence sent two expeditions into the Yusufzai country and Kashmere (1586). His motive in moving from Rawalpindi to Attock was to "occupy a position favourable for control of the operations against Kashmere and also against the Afghans of the Yusufzai and Mandar tribes'"1 The expedition against the tribesmen was held by Zain Khan Kokaltash, against the Yusufzais of the Bajaur country, while other officers entered the Samah plateau, the home of the Mandar tribes. Zain Khan was reinforced later by Raja Bir Bal and Hakim Abul Fath, but the three commanders fell out, and could not decide upon a common plan of operation. While retreating in despair they were cut off by the tribesmen, and lost about half their army. Raja Bir Bal was killed on this occassion. Then Raja Todar Mall was commissioned to proceed against the tribesmen, and retrieved the lost prestige of the imperial arms. "Here and there he built forts and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits."2 Man Singh subsequently won a great victory over their leader Jalal in the Khyber Pass. On the whole, the expeditions had a salutary effect on the disloyalty of the tribesmen, and they proved less troublesome, though they were never conquered. Jalal, their spiritual leader kept up the fight till 1600, when he captured Ghazni, but he was killed soon after.

As regards Kashmere Akbar had better success. Kasim Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das with some other officers, had been entrusted with the task of conquering that state. Their first contact with the Kashmiris ended in a treaty that was not approved by Akbar. Soon after the Sultan and his son surrendered, but being ill-treated the young prince Yakub Khan, the son of Sultan, made his escape from the imperial camp, and made warlike preparations in his state. Again Kasim Khan was sent at the head of an army, and entered Srinagar after overcoming the resistance of Yakub Khan. Kashmere was then definitely annexed, and formed a Sarkar of the Subah of Kabul (1587-88). Thus Akbar became comparatively free from anxiety by the year

I Smith, Akbar, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot and Dawson, vol. V, p. 451.

1581, and the next year he started to visit Kabul and Kashmere, at this time Akbar must have felt immense satisfaction to think that Kabul and Kashmere could no more afford an opportunity for the ambition of the Uzbegs, and that they now, formed integral parts of the empire.

Thus far only half the frontier line had been secured. There remained Sind and Baluchistan. Akbar left Kabul in November, 1589, in order to take in hand the conquest of Sind, and deputed in 1590, Abdur Rahim, Khanikhana for the purpose. Ever since 1574 the island fortress of Bakhar, had remained under imperial control. Now the Khanikhana was appointed Subedar of Multan, and directed to annex the kingdom of Thattah then under Mirza Jani, the Tarkhan. The latter was defeated at two places, and surrendered in 1591. With his surrender, his kingdom was annexed. Four years later in February, 1595, the fort of Siwi, to the south-east of Quetta fell to the imperialists, led by Mir Masum, the soldier and the historian. The Parni Afghans, who stubbornly defended the fort, were defeated and after their defeat, "all Baluchistan, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre." Akbar had considered the conquest of Sind and Baluchistan as a necessary prelude to the recovery of Kandahar, or to an effectual warding off of any attack from there. Here he was more fortunate than his expectations, and without a blow struck he acquired Kandahar. In April, 1595, its Persian Governor Muzaffar Husian Mirza handed over the fortress to Akbar's officers, and thus one of the vital problems of the frontier defence was solved for Akbar.

The conquest of Kashmere, Sind, Baluchistan, the punishment of the tribesmen, and the surrender of Kandahar were great triumphs, and revealed the mighty strength of Akbar. By 1595 the inner frontier had been perfectly secured, as also the south-western part of outer frontier. These grand achievements highly impressed the contemporaries of Akbar, and specially Abdulla Khan. Now he could never entertain the idea of meddling in the affairs of Akbar's empire. He "must rather have felt relief that Akbar did not make a common cause against him with Shah Abbas." But that was out of the question, so long as Kandahar remained under Akbar. Abdulla khan's apprehensions were rooted in his enmity with Shah Abbas to

I Smith, Akbar, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Von Noer, Akbar, vol. II, p. 226.

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whom he had lost Mashad, Merv, Herat and most of Trans-oxiana before his death.1 Therefore he showed a good deal of concern to win the friendship of Akbar and actually proposed a matrimonial alliance between his son, and a daughter of Akbar. Akbar treated his overtures with scant attention and wrote a diplomatic letter in 1596 emphasising his great power, enormous resources and vast dominions, perhaps to convey that it was beneath his dignity to accord to his proposal. Two years later the powerful Khakan died, and thus departed the greatest enemy of Akbar. Other affairs awaited his attention, and relieved from all anxiety in the north, he returned to Agra the very same year. He had achieved much, but even with his great talents and vast resources he had not risked an invasion of Balkh and Badakshan. Perhaps even after the death of Abdulla Khan, the Uzbegs were sufficiently strong in those two provinces, and Akbar considered that a campaign would have extremely indifferent results. For a long time to come, they remained a decisive factor in the problem of the frontier defence of the Mughals.

Akbar left a powerful and progressive empire to his son Jahangir (1605) with a strong frontier and organized system of defence. Kandahar had been strengthened, and the tribal territories controlled by fortresses, built at strategic points. The Uzbegs, after the death of their leader, had become disunited, and their chiefs were fighting among themselves for supremacy. Hence Jahangir could afford to neglect them. But far otherwise was the case of the Persians. Their king Shah Abbas (1587-1629) was one of the greatest monarchs of the age. Shrewd and capable he excelled in tortuous diplomacy no less than the art of war. He had utterly humiliated Abdulla Khan, and had taken the easy Mughal acquisition of Kandahar very much to heart. He began to cast about for plans to recover it, shortly after Jahangir's accession, and did not cease until he had achieved it. Early in Jahangir's reign he secretly ordered his officers in the districts of Herat, Farra, Seistan, and Khorasan to make a surprised attack on Kandahar. But because the governor of Kandahar, constantly on the alert, had got timely imformation of his designs and was prepared to stand a siege, the Persians did not succeed (1607). Shah, whose designs had thus been revealed, feigned indignation at the so-called unauthorized proceedings of his unruly officers, and sent an ambassador to Jahangir to explain and apologise. Jahangir. of

I Smith, Akbar, p. 271.

course, took it with good grace, but adequately reinforced the garrison at Kandahar, so that it might not be taken unawares again.

But the precautionary measures of Jahangir did not escape the eye of Shah Abbas, and he sedulously set to soothe his suspicions about Kandahar. His embassies to Jahangir came pretty frequently, and conveyed professions of friendship mingled with fulsome flattery. Costly and handsome presents were also not wanting. Between 1611 and 1620, there came four embassies, all of which assured the Emperor that the Shah bore sincerest regards and warmest affection for him. Deceived by these empty shows Jahangir slackened his vigilance and reduced the garrison at Kandahar. Nothing could be more welcome to Shah Abbas. He secretly prepared a strong army, besieged Kandahar in March 1622 and took it after a siege of forty days. Prince Shahjahan, who had been ordered to repulse the enemy revolted, and for the rest of Jahangir's reign the Mughal court had neither leisure nor inclination to wrest Kandahar from the Persians. Thus Jahangir lost what Akbar had gained on the outer frontier, and Kabul became exposed again on the south west.

But Kandahar was not lost for ever. In February 1638 it was again betrayed to Shahjahan, by its Persian Governor Ali Mardan Khan. Emboldened by this freak of fortune Shahjahan thought, that he might undertake the recovery of Balkh and Badakshan. Nor were the circumstances unfavourable for such a project, Imam Kuli of the Astrakhanide dynasty died in 1642 after a prosperous rule of thirtytwo years, and his vast kingdom comprising Samarkand, Bokhara, Balkh and Badakshan plunged into confusion, His son Nazar Mahammad had succeeded him, but he proved a failure, and owing to his high-handed proceedings, the Uzbeg generals deposed him and set up his eldest son Abdul Aziz in April, 1645. The deposed father was assigned only a portion of the kingdom comprising Balkh and Badakshan. This civil strife resulting in the division of Uzbeg dominions was the opportunity for Shahjahan, and he planned an expedition promptly into Badakshan. In June, 1645 the fort of Kahmard was occupied, but was abondoned soon October another expedition was led by Raja Jagat Singh, and it resulted in the occupation of the Khost district. After these two pioneer expeditions Prince Murad was sent at the head of an immense army, fiifty-thousand strong in June 1646. Qunduz was occupied on the 22nd; June, and the city of Balkh entered on the 2nd July, Nazar Mahamad fled away towards Persia leaving his treasures

to the invaders, and it appeared as if the country was conquered.

But troubles started soon enough. Prince Murad hated the hilly country and its rustic inhabitants, and longed for Hindustan. Shahjahan failed to impress upon him the necessity of remaining there, He abandoned his charge without caring for his father's wishes, and came away. Terrible was the fate of the people of the country and their new conquerors after his departure. The Uzbegs made their life miserable and the government of the Mughals fell into disorder. It was only when Aurangzeb came, defeated the Uzbegs and occupied the city of Balkh (May, 1647) that the situation was relieved. But the period of trouble had not come to an end for the Mughals. Hardly had Balkh been occupied when an army of Abdul Aziz appeared within forty miles of it. Aurangzeb repulsed it and advanced up to Timurabad amidst incessant fighting. The following week was a period of the most strenuous struggle, when the Mughal army covered itself with glory and the Mughal prince showed those sterling qualities of dogged resolution, cool courage and consummate generalship, for which he became famous later on. The king of Bokhara impressed by the bravery and skill of Aurangzeb, opened negotiation for peace. He proposed that Balkh should be bestowed upon his own brother, while Shahjahan had already promised it to Nazar Mahammad. In the meanwhile the Mughals sick of the terrible warfare, sterile country and the barbarous ways of the people, clamoured to return home. They constantly thwarted Aurangzeb's schemes for conquest, because they thought if he determined to conquer the whole of Transoxiana, of which he was not incapable, they would not return home for years. Circumstances however favoured their purpose, and by September a settlement was arranged with Nazar Mahammad, who got back the province on his recognizing the suzerainty of Shahjahan. Aurangzeb returned to Kabul by October and was followed by the whole army. The latter suffered untold hardships because of the severe winter, and lost five-thousand men. Besides these losses, the Indian treasury had spent four crores of rupees for no gains whatever, "Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh."1 The frontier line formed by Balkh and Badakshan was not recovered, and never afterwards did the Mughal emperors indulge in the vain attempt of recovering these provinces.

I Sarkar, Aurangzeb, vol. I, p. 113.

Equally unfortunate was Shahjahan with regard to Kandahar. After Ali Mardan Khan betrayed it into the hands of the Mughals, Shahjahan had spared no pains to strengthen it. Nevertheless, Shah Abbas II determined to take it and made a vigorous preparation secretly. The news however leaked out, and Shahjahan began to show some concern. It had been intimated that the Shah wanted to besiege the fortress in the winter. This unnerved the carpet-knights of the Mughal court, for they defeated a campaign in the bitter cold of the frontier regions. They therefore advised that it was not likely that the Shah would choose the cold weather for a siege, and Shahjahan listened to them. He remained content after sending a reinforcement, but the Shah was not deterred from his task by the cold weather. He attacked Kandahar about the middle of December, 1648, and took it on the 11th February, 1649.

The news of the commencement of the siege came to the court on the 16th January, 1649 as an eye-opener, and Shahjahan issued immediate orders, to Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan to proceed to Kandahar with a relieving force. Before the commanders reached Kabul, Kandahar had capitulated, and there they were detained owing to a heavy snow-fall. Consequently they reached Kandahar on the 14th May. The relieving force was employed as a besieging army. and the lack of siege-guns seriously hampered their operations. After months of futile work, they were ordered to give up the attempt and to retire (5th September, 1649), and thus ended the first Mughal effort to recover Kandahar, in cloud and smoke.

Shajahan could not rest in peace, but neither could he rush to recover Kandahar from a foe whose strength he knew only too well. He took two years to prepare, and ordered Aurangzeb with an army of fifty to sixty thousand men and a fine park of artillery to take it. With great vigour the siege began on the 2nd May, 1652, but by the end of June it was realized that the Mughal guns would never breach the walls. Once again Shahjahan had to eat his humble pie, and order a retreat.

A year later Dara was directed to undertake the task. With a vast army seventy thousand strong, and huge field-pieces, as also with a good deal of conceit, he commenced the siege on the 28th April, and continued it till the 27th September. In spite of his equipments and unflagging zeal he failed to make an impresssion on the Persians, and was therefore ordered to retire. That was the third time that Shahjahan, and the last time that any Mughal Emperor attempted to recover Kandahar from the Persians,
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Thus in the heyday of Mughal rule, in the regime of the glorious Shahjahan, the outer frontier of the empire could not be recovered. It betokened ill for the future safety of the Mughal rule both in Kabul and Hindustan. It was specially so when the empire was expanding southwards, and new kingdoms were being brought under the Mughal sway. It was in fact getting unwieldy, and the effects were felt during the reign of Aurangzeb. The unwieldy size undermined the efficiency of frontier defence, and soon after Aurangzeb's succession there arose troubles on the inner frontier.

In 1667 the Yusufzais started trouble. At a time they were rapidly expanding they found a leader in Bhagu, who organized them, and sent them to attack the Mughal terrritory. They crossed the Indus, invaded the plain of Pakhali, and captured several Mughal outposts. The Emperor therefore planned a grand campaign, and ordered three divisions to attack the enemy one from Attock, another from Kabul and the third from the court. The last two divisions took time to arrive on the scene and therefore the Foujdar of Attock led his own division against the Yusufzais. A battle was fought on the south bank of the Indus in which the rebels were defeated, and then they evacuated the imperial territory on this side of the river. Not venturing to enter the enemy's country all alone, the Foujdar awaited reinforcements, and when they came, Shamshir Khan of Kabul took over the supreme command. He won many victories, and made a fair headway into their country. In the meanwhile came Mahammad Amin Khan from the court with nine thousand troops, and joining Shamshir Khan, took over the supreme command from him. Under his able leadership the Mughals entered the Swat Valley, and forced the inhabitants to keep peace for some time. Strong Mughal garrisons were stationed at different points, and they kept the country under control.

"In 1672, however, began a formidable danger. The tactless action of the Foujdar of Jalalabad bred discontent among the Khyber clans. The Afridis rose under their chieftain Acmal Khan..."

To suppress them Mahammad Amin Khan was sent in the spring of 1672, and suffered a severe defeat and heavy losses at Ali Masjid in April. It is said, forty thousand Mughals were cut to pieces, and many, including the commander, had to leave their families as prisoners in the hands of the barbarians. The disaster was aggra-

I Sarkar's Aurangzeb, vol. III, p. 260,

vated at the news that Khush-hal Khan of the Khatak clan had also taken arms against the Emperor. It was a national rising and the whole Pathan land from Kandahar to Attock was seething in rebellion. The Emperor deputed Mahabat Khan but he proved a failure. Then Shujā'at Khan was ordered to punish the Afghans (14th November, 1673), in co-operation with Jaswant Singh. He failed even more ignominously than Mahabat Khan, being severely defeated and killed at the Karapa pass (21st February, 1674).

The repetition of these disasters compelled Aurangzeb to come to the spot and direct the operations himself. In June, 1674 he arrived at Hasan Abdal, and remained there for a year and a half. With his arrival "imperial diplomacy, no less than imperial arms began to have effect. Many clans.....were won over by the grant of presents. pensions, jagirs and posts in the Mughal army to their headmen. As for the irreconcilables, whom neither the concentration of imperial force could overawe, nor the treasures of India could buy, their valleys were penetrated by detachments from Peshwar. Thus in a short time the Gholai, Ghalzai, Shirrani and Yusufzai clans were defeated and ousted from their villages. A Mughal outpost held Bazarak, the Shirrani capital. At this the Daudzai, Tarakzai and Tirahi tribes made their submission. Muhammad Asharf, the son of Khush-hal ...... entered the imperial service......Similarly the son of Bhagu, the Yusufzai ringleader, offered to wait on the Emperor on receiving an assurance of safety. Darya Khan Afridi's followers promised to bring the head of Acmal, the Afridi pretender, if their past misdeeds were forgotton, (end of August)."1

In the meanwhile the imperial armies were closing round the Mohmand tribe and their allies. They were defeated with heavy slaughter at Ali Masjid and Gandamak, but not crushed. Early in 1675 they recovered their lost ground by inflicting two defeats on the imperialists. Towards the end of the year 1675, however, the situation had considerably improved, and the Mughal outposts had been pushed forward. The Emperor returned to Delhi (March, 1676) with an easy heart. Throughout the year 1677 peace reigned, because the Mughals and the Afghans suffered from a seven months' drought and famine. In 1678 Amir Khan, a very able man, was appointed Governor of Kabul and retained the office for twenty years till 1698. He excelled in diplomacy no less than in the art of war, and he followed a policy

I Sarkar's Aurangzeb, vol. III, pp. 271-72.

of "divide and rule." "Under his astute management they ceased to trouble the Imperial Government, and spent their energies in internecine quarrels." The Yusufzais submitted, though the Afridis remained in arms longer.

On the whole, the frontier became quiet for some time. The war had cost much to the empire. Apart from the financial loss, the political effect was grievous. "It made the employment of the Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though the Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the N. W. frontier."2 Thus the frontier trouble adversely reacted upon the stability of the empire. Already the outer frontier had been lost, and now the inner frontier became the source of all sorts of trouble for the Mughals. The cumulative effect began to be felt after the death of Aurangzeb. Hardly thirty years had passed after the frontier defence entirely collapsed, when taking advantage of it came Nadir Shah like a whirlwind, and swept off the last vestiges of the imperial prestige. His invasion resulted in the annexation of the whole country to the west of the Sutiej. The inner and outer lines of frontier were thus lost, and that was the death-knell of the Mughal empire. Loss of the Rajput adherence would have meant nothing had the frontier provinces, the prolific land of soldiers, remained to the Mughals. The loss of the frontiers was a double danger; it exposed the kingdom of Hindustan to external attack, and it weakened the kingdom in warlike resources. The rapid expansion of the empire southwards, made it unwieldy, and also weakened the frontier defence to a degree unknown before.

H. N. SINHA

I Sarkar's Aurangzeb, vol. III, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. III, pp. 281-82.

PL. I. FIG. 1

PL. I. FIG. 2



Buddha head in the Mathura Museum



Relief showing two Yaksini busts, in the Mathura
Museum

(By the courtesy of the Museum authorities.)

I. H. Q., September, 1931

## Uṣṇiṣa-siraskatā (a mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa) in the early Buddha images of India

The Mahapadana and the Lakkhana Suttantas of the Digha Nikaya (vols. II and III) refer to one of the 32 signs 1 of the Buddha's person as unhīsasīsa; in later Buddhist Sanskrit works such as the Lalitavistara. Mahāvyutpatti, it is referred to as uṣṇīṣa-śiraskatā. The correct interpretation of this peculiarity of a Buddha, especially in connection with its representation in Buddhist iconoplastic art of different periods, has engaged the attention of many a scholar. Long ago, Burnouf, after a careful examination of this question, wrote, "I propose to translate the term standing for the first of the characteristic signs of a great man, as the Tibetans did and as the Buddha statues testify: 'his head is crowned by a cranial protuberance'."2 Remusat, however, some time before Burnouf, interpreted this physical peculiarity, partly after the Tibetan manner, supplying in addition a detail relating to the arrangement of the hair: "He has the hair gathered together in a knot upon a fleshy tubercle placed on the summit of his head".8 The exact significance of this laksana has since then been discussed by various scholars such as Foucher,4 Waddell,5

I Senart pointed out long ago that the Indian conception about these Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas 'went far beyond the confines of Buddhism having taken root in older Brāhmaṇic myths'; Essai sur la legende du Buddha, Paris, 1882, pp. 28f. The bearer of these marks on his body was destined to be either a Cakravartī monarch or a Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 560. 3 Mel. Asiat., I, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> L'art Graeco-Bouddhique du Gandhara, II, p. 295.

It is very difficult to accept Waddell's conclusions on account of the fact that the premises on which he bases them do not bear scrutiny. His identification of cakravāka, the Nāgarāja at Bharhut as Varuņa, the god of sky and ocean, is not established on solid data. Again, the six-headed figure of Mahāsena (Skanda-kārttikeya) in the Yuan Kwang grottos, who can be correctly described as such from the attributes which are in his hands, viz., a Śakti and a cock, and his peacock vehicle, has been wrongly designated by him as Varuņa.

## 500 UŅNĪŅA-ŠIRASKATĀ IN EARLY BUDDHA IMAGES OF INDIA

and Coomaraswami' and different explanations have been given by them.

For determining the real sense of this term, one will have to take into careful consideration the original meaning of the word Uṣṇōṣa, the interpretation of this lakṣaṇa by the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa (C. 5th century A.D.), its presence or absence in the list of the Puruṣa-lakṣaṇas in Brāhmaṇical literature, such as the Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira and last, but not the least, the important testimony of the Buddha images of different periods, especially the early Gandhāra and Mathurā ones. From its etymological sense, "a protection from the sun, sunshade", the term Uṣṇōṣa is interpreted as "a turban", usually "a royal turban", e.g. King Milinda names it among the royal insignia.<sup>2</sup> The head-dress of a Brahmacārin is also referred to as Uṣṇōṣa.<sup>3</sup> But, this usual sense of a turban can hardly be accepted to explain this physical pecularity of a Buddhatva, discarded, according to tradition, their head dress and other ornaments.

Buddhaghosa, in his Sumangalavilāsini, explains the lakṣaṇa Uṇhīsasīsa as referring to the well-developed forehead (paripuṇṇanalāta) and
the well-developed head (Paripuṇṇasīsa) of the Mahāpuruṣa. He
develops the first part of his explanation, thus, Mahāpurisassa hi
dakhhiṇa-kaṇṇacūlikato paṭṭhāya maṃsapaṭalam uṭṭhahitvā sakalanalāṭaṃ chādiyamānaṃ pūrayamānaṃ gantvā Vāmakaṇṇa-cūlikāya
patiṭṭhitaṃ rañño bandha uṇhīsapaṭṭo viya virocati. So, according
to him, this refers to the mass of flesh which rises from the root of
the right ear, extends over and thus covers the whole of the forehead

Moreover, there is no justification for assuming that the 7 hoods of the Ādiśeṣa on whose coils Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu is depicted in a recumbent pose, is the uṣṇōṣa of the same god. Other objections can be raised, which make it impossible for one to accept his solution of the uṣṇōṣa problem.

I J. R. A. S., 1928., Buddha's cūdā, hair and uṣṇīṣa, crown.

<sup>2</sup> Milinda Pañha, p. 330: pubbakānam Khattiyānam anubhūtāni paribhogabhandāni seyyath'idam: setacchattam unhīsam pāduka vālavijani khaggaratanam mahārahāni ca sayanāni.

<sup>3</sup> Agnipurāņa, ch. 90, v. 10-11:

उणीषं योगपदृष्ठ मुक्तटं कर्त्तरीं घट्टीम्। षचमालां पुसकादि शिविकादाधिकारकं॥

and ends near the root of the left ear, resembling the tied turban-folds of kings; i.e. this fleshy growth is uniformly distributed over the whole of the forehead and shines forth like the front plait of the royal turban. He goes out of his way to remark that kings modelled the folds of their turban (Unhīsapaṭṭa) on this characteristic of the great men. As regards the second part, the learned commentator refers to various kinds of undeveloped heads resembling those of a monkey, in shape like a fruit, and extremely bony or pitcher-like in appearance, or of the rapidly sloping type; whereas the great man's head is fully developed and rotund everywhere (sabbattha parimandala) like a water bubble (mahāpurisassa pana āraggena vattetvā thapitam viva suparipunnam udakabubbulasadisam sīsam hoti). Rhys Davids remarks about the explanation of Buddhaghosa, "In either case, the rounded highly developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban and the smooth symmetry of a water bubble".1 We should point out here that both these senses of the word were not Buddhaghosa's own invention but were current in his time. But the most important point here is that 'the bony protuberance on the top of the Buddha's skull'-a sense which is established beyond doubt in later tradition, both literary and plastic, is not referred to here.

We may enquire now about the characteristic feature of the heads of great men, as recorded in Brāhmaṇical literature. It must be observed here that the word uṣṇīṣaśīrṣa does not occur in the Brāhmaṇical texts among the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas, so far known to me. But the inherent sense of the word might be referred to there in a different manner. Thus, the great inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa, where Nārada went in quest of the Bhagavat, are said to have heads like 'an umbrella,' (chatrākṛtiśīrṣa; not chatrākoṭi, as Waddell and Coomaraswamy have put it). The great gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa, visited by Nārada in the Vadarikāśrama are characterised with heads like umbrellas, a feature described

Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, II, p. 16, fn. 4. Dr. B. M. Barua, informs me that the force of the word c'eva in the commentary should be taken into account. Both the senses of Paripunnanalatatañ and Paripunnasīso are comprised in the term unhisasīso.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārata, xii, 334, 11.

as a Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa.¹ Varāhamihira describes the heads of kings (cakravarttins) as resembling the shape of an umbrella.² Utpala comments on this passage that this umbrella-like shape refers to the high broad expanse of the upper part of the head. The Sāmudrikaśāstra tells us that he whose head resembles an open umbrella or the breast of a young lady is destined to be a sārvabhauma (cakravartti) monarch.³ Thus, the Brāhmaṇical traditions about the śirolakṣaṇa of gods, great men and kings are unanimous in laying down that the outline of the head would resemble that of an expanded umbrella;⁴ i, e, here also we find a reference to 'the rounded highly developed appearance' of the head as is alluded to by Buddhaghosa in the term 'udakabubbulaṣadiṣa'. As regards the first part of Buddhaghosa's explanation (viz. Paripuṇṇanalūṭata), if we refer to the section on the Śankhalalūṭalakṣaṇas of human beings in the Bṛhat-samhitū⁵ we can understand what our author means here: thus, those

भातपते ण सहभे भिरसी देवयोस्तयो:। एवं सचगसम्पत्नी महापुरुषसंज्ञिती॥

2 Brhatsamhitā, ch. 67, v. 76:

क्वाकारै: शिरोभिरवनीशा: ।

Utpala:

क्ष्माकारै क्ष्माक्षतिभिक्ष्य भागविक्तृतैरवनीशा राजानः।

3 Sāmudrikaśāstra, Venkaţeśvara Press, Bombay, p. 78:

विकसच्चनाकारं यस्य शिरो युवतिक्रचनिभं वापि। चपति: स सावभीमो निम्नं वा यस्य स महीश:॥

Indian art is flat in shape and so do not show the gently rising carved out line which is necessary for the confirmation of our hypothesis. But it should be remembered that all the umbrellas are not of the flat type which is usually shown over stūpas and on Bodhi trees; partially dome-shaped umbrellas are also known (cf. HIIA, pi. XIII. fig. 48—a Bharhut rail medallion) and these were usually spread over honoured beings.

5 Ch. 67, v. 30-2: उन्नतिपुलै: ग्रंड धिनिन: (Utpala—उन्नतेष्डचैर्विपुलैर्विसीर्थे: ग्रंडिधैनिन ईश्वरा भवित्त )। धनवन्तोऽर्जेन्द्रसहग्रेन ललाटेन (Utpala—अर्थेन्द्रसहग्रेनार्धचन्द्रतुल्येन ललाटेन धनवन्त ईश्वरा भवित्त )। ग्रुतिविग्रालैराचार्यता (Utpala—ग्रुतिविग्रालै: ग्रुतिविग्रीर्थेलेलाटेराचार्यता श्राचार्यत भवित्। परोपदेशक श्राचार्यः )।

Mahābhārata, xii, 343. 38:

with high and broad śankhas (the bone on the forehead) are (destined to be) rich (great) men; the rich (great) are characterised by a forehead like a half-moon in appearance; men with broad suktis (front portion of the skull) are instructors of persons. The Sāmudrikašāstra tells us also the same thing.1 Thus, it appears, from all this that the parallel evidence of the early as well as the later Brāhmanical texts proves that the early Buddhist writers did not mean by the term Unhīsasīsa 'the bony protuberance of the head' and Buddhaghosa was quite correct in giving us the full technical sense of the term. current in his time. It is universally accepted by scholars that the Buddhists adopted these signs of the Mahāpuruṣas from the Brāhmins and applied them to the person of the Buddha; so it will be natural for us to seek for their proper significance among the Brahmanical literature. Thus we must; accept Senart's statement that 'this particular laksana is not in the list of the signs of a Great Man in Brahmanical writings such as the "Brhat Samhita" 12 with some modification.

But then the question may arise when did this term come to mean a 'bony protuberance?' That this sense had already come into existence when Yuan Chwang visited India in the 7th century A.D. is proved by the fact that he went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Buddha's Uşnīşa-bone in Hilo, near Gandhāra. Two centuries earlier, the same temple enshrining the precious relic, viz., "Sākya Julai's skull-top bone" was seen and described by Fa-hien. It is true that this relic 'in shape like a wasp's nest or the back of the arched hand, shown to believing pilgrims in Hilo' was an imposture; but, it is interesting to note that this peculiarity of Buddha's head was understood in different manners by the two famous Buddhists of the 5th century A.D., viz., the Chinese traveller Fa-hien and the Indian commentator Buddhaghosa. This can be explained, however, by suggesting that Buddhaghosa who wrote his commentaries in Ceylon has offered us the original meaning of the term, which as has been shown by us, is borne out by the evidence of the Brahmanical texts, whereas, these Chinese pilgrims refer to the

विपुलस्र्वं मधिकसुन्नतमर्बेन्दुसिमतं राज्यम्। प्रदिश्रत्याचायैपदं युक्तिविशालं नृणां भालम्॥

I Sāmudrika-Ś., p. 74:-

Senart, Essai sur la legende du Buddha, p. 111.

popular superstition about this supposed 'skull-top bone relic' with which Buddhism was at first little concerned. Watters remarks: "It is interesting to observe that we do not find of any Buddhist monks as being concerned in any way with this precious relic." Again, it seems that there was some confusion in the minds of the Chinese regarding the exact nature of the Usnisa. "Some, like Yuan Chwang, regarded it as a separate formation on, but not a part of, the top of the skull."2 Yuan Chwang and the other pilgrims use the Chinese word ting-ku (bone of the top of the head) for Usnīsa; several other Chinese translations of it are ting-jou chi, i.e., "the flesh top-knot on the top of the head" and juchi-ku or "the bone of the flesh top-knot." Other Chinese methods of describing this laksana are: "On the top of the head the Usnīsa like a deva sunshade (a reference no doubt in a round about manner to the Chatrakrtisirsa of the Brahmanical texts); or as having "on the top of his head the Uṣṇīṣa golden skull-top bone." Lastly, it is said that "on the top of the Buddha's head is manifested the usnīsa, i.e., manifested occasionally as a miraculous phenomenon; and it is not visible to the eyes of ordinary beings."3

But whence came this adventitious sense of this term Uṣṇṇṣa, in the Indian literature? Here, fortunately, the Buddha figures belonging to different ancient and mediæval art-centres of India will come to our aid. The Indian Buddha types of Mathurā belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period and the early Hellenistic ones from Gandhāra supply us with much useful data regarding the solution of our problem.

But, in order to utilise the evidence of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddhaheads of Mathurā, we must first answer the question whether these are actually depicted bald except for the central snail-shell (kapardda) coil of hair on the top; because the hair-question is intimately connected with the Uṣṇāṣa one. The head, reproduced in pl. I, fig. I, shows a smooth highly developed cranium which rises up from the

I On Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p, 197,

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *Ibid.*, p. 196: 'this protuberance was supposed to be a sort of abnormal development of the upper surface of the skull into a small truncated cone covered with flesh and skin and hair' a very satisfactory description of the later adventitious sense.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, Ibid., p. 197.

hairline (keśarekhā) with the central hair-coil on the top,1 The smoothness of the raised cranium led scholars to think that the heads were shaven. But, there is no question that there were doubts in the minds of some of them with regard to this point. Dr. Vögel, while discussing the iconography of the sculptural specimens in the Mathura Museum, refers to the Katra Bodhisattva-Buddha and another standing Buddha (Nos. A1 & A4 in the Museum) and remarks, 'that these are indeed Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa period in which the head is shaven.2 But while describing the images themselves, in the case of AI, he observes: "the treatment of the hair deserves special notice. It is not carved in curls, but it is only indicated by a line over the forehead, so as to give the impression that the head is shaven".3 In the case of no. A4, his remark is "the hair is treated so as to simulate the shaven head of a monk".4 But, in his recent publication on Mathura sculptures, he is definite: "La tete rase porte un uṣṇīṣa en forme de colimacon (kaparda)", i.e. the shaven head bears an uṣṇīṣa in the form of a snail-shell.5 It was Mons, Foucher, however, who first definitely pointed out that the early Mathura heads were not shaved, in these words "we want to point out this mode of stopping rigorously on the forehead the line of the hair of which the mass is indicated only by a perfectly compact smooth modelling: so well that in keeping altogether the silhouette characteristic of the chignon, the head appears entirely shaven". Dr. Codrington refers to this feature in these words: "the usnisa is represented as a coiled protuberance something like a snail-shell, the head itself being smooth, but with the line of the forehead clearly marked."7 Later, his positive statement about the uṣṇīsa as a protuberance and further remark that 'no attempt is made to disguise it, as in Gandhāra' are not based on the correct interpretation

I Mathura Museum Catalague, p. A27; Vogel: "Shaven head", This may be regarded as a good representative of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha heads of Mathurā; cf. the Kaṭra Buddha: Coomaraswamy says about this head type: "rarely seen after the 2nd cent, A.D. and never after the fifth".

<sup>2</sup> Mathura Museum Catalogue, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 47; italics are ours.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 49.
6 Foucher I' 1 at C.
5 Ars Asiatica, vol. XV, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Foucher, L'Art Graeco-Bouddhique, etc., p. 700. 7 Codrington, Ancient India, p. 44.

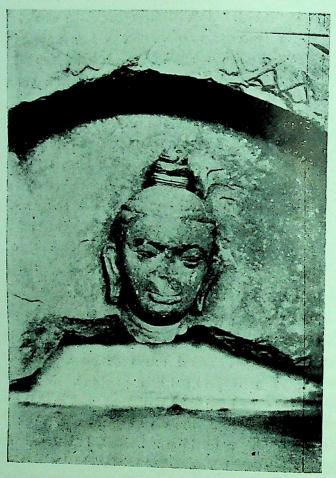
of these features. A little later, in the same publication, he definitely asserts that 'at least in the early part of the Kushan century it is certain the head was left bare.' Dr. Coomaraswamy, on the other hand, was at first of opinion that the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha and Bodhisattva type of Mathura was characterised That he changed his opinion some by the shaven head',1 what later is proved by this observation of his about the early Kusana type: 'the head smooth, with a conical, spirally twisted projection on the crown of the head; let us not take it for granted that the head is shaved, or that the projection is an Uṣṇīṣa'. Ludwig Bachhofer, however, in criticising Mons. Foucher's conclusion, observes: "There is no valid reason why in one place of the head, the hair should unmistakably be represented as such, while close by it should only be indicated by quite other means."3 But Mons. Foucher's conclusion can be justified on the following grounds. If these heads were represented as shaved at all, what could have been the explanation of this distinct swell on the skull above the hair-line? Shaven headed monks are depicted in Indian plastic art; but these do not show this distinct cranial division into two planes just near the keśarekhā. That the Mathurā artists of this period were in the habit of indicating the hair in this manner can be proved, if we carefully

I Hist. of Ind. & Indonesian Art, p. 56-7. In his Origin of the Buddha Image (M. F. A. Bulletin, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 23) however, he seems to have already changed his opinion. Referring to the great differences that are to be found in the treatment of the hair on Buddhaheads, in Gandhāra and Mathurā, he remarks: "in Mathurā, however, both Buddha and Jina images are represented at first with a spiral protuberance which is a lock of hair and not an uṣṇōṣa; later the whole head and hair are covered with small short curls, and this type after the second century becomes the almost universal rule, the only example of the smooth head dating from the Gupta period being the Mankuwār image, 448-9 A.D."

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1928, p. 817. He further adds in *Ibid.*, p. 827, "that the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over the scalp into the single stress. The thickness of this smooth hair is always clearly indicated in the sculptures."

<sup>3</sup> Early Indian Sculpture, p. 95.

PL. II



A broken Buddha head in relief in the Mathura Museum

(By the courtesy of the Museum authorities)

I. H. Q., September, 1931

observe the treatment of the same in some Yakşini heads (cf. pl. I, fig. 2: the hair is treated here in a smooth compact mass shown tightly drawn upwards, without the least striation on the surface which would indicate that the raised surface consists of hair; but the raised hairline is divided here into several sections in order to give a beautifying effect to the heads of these females). Pl. II shows that, in very rare instances, the hair on the cranium is treated in a slightly different manner showing six distinct layers, beginning from the root of the ear and ending below the Kapardda hair-coil; that these are nothing but stratified arrangement of the hair is proved by the distinct striation of these layers. Bachhofer's objection can be further answered by suggesting that the unmistakable representation of the hair as such' on the topmost coil only, in the majority of the Buddha heads of this type, probably shows an ingenious attempt on the part of the artist just to suggest that the raised mass above the forehead also was hair; had there been no striation on the former, then there might have been a greater chance for misinterpreting the whole thing (as it is, the peculiar plastic form of a head with compact smooth hair has been misread; the beautiful Yaksinis cited above were not certainly depicted with shaven heads!). In any case, Bachhofer himself has not given us any reasonable explanation of this 'rising' near the hairline,2 To the artists of Mathura as in the case of those of other localities, the Buddha was not shaven headed like his monks.3

I Did the artist intend to show here in a conventional manner the downward continuation of the matted spiral coil on the top?

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be suggested that this was perhaps the mamsapatala of Buddhaghosa, for he describes the latter as covering the whole of the forehead and we have already tried to explain the term with the evidence of the Brāhmanical texts; by the way, the 'open umbrella' like outline of these heads should be noted. The treatment of the hair of the Patna Yakṣa (P. 2, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) should be observed. All the hair is gathered en masse upwards—the hairends abruptly ending near the nape. The distinct swell above the hair-line and striation (clear in the relief) preserved near the hairends, should be especially marked in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> The head of the Buddha image of Mankuwār (5th century A.D.) is sui generis; it is an exception to the general rule adopted in the case of both early Kuṣāṇa on the one hand and the late Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta Buddha heads, on the other; the hair is treated here in an all

Once we accept this solution of the hair-problem of the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha type of Mathurā, the determination of the question whether the Kapardda coil is to be regarded as the Uṣṇōṣa of these Buddhas is easy.¹ There is no contemporary authority which justifies us in describing this as Uṣṇōṣa; so we should be careful in using such expression as 'Spiral Uṣṇōṣa'² or Uṣṇōṣa in the form of a Kapardda.³ If there were any plastic representation of the lakṣaṇa, Uṣṇōṣaśiraskatā here, and we think it was there, we ought to find it in the well rounded (sabbathaparimaṇḍala) umbrella-like (chatrākṛti) outline of the cranium and the high broad (śuktiviśāla) shape of the forehead. Dr. Coomaraswamy, however, after a minute study of the earliest Indian images of Buddha entertains no doubt about the fact that 'they do not attempt to represent the Uṣṇōṣa, either as a turban, or until later, as a bony protuberance.⁴

Nor does the evidence of the earliest of the Gandhāra Buddhas prove that these bear the abnormal cranial protuberance. There exists, still, a great deal of difference of opinion among scholars regarding the dating of the Gandhāra sculptures. But there is some sort of unanimity among them about the relievo-representation of Buddha

compact smooth mass with neither a single coil in the centre, nor short curls all over the head, but with a slight swell on the centre of the head.

I We can refer here to the interesting manner in which this spiral hair-coil is shown along with the folds of a turban on the head of a standing Bodhisattva (Codrington, Ancient India, pl. 22c.). It seems that the artist means to show that the hair is drawn up together in a mass and turned round in a single coil on the top and wound up with the folds of the turban. Rudra (Siva) is described as Kaparddi in Vedic texts on account of his identification with Agni whose flames waving upward are likened to the snail-shell-like coils gathered upward on an ascetic's head and 'the hair of the true Kapardin is long'; the attribute Uṣṇṣṣin was also applied to him in early and late texts: Vāj. S., XVI, 22; Mahābhārata, 13. 17, 44; Kādambarī, 220. Uṣṇīsin both in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā and the Mbh. passages is explained by the commentators as śiroveṣṭanavān.

<sup>2</sup> Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 57; but he does not describe now this Kapardda as Uṣṇ̄sa; cf JRAS., 1928, p. 817; M.F.A. Bulletin, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ars Asiatica, vol. XV, p. 36. 4 JRAS., 1928, p. 832.

<sup>5</sup> See Sir John Marshall, A Guide to Taxile, p. 31.

on the Bimaran reliquary,—this being one of the earliest figures of the Master so far known, if not the earliest one. Bachhofer thus describes the hair on its head: "There are no spiral locks. The thick hair covering the head is twisted on the crown of the head into a large knot, which produces the effect of a loose structure (italics are ours).1 The coiffure of the figure of the flask-carrying Maitreya on the socle of the Buddha statue from Charsada2 should be studied in this connection; the hair is gathered up and tied round by a string (of hair?) at the bottom of the so-called Uṣṇīṣa bump. As a matter of fact, a very close observation of the early Hellenistic Gandhara Buddhas in the Peshawar and Lahore Museums convinces one that the luxuriant hair of the Master is really tied up, upon the crown of the head. Mr. Hargreaves referring to the exhibit No. 1921 in the Peshawar Museum, remarks that 'the artist untrammelled by tradition, has ventured to bind the base of the Uṣṇīṣa by a jewelled band'.3 But what he fails to observe is that this pearl or usually the string band is present at the base of the so-called Usnīsa bump in a large majority of the early Buddha heads of this art centre.4 Nor is this feature of the top-knots of hair confined to the heads of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas alone; Mons. Foucher pointed out long ago that a number of reliefs show that even ordinary mortals have such a hair-dress beneath their turbans. Semi-divine Yaksas are also depicted with this peculiar arrangement of the hair; thus most of the children of Harita and Pancika in a Gandhara relief are shown with these top-knots.6 It is no use multiplying cases; a close

I Early Indian Sculpture, vol. I, p. 94.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Hastnagar Socle" dated in the year 384, Sel. E. or A.D. 72; cf., Ludwig Bachhofer, *ibid.*, vol. II, fig. 143. But the dating is open to doubt; Konow dates it in 300 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Exhibit no. 227 in the Peshawar Museum shows the topmost hair-knot tied together by a string of pearls; similar is the case with fragmentary heads Nos. 232 and 293. In Nos. 223, 231 and 233 (all the last 5 are moustached heads) the upper knob consists of wavy curls strung together in their middle by a stringlike thin woven hair. In No. 231, this hair knob is elongated in shape.

<sup>5</sup> Foucher, Art Graeco-Bouddhique du Gandhara, tome I, fig. 234.

<sup>6</sup> Exhibit no. 241, Peshawar Museum; Hargreaves, Handbook etc., plate 7.

study of the reliefs alone will convince us of the truth of this statement. Now, this top-knot does not really cover any abnormal swelling of the central cranium; in its plastic form, it could not but appear as something solid with waving locks upon it. The misunderstanding of this feature was certainly the root-cause in the change of the meaning of the term Uṣṇīṣa, and once this wrong interpretation came into existence, the artists of Gandhara began to make Buddha-heads with this top-knot having the appearance of the central bump. But even then, the procedure was certainly not uniform. With the introduction of the short-curls, turned towards the right covering the head and the bump on it, a conventional stereotyping is no doubt apparent; but cases are not wanting where the old formula was resorted to. Hargreaves remarks, "a less naturalistic but still pleasing treatment of the hair is seen in Nos. 1430 (pl. 9a, pl. III, fig. 1), 1424, 1425 where the Usnisa is treated schematically in little loose curls".1 The evidence of the beautiful stucco heads of late Gandhara period (c. 5th century A.D.) is specially interesting in this connection; in many of these, the so-called Uṣṇīṣa is disproportionately small and is shown sometimes in front and other times in the centre of the cranium. One of these, the conventionalised' type? leaves no doubt in our mind about the artist's intention (pl. III, fig. 2).

Our acceptance of this solution of the origin of the so-called Uṣṇ̄ṣ̄a on later Buddha heads will be facilitated further, if we bear in mind that the wearing of long hair in different modes was a common custom among the males of the various social orders of the Indo-Aryans, especially of the higher ones. They not only carried these luxurious locks on their own heads in different shapes, but endowed their gods with this same characteristic. Thus, the various gods depicted in the early Indian monuments of the pre-Christian period—very few of which can however be regarded as distinct iconographic types—are shown with luxuriant hair dressed in various ways and the uṣṇ̄ṣ̄a i.e., the turban is one of their most prominent

I Handbook etc., p. 52; but where is the authority for using the word Uṣṇōṣa here? It is simply an arrangement of the locks in several tiers narrowing upwards.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, Guide to Taxila, p. 48, pl. VI; here the top-knot is not disproportionate.

adornment which also is worn in different manners. But, if we refer to the plastic representation of some we cannot but be struck with the idea that there could have been always the chance of misinterpreting the big knot of hair which was shown like a rounded object on the centre of the top of the cranium. A reference may be made here to the bottom row of the divine figures (whose back-view is only shown) worshipping the Master in the Trayastrimsa heaven in the scene of the Master's descent at Sankisa, at Barhut.1 big top-knots of these gods could very justifiably have been interpreted as the so-called Uṣṇīṣa bump, if we were not sure that this sense of the term was unknown in early literature. Very few reliefs of Brahmanical deities like Siva, Vișnu and others are known, which can be definitely dated back to the pre-Christian era. But, even in the few early specimens, various elaborate modes of dressing the hair are shown; thus Siva on the Gudimallam Lingam2 has a thick bejewelled plait, half-moon-like in shape sheltering as it were the whole head of the god; the same god (here four-handed) on the Mathura Lingam3 shows all the hair tightly drawn up on the cranium as in the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha-heads of Mathurā, but unlike the latter the single Jata ends in two sections, one resting upon the other, the lowermost of which smaller and thinner in shape is immediately on the top of the central part of the cranium, while the uppermost one bigger and thicker in size is depicted like a cup which is caught hold of by the two back hands of the divinity. Some interesting information is also furnished in this connection by some Ujjain, god Siva Audumbara and Kuṣāṇa coins where the either as an obverse or a reverse type. A careful study of fig. 2, plate X, (Ujjain), fig. 1, plate IV, (Audumbara) in Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India and figs. 33, 36, 65, pl. XVII, (Vima Kadphises and Kaniska), figs. 209 and 211 (Vāsudeva) in Whitehead's Punjab Museum Catalogue, vol. I, will show how the luxuriant hair was worn by the divinity.4 We all know that long before the first appearance of the Buddha figure in art, he was being worshipped

I Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, pl. XVI, Ajātasatru pillar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. II, part I, p. 66, pl. III, fig. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Coomaraswamy, HIIA., pl. XVIII, 68; date 2nd century A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Note the little hair-knots on the centre of the cranium which can easily be interpreted as the so-called Usnīsa bump.

as the highest god by his pious devotees. And in the anthropomorphic representation of the Bhagavat, the depiction of the flowing tresses was quite natural. So, there cannot arise here the question of utilising this hair-motif for the purpose of concealing 'the disfigurement of the bump of intelligence.' There was also the authority of the texts that Buddha was to have his hair of a certain uniform length on his head throughout his life (cf. the Nidanakatha, etc.). The early indigenous artists also endowed Buddha with long locks in their own way. The Gandhara artists did not introduce any new iconographic motif in this case; what difference there was at first, was the difference in technique alone. Here with the Gandhara as well as the Mathura artists, the all important question was whether the Buddha-head was to be shown with hair or not. When they found that the tradition explicitly laid down that Buddha carried locks of hair of uniform length on his head, all throughout his life, it was immaterial to them whether the hair was to be shown 2 or 10 angulas in length. Again, they were not representing Sakya Simha, the man but the divine Tathagata Sammasambuddha the object of their piety and devotion. Lastly, the evidence of a few of the lesser signs referring to Buddha's hair, such as citakesa (hair piled up), asamlulitakesa (hair not dishevelled) aparusakesa (smooth hair) etc. should be taken into account in this connection. The Mahāpadāna and Lakkhana suttantas do not give us detailed list of these lesser signs; but they are found in the early works like the Lalitavistara and the Mahavastu, hence it is quite reasonable to assume that the tradition about the hair was a fairly authoritative one.

That the plastic form of this top-knot of hair could be easily misconstrued as covering something abnormal on the top of Buddha's skull and that in this misconstruction lay the origin of the Uṣṇ̄ṣa bump of later age was long ago conjectured by Mons. Foucher. My close observation of the early Buddha figures in the Peshawar, Lahore and Mathurā Museums confirms my idea about the origin of this important iconographic peculiarity. Dr. Coomaraswamy also supports the main part of this conclusion in his article on 'Buddha's Cūdā, hair, Uṣṇōṣa, crown.' I differ from Foucher when he says that the early

I JRAS., 1928, p. 833. He incidentally remarks while noticing my article on 'the Webbed fingers of Buddha' (I.H.Q., December, 1930), that unhīsasīsa which originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban", and later came to be regarded (through misinterpretation

Gandhāra artists avoided the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Again, the blame for misinterpreting the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump should not be laid at the door of the 'Indian imitators'; for, as we have seen some (not all, compare the evidence of some stucco heads) of the Gandhāra artists, themselves misinterpreted the whole thing. When, however, the convention of the short spiral curls, turning from left to right was introduced, the raised centre of the cranium was nothing but the protuberance covered with these; but even then, an unconscious reference to the original character of this abnormality is to be seen in those cases where this bump with these small spiral curls is encircled at its base by a string.<sup>1</sup>

Now, to raise the question of interpretation again. What was the old meaning of the term Unhisa-sisa? Dr. Coomaraswamy suggests that it originally meant "destined to wear a royal turban" as catvarimsatdanta" would mean "destined to have 40 teeth." But where is the necessity of our having to suggest this explanation, when its original sense has been so explicitly put forward by Buddhaghosa? It is true that he 'writes long after the practical problem of iconographic representation had been settled and had the Buddha figures with a protuberant Uṣṇōṣa no less than the old texts before him." But, as we have shown before that he was relying mainly on the old orthodox and technical sense of the term unhīsa-sīsa—it should be noted that the word is taken as a whole here—and his authority was certainly the older Brāhmnical texts (unhisa-sīsa = chatrākṛtiśīrṣa+ śuktiviśālabhāla). In commenting fully on this word, he does not find himself in difficulties and I differ from Drs. Rhys Davids and Coomaraswamy, when they say that 'Buddhaghosa's interpretation is not at all satisfactory.'

A brief reference ought to be made to 'the figure of Indra in the form of the Brāhman Śānti' carved in high relief on a railing pillar at Bodh Gayā (c. 100 B.C.). Many scholars hold that there is a distinct protuberance on its head which is covered with short curls and they

originating in the sculptor's device and perhaps also due to misinterpretation of images) as "having a cranial protuberance" (I.H.Q, June, 1931,).

i Cf. the seated Buddha, Indian Museum, Gandhāra room, No. 3936.

are of opinion that it served as the prototype of the later uṣṇīṣa.¹ Dr. Coomaraswamy once observed about it, "the figure of Sānti affords the earliest known example of the Uṣṇīṣa in sculpture."² But, there is no justification for describing this cranial feature of the Bodh Gaya relief in this manner and he is now of opinion that it is not an uṣṇīṣa. Bachhofer himself tells us that Indra is not here represented as a cakravarttin and so the question of the representation of the lakṣaṇas does not arise in this connection.³

In fine, it would be interesting to refer to the technical sense in which the term Usnīsa was used in Brāhmanical iconometric texts of a comparatively late period. The context, in which this term is used there, justifies us in understanding it as signifying the central part of the cranium. Referring to the measurement of the Usnīsa, the Vaikhānasāgama says that it should be I an. and 3 yavas. The text is a Pāñcarātra one and mentions this fact while describing the Uttamadaŝatāla measure of the image of Devesa (evidently Visnu). Similar other passages in the above text lead us also to the same conclusion.

## JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

I Bachhofer, Ein Pfeilersigur aus Bodh-Gaya, Jahrbuch as. Kunst, II, 1925; Kramrisch, Grundzuge der indischen Kunst, p. 83. Reserence to this figure was first made by Sir John Marshall in IRAS., 1908, p. 1065, where he described it as an undoubted uṣṇṣṣa.

<sup>2</sup> HIIA., p. 32, fn. 9.

<sup>3</sup> But, is it really a protuberance? The swell, it should be observed is not exactly on the centre of the cranium and it has got a distinct tilt backwards, which might or might not have been due to the position of the head. Compare the head of Vessantara in a fragmentary Gandhāra relief (HIIA, pl. XXVI, fig. 93) with it. Dr. Coomaraswamy describes the former as 'the Bodhisattva nimbate with thick curly hair etc.', but does not use the word protuberance. Both these heads, however, give me the impression that they bear on them the wig-like massed arrangement of hair in two sections, the hair ending in curls.

<sup>4</sup> वियवाधिकमेकाङ्गुलमुणीषम्। T.A.G. Rao, op. cit., vol. I, pt. II, Uttama-daśatālavidhi, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> अय देवेशसीत्तमदशतालवशान्मानं वन्त्री । 1bid., p. 64.

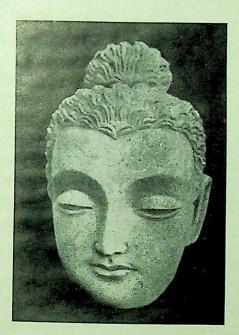
<sup>6</sup> श्रथ प्रमाणं बद्धे। उणीषात्पूर्वकेशानं नवाङ्गुलं ; or उणीषात्पाद्पर्थन्तमङ्गमानं प्रकल्पयित् ; or विश्ववाधिक चन्द्रांशमुणीषी चमुदा हतं। *Ibid.*, p. 33-34.

PL. III. Fig. 1



Bust of Buddha from Peshawar (Hargreaves, Handbook etc. Pl. 9a)

PL. III. FIG. 2



Stucco Buddha head from Taxila (Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, Pl. vi a).

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## Two Tantri Stories

Dr. C. Hooykaas has, in his dissertation on the Tantri, given a detailed account of the Javanese version of the Pañcatantra that is known as Candapingala, Tantri, Tantri Kāmandaka, Tantravākya and Tantri-carita. Excluding the frame-story (Eśvaryapāla and his marriage with Dyāh Tantri), this version contains thirty-one stories (see App. II, op. cit.), of which twenty-two<sup>2</sup> are found in one or more of the various Indian versions of the Pañcatantra. Of the remaining nine stories, too, it has been pointed out by Hooykaas himself (op. cit., pp. 36 and 114) that one, namely, no. 28 (Dispute between Jungle and Lion) is based on a Sanskrit stanza current in India (Ind. Sprüche, no. 3766 or 4844). And I propose now to show that two other stories also, namely, nos. 6 (The Floating Rock and Dancing Apes) and 19 (No Milk without Milking) are likewise derived from Indian sources.

For this purpose, I give here below two stories contained in Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣū* and in Vṛttavilāsa's Kannada rendering of that book together with the above-mentioned Tantri stories and the corresponding stories of the Laotian version of the Pañcatantra.<sup>3</sup> (The stories are lacking in the Siamese *Tantrai*).

I Tantri, de Middel-javaansche Pancatantra-bewerking. (Leiden. A. Vros, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> Hooykaas, in op. cit., App. VI, gives the correspondences in the case of twenty-one Tantri stories only. In addition, however, it must be noted that Tantri no. 24 (Language of Animals) corresponds to Nirmala-pāṭhaka IV. 10; see Hertel's Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und Verbreitung, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> In respect of the Tantri stories, I give here a translation of Hooykaas's Dutch résumé (in op. cit.) of the Javanese original, and in respect of the Laotian stories, a translation of Prof. Finot's French résumé (given in the Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient, 17, 1917, p. 84 ff.) of the Laotian original. The stories of Vṛtta-vilāsa's Dharmaparīkṣā too are similarly retold here briefly in English. This work is not printed, but the stories in question are found on pp. 463 and 503 of the Prāk-kāvyā-mālikī or "Canarese Poetical Anthology of Selections from the Standard Poetical Works of Ancient Canarese Literature" published by J. P. Garrett at Bangalore in 1868.

The Dharmaparikṣā published in 1917 by the Jaina Ātmānanda-sabhā of Bhavanagar, it may be pointed out, is quite a different book. It was written by Jinamaṇḍanagaṇin, who lived much later than Amitagati, and is concerned with the exposition of Jaina dharma whereas Amitagati's book is more concerned with showing the falseness of Brāhmanical beliefs.

rantri 6 (p. 88): King Séwantara goes hunting with a single servant named Séwanggara. He feels thirsty and sends the servant to search for water and fruits. The latter does not find them but sees plainly some apes dancing in the sea upon floating rocks. With this story<sup>2</sup>, instead of water and fruits, he returns to the king who thereupon becomes impatient. Together they go to the place but fail to see the spectacle; for it was only an illusive representation made by the Vidyādharas. Because the servant has no witness to bear him out in this improbable story, the king's impatience turns into anger and he kills the servant<sup>3</sup>.

Laotian Pañcatantra II. 6 (pp. 99-100): Mūlakavi and his son, going for the purpose of trade to Majjhimapadesa, see a rock floating in the sea. On their return, the son relates this everywhere. People refuse to believe it: bets are made, and it is resolved that the case should be laid before the king and that the loser should forfeit all his wealth to the exchequer.

The king invites the young man to prove the truth of what he relates and the latter calls on his father to bear witness. But Mūlakavi, fearing that he would be accused of complicity with his son, denies it, and the son is sentenced to forfeit all his property.

While he is in despair, Mūlakavi engages himself in endeavouring that justice be done to him. He goes to the forest, sees a troop of monkeys and teaches them to dance and perform various feats at a

I The passages from Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā* are taken from the edition of that work by Pannālāla Bākalīvāla Digambarī Jaina with his own tīkā in Hindī published by the Jainahitaiṣī Pustakālaya at Bombay in 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The Tantri versions written in verse make the servant say to the king, "you may put me to death if this is not true."

<sup>3</sup> The story is, in the Tantri, followed by the (corrupt) verse: asaksiyañcakazatya pratyaksātambayan bhavet | wanarah nasti sasatih silatale madhya dalém in which Basuwarga sums up the story and moralises. See op. cit., pp. 88, 124.

sign from him. The king, going hunting, pursues a stag and arrives alone at the place where Mūlakavi dwells. The latter gives the signal and all the apes begin to dance before the king who forgets himself in looking at them. His suite arriving, the apes disappear. The chief officers inquire of the king what he was doing there. On his replying that he was looking at the dancing of the proficient apes, they think him mad. The next day, he goes again to the same place; the scene of the day before is repeated and again the chief officers find the king all alone but strongly affirming that he has seen the dancing of apes. Quite convinced this time of his madness, they put him in chains. The king protests and in support of his words calls for the testimony of Mūlakavi. The latter confirms the story of the king and adds that now he could confirm another surprising story, that which his son had related of the floating rock. The king rewards him and returns to his son all his property.

Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā, XII, 63 ff. (p. 167 ff.):

इरिनामाऽभवन् मन्त्री चन्पायां गुरुवर्मणः। एकाकिना शिला दृष्टा तरनी तेन वारिणि॥ ६३॥ आयर्थे कथिते तत राजाऽसी विसती रुषा। पाषाण: अवते तीये नित्ययह्भता सता॥ ६४॥ ग्रहीती ब्राह्मण: कापि पिशाचिनैव निश्चितम्। क्यं ब्रूतेऽन्यघेहचमसमाव्यं सचितनः॥ ६५॥ श्रमत्यं गदितं देव नयेदं सुग्धचेतसा । द्रत्येवं भणितस्तेन राजाऽसी मीचितः पुनः ॥ ६६ ॥ विचित-वाद्य-संकीणं सङ्गीतं मन्त्रिणा ततः। वानरा: शिचिता रस्यं वशीक्तत्य मनीषितम्॥ ६०॥ ततसद दर्शितं राज्ञसेनोद्यान-विवर्त्तिनः। एकाकिन: सतो भव्यं चित्तव्यामी ह-कारणम् ॥ ६८॥ यावद दर्भयते राजा भद्दानामिदमाहृत: ( आदृत: ? )। संहत्य वानरा गीतं तावज्ञष्टा दिशो दश ॥ ६८॥ मन्त्रिणा गदिते तत भूतेनागाहि पार्थिव:। भट्टा निश्चितमित्यका बन्धयामास तं नृपम्॥ ७०॥ तदेव भाषते भूयो यदा बडोऽपि पार्थिव:। इसिला तुष्ट-चित्तेन मन्त्रिणा मीचितस्तदा ॥ ७१ ॥ यथा वान सङ्गीतं वनेऽदर्शि लया विभी। · तरनी सि्नि हष्टा सा शिनापि मया तथा॥ ७२॥ .

षयाचेयं न वक्तव्यं प्रत्यचमि वीचितम् । जानानः पिछतर्न् नं वत्तान्तं नृपमित्वणोः ॥ ०३ ॥

Vrttavilāsa's Dharmaparīkṣā (Prāk-kāvya-mālikā, pp. 463-4): In the town Campaka-pura there ruled the king Guṇavarman. His senior minister once saw a rock that was lodged on a log of light wood floating in water and told it to the king. The king thought, "He must be mad," and had him bound when the minister finding in how difficult a position he was, thought of a ruse, pretended that he was possessed by a brahma-rākṣasa (an evil spirit) and cried out, "I am a brahma-rākṣasa; I cannot hold out any longer, I shall go." His bonds were thereupon unloosed.

Bearing this indignity in mind, the minister taught some apes in the park to play on musical instruments, sing and dance as soon as they caught sight of human beings. The king happening to go there once, the apes played on musical instruments, sang and danced; and the king, much surprised, told it to the minister. He cried out then, "the king is possessed by an evil spirit" and had him fumigated with the smoke of various things, asking in the meanwhile, "what will make you go and leave the king?"

The king after this experience, once said to the minister, "I did really see with my own eyes the apes play on musical instruments, sing and dance. Why did you then without reason have me ill-treated?" The minister replied, "aśraddheyam na vaktavyam pratyakṣam api yad bhavet yathā vānara-saṃgītam tathaiva plavate śilā||\*2

2 Tantri 19 (p. 102): A hunter sees a Brāhmaṇa eating with so much relish that he asks what it is. The Brāhmaṇa replies that it is milk and butter and gives him some to eat and judge for himself. The hunter, liking their taste, buys the cow from the Brāhmaṇa who then goes away. The hunter then begs of the cow milk and butter. The cow does nothing and the hunter does not milk her udder.

Laotian Pañcatantra I. 16 (p. 94): A cunning Brāhmaṇa, wanting to give a high value to his cow, pretends that she gives milk every

I Fumigation with smoke of certain substances is held to be one of the means for casting out evil spirits.

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;One should not relate what is unbelievable even though one has actually perceived it through one's senses. As there can be the music of the apes, in the same way does the rock float."

day in a different form—as ghee (sarpis), curd (dadhi), buttermilk (takra), butter (navanīta) and milk (kṣīra); and in support of his statement, he showed all these different products of milk. A simple Brāhmaṇa bought this marvellous cow for a thousand gold pieces. But when he milked her, she gave nothing but milk. The Brāhmaṇa persisted, and the cow being exhausted, died.

Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā, VII, 63ff. (p. 95f.):

क्षीहारविषये ख्याते सागराचार-वेदकः। विश्व सागरदत्तीऽसूज्जलयावा-परायणः॥ ६३॥ उत्तीर्य सागरं नक्रमकर्याहः सङ्कलम्। एकटा पोतमारुह्य चीलदीपससी गत: ॥ ८४ ॥ वाणी जिनेश्वरस्य व सुखदान-पटीयसी। गक्ता सरभिनींता तेनेका चीरदायिनी ॥ ६५ ॥ गला दीप-पतिर प्रो विश्वा तेन तोमर:। प्राभृतं परतः काला व्यवहार-पटीयसा ॥ ६६॥ श्रन्ये द्रा: पायसीं नीला गुभास्तादां सुधासिव। तोमरो वीचितक्षेन कायकान्तिवितारिणीम ॥ ६०॥ संस्कृत्य सुन्दरं दश्ना शाल्योदनसनुत्तमम्। दला तेनीचितोऽनेरदुर: पौयूषिमव दुर्लभम् ॥ ६८॥ अलखपूर्वनं भुका मिष्टमाहारमुजालम्। प्रहृष्टचेतसाऽवाचि तोमरेण स वाणिजः॥ ६८॥ विणक्पते लया दिन्यं को हमं लभ्यतेऽम्नम । तेनावाचि ममेहचं कुलदेव्या प्रदीयते ॥ ७० ॥ भिषतो स्ने च्छनायेन तेनासौ वाणिजसत:। खकीया दीयतां भद्र ममियं कुलदेवता ॥ ७१ ॥ विणिजोक्तं तदात्मीयां ददासि कुलदेवताम्। ददासि काञ्चितं द्रव्यं यदि दीपपते सम ॥ ७१ ॥ दीपेशन ततोऽवाचि सा कावींभेद्र संश्यम । ग्रहाण वाञ्कितं द्रव्यं देहि मे कुलदेवताम्॥ ७३॥ मनीषितं तती द्रव्यं ग्रहीला वाणिजी गतः। समप्रा नैचिकों तस्य पोतेनोत्तीर्यं सागरम्॥ ७४॥ तोमरेनोदितानेग्रदुः पुरः पावं निधाय गौः। देहि तं दिव्यमाहारं वाणिजस्य ददासि यत्॥ ७५॥ तेनेति भाषिता घेनु मूँ कीसूय व्यवस्थिता । कासुक्नाविदग्धेन विदग्धेव विलासिनी॥ ७६॥

प्रवदन्ती पुन: प्रोक्ता यच्छ मे कुलदेवते।

प्रसादेनाग्रनं दित्यं भक्तस्य कुक भाषितं॥ ००॥

मूकीं हृष्ट्वाऽमुनाऽवादि प्रातदंद्यान्तमाग्रनम्।

स्मरन्ती येष्टिनो देवि लं तिष्ठाद्य निराकुला॥ ०८॥

दितीयेऽवसरेऽवाचि निधायाये विग्रालिकम्।

स्वस्थीभूता ममेदानीं देिह भोज्यं मनीषितम्॥ ०८॥

हृधा वाचंयमीभूतां कुद्वचित्तसदापि ताम्।

दीपतोद्रचाटयामास प्रेष्य कर्मकरानसी॥ ८०॥

वीचधूमस्य मूढ़लं यो नेदमपि बुध्यते।

याचिता न पयो दत्ते गी: कस्यापि कदाचन॥ ८१॥

... इयं कथं दास्यति मे पयो गौरिदं न य: पृच्छित मूढ़बुद्धि:।

दत्त्वा धनं धेनुसुपाददानो स्ने च्छे न तेनास्ति समी न सूर्यः॥ ८२॥

Vṛttavilāsa's Dharmaparīkṣā (Prāk-kāvya-mālikā p. 504): A merchant named Sāgaradatta once took some milch-cows to the Nālikera island.¹ A person named Tomara asked him what they were. He replied, "These, when asked, give rasāyanas."² Tomara then said, "Let us see what they are like," whereupon the merchant put before him fragrant fresh-drawn milk, curd, fresh clarified ghee and buttermilk all which Tomara ate till he was satiated. He then asked Sāgaradatta "Who gave you these"? Sāgaradatta replied "My familygoddess (kuladevatā)". Tomara then requested the merchant to give the cows and gave him much money and took them home. When the time came for him to take food, he brought a pot, placed it before a cow, and said, "O cow, please give rasāyana". The cow stood still. He did thus for two or three days, and getting no rasāyana from the cows, drove them off.

Of the above-mentioned four books, Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā was written in Samvat 1070 or A.D. 1013 (or 1012) as stated by the author in the verse: samvatsarāṇām vigate sahasre sa-saptatau Vikrama-pārthivasya | idam niṣidhyānya-matam samāptam Jinendradharmāmitayukti-ŝāstram || that occurs at the end of the praŝasti with which the work concludes. Vṛttavilāsa wrote his work in about 1345 A.D.

r Or 'to the island resplendent with cocoanut trees'; the text has nāļikēra-vilasad-dvīpam which can be interpreted in both ways.

<sup>2</sup> rasāyana = elixir of life; that which destroys old age and keeps one eyer young.

as I have shown elsewhere ; and the Javanese Tantri was written in about 1200 A.D. (Hooykaas, op. cit., p. 132). Nothing is known about the date of the Laotian Pañcatantra.

Now it is plain from the above résumés that Vrttavilasa's versions of the two stories differ considerably in detail from those of Amitagati. In fact, his whole work, though professing to be a Kannada rendering of Amitagati's original, differs widely from it: the arrangement of the matter is different, new stories are introduced and some ones found in Amitagati's book are omitted; and even in the stories that are common, there is much difference in details. All this indicates that Vrttavilāsa, though following Amitagati's Dharmaparīkṣā, based his book not so much on that work as on the sources of that work, And this is the reason, I conceive, why we find fresh-drawn milk. curd, butter-milk and fresh clarified ghee, mentioned (in the story of 'No milk without milking') in Vrttavilasa's work while there is no mention of them in Amitagati's, and why in the former we find the kathasamgraha verse: asraddheyam na vaktavyam...that is not found in the latter. This kathāsamgraha verse, it will be noted, occurs in the Tantri also (see n. 5 above) though in a very corrupt form.

Secondly, it is also evident from the foregoing that the four versions of the story of 'The floating rock and dancing apes' and of the story of 'No milk without milking' are all derived from the same source. In other words, it is plain that the Tantri stories 6 and 19 and the stories II. 6 and I. 16 of the Laotian

In the Kannada journal Prabuddha-karnātaka, no. 37 A (1928), p. 212 ff. Vṛttavilāsa mentions in the beginning of his work that he was the disciple of the Jaina guru Amarakīrti and, gives the following lineage of his guru: Keśavendu of the Balātkāra-gaṇa, Cārukīrti, Abhayakīrti, Vasantakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Subhakīrti, Dharmabhuṣaṇa, Amarakīrti. Of these, the gurus Vasantakīrti, Subhakīrti, Dharmabhuṣaṇa and Amarakīrti are mentioned in an inscription at Srāvaṇa-Belgolā (Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. II, 2nd ed., no. 274, p. 137) which says that Vardhamāna, disciple of Dharmabhuṣaṇa, who was the disciple of the above-mentioned Amarakīrti, set up a tablet to the memory of his guru Dharmabhuṣaṇa [II] on 5th May 1373 A.D. Vṛttavilāsa was thus a contemporary of the second Dharmabhuṣaṇa who died shortly before May 1373.

Pañcatantra are derived from an Indian source. Amitagati's work cannot be this source; for though this was written in 1013 A.D. (or 1012), it does not contain the verse asraddheyam na vaktavyam... which occurs in the Tantri. Nor can Vṛttavilāsa's work be the source; for though this work does contain the above verse, it was written, as said above, in about 1345 A.D. and is thus later than the Tantri. It follows hence that, like the stories in Vṛttavilāsa's work, the Tantri stories 6 and 19 and the corresponding stories of the Laotian Pañcatantra are derived from the same source from which Amitagati's work is derived. That this source was a written book is shown by the fact that it was available to Vṛttavilāsa who wrote more than three hundred years after Amitagati.

For the rest, in respect of the story of 'No milk without milking' though all the four versions given above preserve the essence of it, the versions of the Tantri and Amitagati do not seem to me to be so faithful to the original as those of the Laotian Pañcatantra and Vṛttavilāsa. These two versions are closely allied and make explicit mention of sarpis, dadhi, takra and kṣīra, a feature which seems to me therefore to be common to them and to the original; but of these two, too, I am inclined to believe that Vṛttavilāsa's version is the more faithful.

In respect of the other story, the Tantri version has not preserved the essence of it though it contains the kathāsaṃgraha verse; and of the other three versions, it seems to me, again, that Vṛttavilāsa's version is more faithful to the original than the other two.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

# The Samrajya of Yudhisthira

I have deliberately refrained from using an English equivalent for the term 'Sāmrājya'. Like the English word "Empire" it stands for a variety of concepts. The basic feature of all these is the combination, whether optional or forced, of a number of states under the suzerainty of a sovereign kingdom. To-day the term "Empire" has an implication of a use, actual or possible, of force. Imperialism is a doctrine which contains a strong disagreeable odour of love of conquest, of a desire to hold nations and countries in subjection. Simultaneously with the idea that the constituent kingdoms voluntarily enter into a confederation and that they have a right, if they choose, to secede, the word "commonwealth" has of late begun to come into vogue. The idea underlying this word is not that of submission to force, but of deliberate choice on the part of the constituent states to remain in a Union.

### Samrajya based both on force and free will

In the Sāmrājya of Yudhisthira the two elements, namely, submission to superior force and free choice, were combined. larger kingdoms of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam),1 Cedi (Bundelkhand),2 Vidarbha (extending over what at present are Berar, Khandesa. Tinnevelly, and Madura),3 Kunti (Malwa),4 Harivarşa (Tibet).5 Sākala situated between the Ravi and the Chenab,6 Māhişmatī (Mahabaleswar),7 and the federation of Anarta with its capital at Dvārāvatī<sup>8</sup> joined it voluntarily, while other states, most of which were of smaller size and presumably commanded less influence, had to be brought within the Sāmrājya forcibly. I shall enumerate all these, when indicating the boundaries of the Samrajya of Yudhisthira.

#### Forms of Samraiva

In answer to Yudhisthira's proposal to hold Rajasuya, by which he should become Samrāt, Srī Kṛṣṇa enumerated to him the various

Sabhā Parva, 26, 16. 2 Ibid., 29, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 31, 63. 4 Ibid., 31, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 28, 15. 6 Ibid., 32, 13, 14. 7 Ibid., 32, 14. 8 Ibid., 31, 59.

I.H.Q., SEPTEMBER Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

forms of Sāmrājya, known to have been established till that time, of each of which he gave an example. Yauvanāśvi, he said, became Samrāt by remitting taxes, Bhagīratha by giving protection (to subject states), Kārtavīrya by dint of austere life, Bharata by sheer force, and Marutta by advancing the prosperity (of the states which acknowledged him as their overlord). This distinction of varieties will give the reader an insight into the motives which led to the establishment of a Sāmrājya in those days. A common policy of frugality in the government that will lighten the burden of the tax-payer, security against foreign invasion, exemplary character of the overlord of which self-restraint is the basic feature, the necessity of submission to superior force, and economic prosperity of the combining states—these are the five objects which bind kingdoms together under a Samrāt. Yudhisthira's aim was to establish a Samrajya that should at once achieve all these five purposes.2

#### The Samrajya of Jarasandha

Jarasandha, the monarch of Magadha, who was, continued Sri Krsna, Samrat at that time, based his suzerainty on sheer force, None of the hundred and one rajas of the Aila and Aikśvakava dynasties who had acknowledged him as their overlord found pleasure in submitting to him.3 His policy was to accept the homage of powerful monarchs, whose sway extended over large territories, and to root out smaller states. For forms of government other than monarchies there appears to have been no place in his imperialistic policy. Among vassal kings whose states formed part of the empire of Jarasandha, are mentioned Sisupala of Cedi, Vakra of Karūṣa, Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, Kuntibhoja of Mālava,

जिला जयान् यौवनाश्वः पालनाच भगीरयः। कार्नवीर्यसपोवीर्याद वलात् भरतो विभुः॥ ऋड्या मर्त्तासान् पञ्च समाजस्तनुग्रय म। — सभापर्व, १५, १५-१६

सामाज्यमिच्छतसे तु सर्वाकारं युधिष्ठिर। - सभा, १५, १८

ऐल बंग्याय ये राजन् तथैवैचाकवी खपा:। तानि चैकशतं विडि कुलानि भरतर्षभ ॥ - सभा, १४, ५ न चैतमन्दध्यने कुलान्येक्यतं नृपाः। तमादिह बलादेव सामाज्यं कुरुते हि सः॥ सभा, १५, २०

Vāsudeva of Pundra and Bhīsmaka of Vidarbha. These states, it will be seen, are, with the single exception of Karūṣa under Vakra, who did not voluntarily recognise the overlordship Yudhisthira, but whose place we find filled by the powerful federation of the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas of Anarta and other states of the same order which joined the new Samrajya of their own free will, the states which abstained from offering opposition to the Pandavas in the course of their campaign of Digvijaya. They, it appears, were glad to organise themselves into a new union, as soon as the empire of Jarasandha was brought to an end by his death at the hands of Bhīma. Eighteen tribes of the Bhojas who lived originally in the north were expatriated by Jarasandha. They had to fly from their original homes and seek shelter in the West,2 The Sūrasenas, Bhadrakāras, Bodhas, Sālvas, Pataccaras, Susthalas, Mukuttas, Kulindas, Kuntis, Śāllvāyanas, Southern Pañcālas, Eastern Kośalas and Matsyas were expelled from their former territories.2

Whether these were included among the eighteen Bhoja Kulas, above referred to, or were additional to them and whether the seventeen Kulas of Muttra who voluntarily went into exile were distinct from either of these groups has been left to be guessed by the reader.

At Muttra, instead of the Samgha (oligarchic federation) of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, he established a monarchy under Kaṃsa, whom he gave two of his daughters in marriage. Śrī Kṛṣṇa who had just finished his education and had returned home a Śnātaha, restored unity among Bhojas and Vṛṣṇis by arranging the marriage of Akrūra, who was leading one faction, with the daughter of Āhuka, the chief of the other party. He then killed Kaṃsa and re-established the Saṃgha. Then ensued the invasions of Jarāsandha whom Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas repulsed seventeen times but finding their existence at Muttra unsafe had to shift their capital to Dvārakā.4

## The Samrajya of Yudhisthira

After Jarasandha's death the Pandavas set out on their career of Digvijaya or all-round conquest. Among the states either won

I सभापव, १४, १०-२२

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> उदीचाय तथा भीजाः कुलान्यष्टादश प्रभी।

जरासन्धभयादेव प्रतीचीं दिश्रमास्थिता: ॥—सभा०, १४, २५

<sup>3</sup> सभापव-नश्ध, २६ 4 सभा—१४, ३१-६८

over or brought under control are named the following1:-Kulinda (Saharanpur and Garhwal); Ānarta; Kālakūţa; Sākala (Sialkot); Prativindhya; Prāgjyotisa (Assam); Ulūka; Five republics (Ganas) in the mountainous tract of the North; Utsavasanketa republics; Dārbhas; Kokanada; Abhisārī (Rajauri); Uraga (Hazara); Simhapura (Pindadankhan); Bālhīka (Jhang); Darada (Dardistan); Kimpurusa (Nepal); Hāṭaka (near Mānasa Sarovara); Uttara Harivarṣa (Tibet); Pañcāla (Rohilkhand); Videha (Tirhut); Daśārna (Chattisgarh); Pulindanagara (Bundelkhand and Sagar); Śrenimān; Malla (Malva); Bhallata on the Suktiman Mt.; Malada (Shahabad Dist. and Berar.); Vatsabhūmi (Kauśāmbī); Niṣāda (Marwar); Śarmaka; Varmaka; Barbaras; Seven Kings of the Kirātas; Magadha (Behar); Pundra; Kausikaccha (Purnea); Tāmralipta (Tamluk); Suhma (Rādha) and Lauhitya (on the Brahmaputra). These states, as it will be seen, cover the whole of the present India, to which they add Afganistan, Tibet and presumably a part of China.

#### Its Collapse and Revival

After the digvijaya the Rājasūya was performed. A part of the ceremony was the offering of Argha (worship) of which Śrī Kṛṣṇa was considered among the chiefs present the most worthy. This roused indignation among a number of Rājās who saw their deep humiliation in the adoration of a non-rājā—one who had killed a monarch himself, and for the murder of another made himself directly responsible, and who further presumably on account of his revolutionary propaganda against, and by his disrespectful attitude towards, the persons and crowns of ruling potentates had made himself and his Samgha, federation, a body of Vrātyas, outcastes in their eyes. The murder of Śiśupāla who gave vocal expression to his feeling of resentment simply confirmed that discontent. They swallowed their rage at the time, but as Duryodhana after his return to Hastināpura remarked to his father that tragical conclusion of the Rājasūya had simply made manifest the common danger to which the persons of Rājōs, till that time considered

महाभारत सभा, या, १६, ३२

व वात्याः संश्विष्टकसीयः प्रवत्त्वी व विगर्हिताः।

हण्यान्यकाः कथं पार्थ प्रमाणं भवता कृताः ॥ द्रीण पर्वः ११, ४३-१५

sacred, were in that new regime subject.' Sakuni during his return journey had enumerated the names of Rājās who would help an attempt to upset the suzerainty of Yudhisthira. The gambling match which took place in the Sabhā (assembly hall) of Duryodhana, was simply an outward ruse. The causes of the collapse of Yudhisthira's Sāmrājya were political. The offering of Argha to Kṛṣṇa, followed by the murder of Śiśupāla,2 was, politically considered, a blunder. A number of states that were already discontented found an opportunity of forming themselves into a coalition against the Pāṇḍavas. The exile of thirteen years which the latter underwent, followed by the Kuruksetra War, was a consequence of that deep laid conspiracy.3 After the war which ended in the victory of the Pandavas a new digrijya took place. Strong insistence was laid this time on avoiding bloodshed.4 For royal blood special regard was shown.5 All ruling princes were assured that their persons and privileges would henceforward be respected. In the Asvamedha, which was a successful replica of the unsuccessful Rājasuya, argha-offering was omitted at the instance of Srī Krsna himself.6 Then was the Samrajya re-established.

#### The Character of Yudhisthira's Samrajya

As was remarked by Sisupāla<sup>7</sup> during his speech of protest preceding his murder, they had agreed to pay tributes to Yudhisthira not because they feared him or longed for his protection or bounty.

ı	श्रतीत वाक्पघे काली प्रेचमाणा जनार्दनम्।
	इसैईस्तायसपरे प्रत्यिपन्नमर्विता:॥
	श्रपरे दशनैरोष्ठानदश्रन् क्रीधमूर्च्छिता: ॥—सभा, ४५, ३१-३२
2	शिशुपाल द्रवासानं गति: खान्नात संगय: ॥—समा, ५०, २०
3	तस्यापराधादः दुर्वेद्वेरभिसानान्महीचिताम्।
1	विमर्द: सुमहानासीदनयात् खक्ततादय ॥ श्रायमवासिक पर्व. ८, ५
4	हतवान्धवा न ते पार्थ हल्तव्याः पार्थिवा इति ॥—श्रश्वमेध, ७४, ७
5	राजानसी न इन्तव्या धनंजय कथंचन ॥—श्रव्य, ७३, ११
6	यथा चात्ययिकं न स्वाद्यदर्घ <sup>°</sup> इरगीऽभवत् ॥
7	वयन्तु न भयादस्य कौन्तेयस्य महात्मनः।
	प्रयक्कामः करान् सर्वे न लीभावच सान्त्वनात्॥
	त्रस्य धर्मप्रवृत्तस्य पार्थिवलं चिकीर्षतः।
	करान्तमे प्रयच्छामः सोऽयमस्यात्र मन्यते॥—सभा, १३७, १८-२०

but because his mission was to foster *Dharma*, principles calculated to conduce to the advance of humanity. Instances of Sāmrājya, established before the time of Yudhiṣṭhira are quoted by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but the Sāmrājya of which Yudhiṣṭhira was the overlord is the first of which something beyond its mere name and character has found record. It was sarvākāra, i.e., combined in itself the peculiarities of all the five forms of Sāmrājya to which Śrī Kṛṣṇa had referred. It was designed to fulfil at once the fivefold object of establishing a Sāmrājya. It covered the confines of the whole of India and included besides Afganistan, Tibet, Assam and a part perhaps of China. It included states of various types, viz., monarchies, republics, aristoracies¹ and a federation—Saṃgha. Self-determination was thus its basic principle. Its aim was furtherance of *Dharma*.

# The office of Smrat not hereditary but confined to monarchical states

From the rapidity with which suzerainty changed hands not in one dynasty, but among members of different ruling families, it is clear that the office of Samrāt was not, like that of a king, hereditary. The doctrine of the divinity of kings was then an accepted principle of monarchical government, as is clear from a study of the accounts, given in the Mahābhārata, of the origin of the institution of state. ŚrīzKṛṣṇa attached little value to it. When Bhīṣma took his stand on this doctrine for the vindication of his adherence to Duryodhana who was clearly pursuing the path of Adharma, Śrī Kṛṣṇa referred to his own conduct in killing Kaṃsa,

I Among the Rājās who, as a result of the digvijaya of the Pāndavas joined Yudhisthira's Sāmrāyya, a few are characterised as Srenimān, the obvious meaning of which is "head of an aristocracy." Two passages containing this designation follow:—

ततः कुमारिवषये श्रे शिमन्तमयाजयत् ।
कोश्रवाधिपितिश्वेव इन्द्रवन्तमित्त्मः ॥ सभा, ३०-१
निषादभूमिं गोश्यक्षं पवैतं प्रवरं तथा ।
तरसैवाजयद्वीमान् श्रे शिमन्तं च पार्थिवम् ॥ सभा, ३१-५
एतस्यैच्वाकुवंशस्य प्रकृतिं परिचचते ।
राजानः श्रे शिवद्याश्व तथान्ये चितया भृति ॥ सभा, १४-४

and said that way lay the path of patriotic duty. This attitude of Śrī Kṛṣṇa had, however, as we have seen, been responsible for deep disaffection among kings, whose mortification on the occasion of the Rājasūya brought about instant collapse of the Sāmrājya. The traditional doctrine was found to be deep-rooted in the nature of the monarchs. They could not brook the suzerainty of a non-monarch over a Union of which they were members.

#### The status of Non-monarchical States

Composed, therefore, as the Sāmrājya was of various kinds of states, monarchical, federal, aristocratic and republican, at its head it was necessary to place a monarch. The states other than monarchical could only be the members of the Sāmrājya. This may explain in part why Śrī Kṛṣṇa whose consummate statesmanship lay virtually at the root of the whole imperial edifice, served as a minister to Yudhiṣṭhira. His own Saṃgha could not enjoy the privileges of suzerainty. Non-monarchical states, as they are described in the Mahābhārata, were otherwise, too, on account of the dissipation of a great part of their strength in the maintenance of their internal unity, unfit to hold the reins of a Sāmrājya. Non-hereditary though it was, the office of the Samrāṭ had, therefore, to remain confined to monarchs.

For thirty-six years after the Kurukṣetra war Śrī Kṛṣṇa was alive. The death of Yudhiṣṭhira took place even later. Till that event he remained the suzerain of India. As to how he worked for the betterment of the subjects of his own state we have ample hints in the Mahābhārata. As to what measures he took for the uplift of the people of the whole of India we find no explicit account beyond a brief note in an earlier chapter which gives but a clue

लं मूलमस्य भुवि चनस्य दुर्वोधनं चाय समुद्धिष्यसि ।
दुर्व्यात्त्वे रूपतिर्निवार्यः सुमन्तिणा धर्मपिष्य स्थितेन ॥
त्याज्योऽयवा कालपरीतवुद्धिर्धमीतिगी यः कुलपांसनः स्थात् ।
भीयम्बदाकर्ष्य यदुप्रवीरं राजा परं देवतिमत्युवाच ॥
त्यक्तम्तु कंसी यदुभिर्हितार्यं संबोध्यमानो न बुबोध राजा ॥ भीषा, ५८, ८८-१०१
तमपुप्रस्थिते वर्षे षट्विंशे मधुमूदन ।
हतज्ञातिहेतामात्यो हतपुवो वनेचरः ॥
कुत्सितेनापुप्रपायेन निधनं समवाष्यसि ॥—स्तो पर्व, २५-४४

to the capability of Yudhiṣṭhira, viz., that he kept the various chiefs that were under him in peace. This was no doubt one of the objects of Sāmrājya. The real story of the Mahābhārata has ended abruptly after the Aśvamedha, in other words, with the re-establishment of the overlordship. How the fundamental mission of the establishment of a Sāmrājya was fulfilled in practice does not appear to have concerned the ancient chronicler. The description of the administration of Yudhiṣṭhira's own state, too, belongs to the period when he was simply a king, not yet the king of kings.

CHAMUPATI

## Gopala Deva I of Bengal\*

Gopāla was the first king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But we have, up to now, no inscription of his, no contemporary record whatsoever, from which we can ascertain the duration of his reign or the year of his accession to the throne. Evidences are not, however, wanting altogether which may enable us to find them out with some amount of probability. But it seems that these have not as yet been utilised.

Tāranātha (1608 A.C.) is a doubtful witness. Unless he is corroborated from other sources, he is not reliable. Now let us see what he tells us about Gopāla. Before narrating the legendary history of Gopāla he mentions that Vimala Candra reigned over Bengal, Kāmarūpa and Tīrabhukti. He married the sister of king. Bhartrhari and had a son named Govicandra. After his death Govicandra succeeded him. Govicandra was the last king of the dynasty. After him there was no king to rule over the country. Now Gopāla was born at Puṇḍravardhana of a beautiful Kṣatriya young woman who was in liaison with a Tree god. When grown up he worshipped the goddess Cundā. He then came to the Vihāra of Ārya Khasarpaṇa and prayed for a kingdom. He received the order to go to the East. Now for many years there had not been a king in Bengal and all the inhabitants were unhappy, Then the leaders came

<sup>\*</sup> Read at the 6th Oriental Conference at Patria.

together, deliberated and chose a king. The elected king, however, was eaten up that very night by a female Nāga who had assumed the form of the queen of the former king (either Govicandra or his brother Lalitacandra, according to different versions). In this way she killed all the elected kings. Gopāla was at last elected; but instead of being eaten up, he killed the female Nāga. He was chosen as a king seven times in seven days. Then he was made the permanent king and was given the name of Gopāla. He began to rule in Bengal; then he conquered Magadha. He built the Vihāra of Nalandara, not far from Odantapura. He reigned 45 years. At this time Śrī Harṣa Deva ruled over Kashmir.

Now let us see what we can glean from other sources. It is known from the inscription of Dharmapāladeva, the son and successor of Gopāla, that Gopāla was elected king to remove mātsyanyāya, i.e., anarchical state in which the strong oppresses the weak. This is a partial corroboration of the statement of Tāranātha about the election of Gopāla. About the contemporaneity of Gopāla with Harṣa Deva of Kashmir, Tāranātha makes a confusion, as Harṣa reigned from 1089 to 1101 A.C. But he is not altogether wrong. There was another Harṣa of Kāmarūpa who has been described as Gaud-Odrādi-Kalinga-Kośalapati" (the lord of Gauda, Odra etc. and Kalinga and Kośala) in the inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal dated 153 of an Era which might be Harṣa Era = 759 A.C. or another Era = 748 A.C. Now in the inscription of king Nārāyaṇapāla Deva the following verse occurs in praise of Gopāla Deva:

jitvā yaḥ kāmakāri-prabhavam abhibhavam śāśvatīm prāpa śāntim sa Śrīmān Lokanātho jayati Daśabalo'nyaś ca Gopāladevaḥ

Here  $k\bar{a}mak\bar{a}ri$  has a double meaning. In the case of Buddha,  $K\bar{a}maka$  means Māra, who is an enemy; in the case of Gopāladeva,  $K\bar{a}maka$  means king of Kāmarūpa who is also an enemy. Now Kāmaka (with the pleonastic suffix ka) is allowed in Sanskrit by the maxim  $n\bar{a}maikade$ sagrahanam  $n\bar{a}mam\bar{a}tragrahanam$ , i.e., the

I Schiefner, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, pp. 195 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., iv, 243.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed., p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., ix, p. 178; Sylvain Lévi, Le Nepal, II, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., xv, p. 584; Gaudalekhamālā, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Kīrātārjunīya, i, 24, Mallinātha's Commentary.

mention of a part of a name is (same as) the mention of the name itself. This maxim has been given elsewhere thus: ekadesena samudāyah, i.e., by the part the whole (is to be understood). The use of a word in a double sense was a favourite rhetorical pastime with many of the court poets of the Pāla kings. Now the use of the name of the country to denote the king of that country is common in Sanskrit. So the above verse will mean in the case of Gopāla Deva as follows:

"Victory to Lord Buddha as well as to His Majesty Gopāla Deva, the lord of the world, who obtained perpetual peace by repelling the attack made by the king of Kāmarūpa, who was an enemy".

Thus Gopāla was a contemporary of Harṣa Deva of Kāmarūpa. Perhaps Kāśmīra is a misreading for Kāmarūpa. We should remember that Tāranātha's mention of the contemporaneity of Dharmapāla with Cakrāyudha has been corroborated by inscriptions.

It follows from the account of Taranatha that Gopala was a successor to the throne of Govicandra, after some interval when his queen was believed to have been living. Now the time of Govicandra can be ascertained from various sources. The renunciation of Govicandra is the theme of popular ballads all over Northern India. In the Hindustani version, Gopīcand (=Gopīcandra) is the sister's son of Bhartharī (=Bhartrhari),2 just as in the narration of Tāra-Govicandra's father Vimalacandra has been stated by nātha. Tāranātha to have been a contemporary of Dharmakīrti.3 (673 A.C.) mentions Dharmakīrti among the great masters of Buddhism in his time4 and according to him Bhartrhari died in 651 A.C.5 According to Taranatha, Bhartrhari and Govicandra were both converted by Siddha Jālandharī.6 Hindi ballads state the same thing. The Bengali ballads mention Jalandhari as the guru of Gopicam'd.7 Taranatha explicitly says that Govicandra began his reign about the time of the death of Dharmakīrti or a little later.\* According to Vassilief, Dharmakīrti was a contemporary

I Rāmacarita, i, 4, Commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Laksmana Dāsa, Gopicand Bharthari,

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Takakusu, A Record of Buddhist Religion, p. xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. lvii. 6 Grünwedel—Edelsteinmine, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>7</sup> Durlabha Mallik—Govinda Candra Gītā; Shukur Muhammad, Gopīcām der Sannyāsa.

<sup>8</sup> Schiefner, op. cit., p. 195.

of king Sron-bean-sgam-po of Tibet<sup>1</sup> (died 650).<sup>2</sup> From all these evidences, the time of Govicandra may be roughly put down at 700 A.C.<sup>3</sup> Then Gopāla was elected to the vacant throne of Vanga some years after the abdication of Govicandra.

From the inscription of Dharmapala we know that the queen of Gopāla was Dedda Devi, whose son was Dharmapāla. Haribhadra, a contemporary of Dharmapāla, mentions Dharmapāla as Rājabhatādi-vamsa-patita,5 which I would take to mean descended by the female line beginning with Rajabhata, and I think Dedda Devi was a descendant of Rajabhata. The justification of our supposition lies in the fact that no other king of the Pala dynasty has been called a descendant of Rajabhata. From the account of the Chinese traveller Seng-chi we know that Rājabhaṭa was ruling in Samatata (Vanga) between 650 and 655 A.C.6 So Dedda Devi may be a grand-daughter of Rajabhata. From Bengali ballads we know that Gopicamd had his capital at Meharkul or Patikara.8 Now both are adjoining fiscal divisions in the district of Tippera in Eastern Bengal. This is Pattikera of the inscription of Ranavankamalla,9 Tāranātha makes Chittagong the capital of Govicandra. 10 It would be natural that Gopāla should enter into matrimonial alliance with a neighbouring king. Afterwards he seems to have conquered Samatata and other places bordering on the

<sup>1</sup> M. G. A. La Comme, Bouddhisme, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of Tibetan kings vary with different authorities. See Lévi, Le Nepal, II, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Shahidullah, Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et de Saraha, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind., IV, p. 243,

<sup>5</sup> R. D. Banerji, Bangalar Itihasa, pt. I, p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Shukur Muhammad, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Pātikānagara in Durlabha Mallik, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II, p. 241. Colebrooke read pattikeva. The reading pattikera is of Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśāli. Shukur Muhammad, op. cit., p. 70. Goddess Cundā was a popular deity of the locality. (Bhaṭṭaśāli, Iconography etc., p. 13). Is it for Gopāla that her worship became popular there?

<sup>10</sup> Sarat Candra Das. J. A. S. B., 1898, p. 22; Grünwedel, op. cit.

Bay of Bengal. This can be gathered from the inscription of Devapala.

Gopāla's encounter with Śrī Harsa Deva comes after this chronologically. Perhaps Srī Harsa Deva occupied Gauda some time after the king of Gauda had been defeated and killed by Yasovarman<sup>2</sup> (circa 730 A.C.). But Yasovarman being engaged in warfare with king Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir, by whom he was ultimately defeated and dethroned about 740 A.C.), could not turn his attention to his newly conquered state. Gopāla after having consolidated his power in his own kingdom by conquering his neighbouring principalities bordering on the sea would naturally turn his attention to Gauda. This event must have taken place some time after 740 A.C. If we believe the treacherous murder of the king of Gauda by Lalitaditya, Srī Harṣa Deva's conquest of Gauda may date after that event and Gopāla's encounter with him will be a little later. That Sri Harsa Deva was styled lord of Gauda, etc. in 759 A.C. by his son-in-law does not necessarily prove that he was then still in possession of Gauda. But even if Harşa was defeated in battle, Gauda was not then permanently included in the Pāla kingdom. It remained, or soon became, separate from Vanga. When Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king, attacked the country (circa 770 A.C.) he took away two royal umbrellas, the insignias of Gauda and Vanga.5 It was left to Gopāla's son and successor Dharmapāla Deva to annex

matangajāh||

I Vijitya yenā jaladher vasundharām vimohitāmoghaparigrahā iti| sabāṣpam udbāṣpaviloçanān punar vaneṣu bandhūn dadṛśur

Gaudalekhāmālā, p. 35; Ind. Ant., xxi, 254; Ep., Ind., XVIII, p. 304.

2 Gaudavaho, verses 414-417.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 386. There is nothing to prove that he was killed in the battle with Lalitāditya. Kahlana says explicitly that Yasovarman "became by his defeat a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues" (Stein, Rājatarangiņā, IV, p. 144). On the authority of the Jaina tradition I believe that he reigned at least up to 751 A.C. (vide infra).

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Banerji, Ibid., p. 130; R. C. Majumdar, Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization, p. 357.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., XI, p. 157, XII, p. 160; Ep. Ind., VI, p. 240; R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 148.

Gauda permanently. Tāranātha's statement that Gopāla began to rule in Vanga and then he conquered Magadha is partially true. In fact, Tāranātha states that Dharmapāla conquered Gauda.

The end of Gopāla's reign will be some time before 762 A.C. According to Tāranātha the sage Śāntarakṣita died during the reign of Dharmapāla. His death is said to have happened in 762 A.C.<sup>2</sup> We may put down the death of Gopāla in 760 A.C. as a good working date. Now if we accept Tāranātha's statement of 45 years' reign for Gopāla, it would commence in 715 A.C.

This is quite in keeping with the facts we have mentioned before. It will no doubt make Gopāla, the king of Vanga, suffer defeat at the hands of Yasovarman. According to the tradition of the Jainas after the death of Yasovarman, Āmarāja ascended the throne of Kanauj (between 751 and 755 A.C.). Vākpati was the court-poet of Dharmapāla, king of Gauḍa; afterwards he came over to the court of Āmarāja. There was an old feud between the two kings; afterwards they were reconciled. This narration makes Dharmapāla the contemporary of Āmarāja. Their fathers Gopāla and Yasovarman may also be contemporaneous.

We know from the Ragholi inscription of Jayavardhana II that the elder brother of his great grandfather killed the king of Pauṇḍra. This will be in the beginning of the 8th century. From the narration of Tāranātha we have seen that Gopāla was born of a Kṣatriya mother at Puṇḍravardhana. It may be that Bapyaṭa, the father of Gopāla, was the unnamed king of Pauṇḍra. In the Ragholi inscription the king of Pauṇḍra has been styled ūrjitavairidāraṇapaṭu which is equivalent to khaṇḍitārati, the attribute of Bapyaṭa in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla (verse 3). This

I Ind. Ant., IV, p. 366. Dharmapāla has been called Vangapati in the ins. of Bhoja.—Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. Vidyabhushana, History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Gaudavaho, vs. 819-21.

<sup>4</sup> This tradition is found in the Jain works Bappabhatti Sūricarita, Prabandhakośa and Prabhavakacarita. Vide Gaudavaho, Introduction pp. cxxxv ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. Ind., IX, p. 44. Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly thinks that it was followed by the invasions of Yasovarman and Lalitaditya (Ibid., 365).

<sup>6</sup> Bāṇagaḍa Ins. of Mahīpāla I, verse 12; J. A. S. B., LXI, 77.

will explain why Gopāla left his country seeking adventure abroad and why Varendra was called Janakabhū (fatherland), by the Pāla kings. One thing however is definite that Bapyaṭa flourished at the

time mentioned in the inscription.

We can thus reconstruct the history of Bengal from 700 to 760 A.C. In the beginning of the eighth century or some time before 700 A.C., Bapyata was reigning in Pundravardhana and Govicandra in Vanga. Bapyata was killed by a king belonging to the Saila Dynasty. About this time Govicandra, king of Vanga, abdicated and renounced the world. Gopāla, the son of Bapyata (perhaps posthumous) had come to Vanga as an adventurer when he was quite young, and was elected king there (about 715 A.C.). In order to strengthen his position he married a princess belonging to the family of Rājabhaṭa, king of Samataṭa. Afterwards he conquered the whole of the sea-board of Bengal. Before he could regain his paternal kingdom, king Yasovarman of Kanauj invaded Bengal (circa 730 A.C.). He killed the Saila king of Gauda and Magadha and vanquished Gopāla. Yaśovarman set up another king on the throne of Gauda. Gopāla, ambitious as he was, dared not offend Yasovarman by attacking his vassal. Now Yaśovarman was attacked by Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir and was defeated. The king of Gauda submitted to the king of Kashmir and was afterwatds treacherously murdered. It was probably at this juncture that Harsa Deva of Kāmarūpa conquered Gauda. Gopāla attacked Harsa Deva, who was threatening the peace of his kingdom and defeated him. But he could not conquer Gauda.2 He died in about 760 A.C. and was succeeded by Dharmapala,

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I Kamauli Inscription of Vaidyadeva, verse 4, Ep. Ind., II, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Rājatarangiṇā (IV, 421ff), a king named Jayanta was ruling in Puṇḍravardhana about 775 A.C. He might have been a successor of Harṣa Deva. It is also stated that he died childless. Most probably Dharmapāla occupied Gauḍa on the death of Jayanta and thus united the two royal umbrellas of Gauḍa and Vanga.

## The Problem of the Mahanataka\*

The so-called Mahānālaka, otherwise known as the Hanāmannātaka, occupies a unique position in Sanskrit dramatic literature. Though technically designated a nataka, it evinces peculiarities which justify Wilson's characterisation of the work as a nondescript composition and which have naturally given rise to much speculation with regard to its character and origin. It is a very extensive work which plagiarises unblushingly from most of the known (and probably some unknown) Rāma-dramas and is written almost entirely in verse, with little of prose. The verse is generally of the narrative or epic, rather than dramatic, character. There is little of true dialogue; there is no Vidusaka nor any Prakrit; the usual stage-directions are missing; the number of characters appearing is fairly large; there is a benediction, and in one recension a curious prarocanā-verse, but there is no true prologue, and all the elements of the plot prescribed by theory are wanting; the number of Acts, at least in one recension, is beyond the usual limit; in short, this work, though nominally exhibiting a dramatic form, gives one the impression of being a narrative composition as opposed to the dramatic, and could have as well been written in the narrative or epic form. It is devoid of all dramatic action, being rather a collection of poems, descriptive and narrative, with interspersed metrical dialogues of a crude nature and quasi stagedirections.

On the strength of these peculiarities Max Müller was of opinion that the work was rather an epic than a true drama, and that it carries us back to the earliest stage of development of the Indian drama. This opinion has been repeated more than once by later scholars but in a somewhat modified form. Pischel pointed out the resemblances of this work to Subhaṭa's Dūtāngada, which latter play was held by him to be an example of the so-called chāyā-nātaka,

<sup>\*</sup> Read before the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, 1928.

I Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik, 1846, i, p. 472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In his Das altindische Schattenspiel in SBAW, 1906, pp. 482-502.

which term he considered to be equivalent to a 'schattenspiel,' often rendered into English as 'shadow-play.' This thesis was further developed by Lüders<sup>1</sup> who would take the  $D\overline{u}t\overline{a}ngada$  as the type of the shadow-play and then deduce that the Mahanataka also belongs to the same category, of which it is supposed to be one of the earliest specimens. With this view Sten Konow,2 Winternitz3 and some other scholars appear to agree, But Keith in his recent work on the Sanskrit Drama reopens the question4 and throws doubt on the whole theory of the shadow-play and its alleged part in the early evolution of the Sanskrit Drama. He refuses to agree with Lüders in adding the Mahānātaka to "the almost non-existing list of shadow-dramas" and suggests that the irregularities of this work can be explained by the assumption that it was a play never intended to be acted, and that it was a literary tour de force redacted "in preparation for some form of performance in which the dialogue was plentifully eked out by the director and the other actors."

The Mahānāṭaka has come down to us in different recensions. The West Indian recension redacted by Dāmodara Mīśra has 548 verses in 14 Acts and is styled the Hanūmānnāṭaka, while the East Indian or rather the Bengal recension arranged by Madhusūdana Miśras has 720 verses in 9 Acts and is named the Mahānāṭaka. Both the recensions agree in taking the mythical Hanūmat as the original author. In a sense, however, the work may be taken to be anonymous, for both the titles are clearly descriptive. Hanūmat, as the ally and servant of Rāma, is a legendary figure to whom it was probably

I In his Die Śaubhikas: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas in SBAW, 1916, pp. 698f.

<sup>2</sup> Das indische Drama (Grundriss), 1920, pp. 89-90.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte der indischen Litteratur (1920), iii, p. 243; in ZDMG., lxxiv, pp. 118f, he supports Lüders, but recognises the difficulties of the hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> The Sanskrit Drama, 1924, pp. 33f., 53f., 269f.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders has shown that MSS. of this recension are also found in Western India; but this fact makes no difference, and there is no doubt that it prevails in Bengal.

<sup>6</sup> The number of verses vary greatly in MSS. and editions, as discussed below. The number adopted here is Aufrecht's (Bodleian Catalogue, p, 142b).

found convenient to ascribe a traditional work of unknown or forgotten authorship; while the title  $Mah\bar{a}n\bar{a}taka$  is apparently not a designation but a description, it being the later dramaturgic technical term which, like the term prakarana, indicates a type of a play containing all the episodes and possessing a large number (usually the number is ten) of Acts. It is significant that the term is unknown to Bharata and Dhanika, the two earlier authorities on Dramaturgy. They simply lay down<sup>1</sup> that in a  $n\bar{a}taka$  the number of Acts should not be less than five and more than ten; but the author of the  $S\bar{a}hitya darpana$ , who flourished probably in the first half of the 14th century, defines and explains<sup>2</sup> the term  $Mah\bar{a}n\bar{a}taka$  as noted above.

The association with Hanūmat is supported by a legendary account of the origin of the work. The concluding verse in Dāmodara's version states that the work was composed by the Son of the Wind (Hanūmat), but was cast into the sea by Vālmīki who deemed it to be ambrosia (amṛta-buddhyā) and that it was later on recovered by the good king Bhoja and redacted by Miśra Dāmodara.³ In his comment on this verse Mohanadāsa explains that Hanūmat wrote this work and engraved it with his nails on the rocks, but to please Vālmīki, who recognised its excellence and anticipated eclipse of his own Rāmāyaṇa, the generous Ape threw it into the sea whence it was, after ages, recovered by his avatāra Bhoja with the aid of fishermen.⁴ The Bhoja-prabandha also records⁵ the anecdote

I Nātya-ṣāstra, xviii, 28; Dasarūpaka (ed. Nir. Sag. Press, 1917), iii. 38. The Rasārnava-sudhākara, ed. Trivandrum, p. 285, agrees. It is noteworthy that the majority of Dacca University MSS. of Madhusūdana's recension give ten Acts, instead of nine.

<sup>2</sup> VI, 223-224, ed. Durgāprasād, 1915, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> racitam anilaputreņātha vālmīkinābdhau
nihitam amṛta-buddhyā prān mahānātakam yat |
sumati-nṛpati-bhojenoddhṛtam tat krameṇa
grathitam avatu visvam misra-dāmodareṇa ||

<sup>4</sup> atreyam kathā—pūrvam etena nakhara-tankair giri-silāsu vilikhitam tat tu vālmīkinā dṛṣṭam|tad etasyāti-madhuratvam ākarnya rāmāyana-pracārābhāva-sankayā hanūmān prārthitas tvam etat samudre nidhehīti | tatheti tenābdhau prāpitam tadavatūrena bhojena sumatinā jālikair (the printed text reads jala-jñānair) uddhṛtam iti.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1921, pp. 70f. Wilson gives a somewhat different version (Select Specimens, 2 vols. in one, Appendix

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that certain fishermen once found an engraved stone in the Narmada and brought it to Bhoja who, recognising it to be the work of Hanumat, made a copy of it and had it put together by his courtpoets. The two lines which were brought to Bhoja occur as the first two lines of the verse iha khalu vişamah in the Mahanataka (xiv, 49) in Dāmodara's recension, but the verse is missing in Madhusūdana's redaction. It is noteworthy, however, that the verse is an ordinary gnomic stanza which is utilised for the purpose of moralising on the death of Ravana. In Madhusudana's recension, on the other hand, there is after the benediction a prarocana-verse in which Hanumat is said to have narrated the story at the direction of Valmiki, and the concluding verse of each Act states that the work of Hanumat was rescued (pratyuddhṛta) by Vikrama (vikramaih). phrase has been explained simply as 'recovered by means of valour': but the commentator Candrasekhara1 explains that Hanumat having engraved the work on the rocks threw it into the sea through fear of Vālmīki, but later on he appeared in a dream to king Vikramāditva who, at Hanumat's bidding, had it fished out of the sea and redacted by his court-poet Madhusūdana. The commentator also refers to another version of the story, according to which the work is said to have been stolen by raksasas but recovered later on by the valour (vikrama) of that king.

It is not difficult to see that there is a good deal of mere fable in these accounts; but the tradition, which more or less agrees in the three versions of the story, certainly suggests the redaction of an old anonymous work, or at least the writing of a new work with the embodiment of old matter. Although a considerable number of verses is common to both the recensions, the one recension cannot be said to have been derived from the other. On the contrary, it is probable that each of them was redacted independently from some lost original, of which the tradition preserves a legendary account. Of the compilers Dāmodara and Madhusūdana we have no authentic

p. 62). The Bhoja prabandha, according to him, records the anecdote that a merchant in Bhoja's reign discovered some verses engraved on the rocks by the seashore and brought a copy of the first two lines of one verse. Bhoja travelled to the spot to obtain the other two lines, and the verse when completed is the one which occurs in Dāmodara's version as xiv, 49 (iha khalu viṣamah).

I On i, 48, ed. Candrakumāra Bhattācārya, Calcutta, śaka 1796.

information. In the Bhoja-prabandha the poets, who are called upon to fill up the deficient verse discovered by Bhoja, are Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa; but one Dāmodara is mentioned elsewhere in the same work as a court-poet to king Bhoja of Dhārā, who (if he were the historical Bhoja) reigned in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. There is nothing inherently impossible in the report of a drama in stone-inscription, for such dramas have been discovered in recent times; but we have no other historical information about the source from which both the recensions were derived. We have, however, enough indication to presume that an essential portion of the work was probably old and formed the nucleus round which was woven a large number of verses culled chiefly from various known and unknown Rāma-dramas. This may have been done in the time of Bhoja, whose energy in making cyclopaedic compilations is well known but the process of interpolation, as we shall see presently, continued for a long time, and verses from comparatively recent Rāma-dramas found their way into the compendium. The question as to which of the two recensions is earlier is not yet solved, but it seems probable that Damodara's version, in spite of its 14 Acts, is the earlier, as it is also the simpler and less extensive redaction. The Vikramāditya referred to in Madhusūdana's version may have been Laksmana-sena of Bengal, who appears to have had also nine gems at his court and to have been known by the title of Vikramāditya. We have a verse attributed to Dhoyi in the Sadukti-karnamrta, the first half of which agrees partially with the verse 101 of Dhoyi's Pavanadūta1 and which makes it probable that Laksmana-sena as a poet and patron of of poets was known by this time-honoured title.

The comparative antiquity of the *Mahānātaka* is sought to be established by the fact that Ānandavardhana, who flourished in the middle of the 9th century at Kashmir, and Dhanika who belonged to the end of the 10th century, quote verses which occur in the work. The three quotations by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* are, however, anonymous and therefore not conclusive, the more so because

I khyāto yas ca srutidharatayā vikramāditya-gosthīvidyā-bhartuh khalu vararucer āsasāda pratisthām.

<sup>(</sup>Ed. Cintaharan Chakravarti, Calcutta 1926, p. 34, also Introd. p. 7). See also JASB, 1906, p. 15. In the verse the poet, who lived at the court of Laksmana-sena, is speaking of himself and his patron, and there is an obvious pun in the phrase vikramāditya etc.

the Mahānātaka is notorious for its shameless plagiarism. The first verse snigdha-śrāmala-kānti (Dhv p. 61=Mahā M v, 7) is really taken from the Rāmābhyudaya of Yasovarman<sup>1</sup>; the second verse raktas tvam nava-pallavaih (Dhv° p. 90 = Mahā° M iv, 35 = D v, 24) is ascribed to Yasovarman in the Subhāṣitāvalī (no. 1364) and is probably borrowed from the same drama; while the source of the third verse nyakkūro hy ayam eva (Dhv° p. 153=Mahā° M ix, 55), which is cited by a series of rhetoricians, is unknown. Dhanika quotes five verses which occur in the Mahānātaka, but all of them except one, are given without any indication of their source. The one exception refers to the verses  $b\bar{a}hvor$  balam na viditam (=  $Mah\bar{a}^{\circ}$ M ii, 14 = D i, 38) is quoted in the Vrtti on ii, 2 with yatha hanuman. natake; but the verse is actually derived from the Bala-ramayana (iv. 60). The fact that one of the remaining verses kapole  $j\bar{a}naky\bar{a}h(=Mah\bar{a}^2)$ M iii, 54-D i, 19) is also quoted anonymously by Rājašekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāmṣā (p. 97) proves nothing. A large number of quotations, mostly anonymous, from the Mahānātaka is also found in the Sanskrit Anthologies. Of these the Śārngadhara-paddhati gives ten quotations as hanumatah, of which nos. 83, 123-125, 128, 133, 3418 and 4066 cannot be traced in any of the recensions of the Mahaantaka. Only no. 90 (vighneso vah sa pāyād vihrtisu) occurs as the second mangala-śloka of Madhusūdana's recension, and no. 1248 (kūrmah pādo'tra) is found as vi, 67 in Madhusūdana and xiv, 77 in Dāmodara. This anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., and its quotations only prove, at best, that both the recensions probably existed in the first half of the 14th century. Even if no great antiquity can be claimed for the work itself, the presumption is permissible that a fragmentary nucleus of it existed in the time of Bhoja, or even a little earlier in the time of Dhanika, from which the later elaborate versions, which cull verses from the Mahāvīra-carita, Bāla-rāmāyaṇa, Anargha-rāghava, Prasanna-rāghava and other known and unknown Rāma-plays, arose in later times and were probably in existence in the 14th century.

In order to explain the origin of the drama which the Indian tradition envelops in the mystery of legends, it has been suggested that the *Mahānāṭaka* belongs to the category of the so-called shadow-play, a view which envelops it equally in the mist of sheer specula-

I Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, I, pt. 3, p. 270, fn. 1.

tion. Although it has been held by Pischel and others to connote a shadow-play, the meaning of the term chāyā-nātaka, which is nowhere connected with the Mahānātaka but which is used in some other plays alleged to be of the irregular type, is uncertain. It is not recognised in any Sanskrit work on Dramaturgy as designating a dramatic genre, but several dramatic compositions like the Dharmabhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, the Dūtāngada of Subhata, the Rāmābhyudaya, Subhadrā-parinaya and Pāndavābhyudaya of Rāmadeva-Vyāsa, have been designated as chāyā-nātaka in their respective prastavanās or colophons. Wilson held that the term chāyā-nātaka might mean 'the shade or outline of a drama' and expressed the opinion that the Dūtāngada "was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could have effected". Lévi<sup>2</sup> appears to leave the question open, but remarks: "Leur nom est obscur; on serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé chāyā-nāṭaka. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique: "drame à l'état d'ombre". Rājendralāla Mitra3 describes Vitthala's so-called chāyā-nātaka as "an outline of a drama" and suggests that the  $D\bar{u}t\bar{a}\dot{n}gada$  "was evidently intended to serve as an entr'act to a theatrical exhibition." Other suggested but rejected explanations are "a play that is but a shadow, a play in shadow, i.e. a miniature play."4 Having reference to the derivative nature of such plays as the Dūtāngada, which incorporates verses from other plays, it is not impossible to hold that the term chāyā-nāṭaka may also mean "an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject," the term chāyā being authoritatively used in the sense of adaptation.5 Pischel was originally of opinion<sup>6</sup> that the term might be explained as "the shadow of a drama" (Schatten von einem Spiel) or "a half-

I Op. cit., pp. 81-82.

<sup>2</sup> Le Théâtre indien, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Bikaner Catalogue, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> See Gray in JAOS, xxxii, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> This word  $ch\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  is used commonly, in connexion with the question of borrowing or plagiarism, to denote likeness or resemblance between the works of two poets, and  $ch\bar{a}yopaj\bar{v}vin$  is one who composes poems which are reflections of other poet's works. See Ksemendra,  $Kavi-kanth\bar{a}bharana$ , ii, I.

<sup>6</sup> Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1891, pp. 358f.

play" (halbes Drama), but in his well-known monograph on the Indian shadow-play¹ he attempted to shew that the chāyā-nātaka was simply and solely what is known as the shadow-play, in which the shadow-pictures were produced by projection from puppets on the reverse side of a thin white curtain.

In order to establish the early existence of the shadow-play in India it is alleged that this form of the drama is expressly mentioned by Nīlakantha in his interpretation of the term rupopajīvana occuring in the Mahābhārata xii, 294, 5: rūpopajīvanam jalamandapiketi dūksinātyesu prasiddham, yatra sūksma-vastram vyavadhāya carmamavair ākārai rājāmātyādīnām caryā pradarsyate, "rūpopajīvana is wellknown among the southerners as the Jalamandapika, in which, having interposed a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers etc. is shown by means of leathern figures." Lüders would maintain with Pischel that rupopajivana refers here to the production of shadowfigures. The term rupopajīvin is used by Varāhamihira in his Brhatsamhita; v, 74, while in the Therigatha, v, 394 and in the Milindapañha, p. 344 occur the terms rupparupaka and rupadakkha respectively, of which the last expression is supposed to be identical with the word lupadakkha found in the Jogimara Cave Inscription,2 A suggestion has also been made by Sten Konow that the word rupa used in the Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka, where exhibitions of the spectacles of the dwellings of gods, of elephants and of bon-fires are mentioned, refers to a shadow-play; and that the expression rupaka as the generic name of the drama is derived from such early shadowprojections. Indications of such a shadow-device are said to have been discovered in the Sitabenga Cave which has signs of grooves in front, meant (it is alleged) for the curtain necessary for a shadowplay. This theory is further elaborated by Lüders,4 who claims a high antiquity for the shadow-play on the assumption that it is referred to by Patanjali in his Mahābhāsya (on Pāņini iii, 1, 26) in his mention of the displays of the Saubhikas or Sobhanikas, and who on this

I Already cited.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report, ASI, 1903-4, pp. 128f: Lüders, Bruchstücke. Vāmana, Kavyālankāra-sūtra, iii, 2, 8; Rājasekhara, Kāvya-mīmāmsā, ch. xii; Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> In the article already cited.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Kielhorn, ii, p. 36,

basis would take it, with Pischel, as an essential element in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama. The existence of the shadow-play in early India is also supported by the analogy of the Javanese wayang purwa, a shadow-play usually dealing with the Rāma-cycle and produced by puppets of buffalo-leather.

The early evidence adduced for the existence of the shadow-play in India cannot in any way be taken as conclusive. We are not directly concerned here with Lüders' hypothesis regarding the Saubhikas; but the name Saubhika or Sobhanika is, at best, an obscure term which has not been shewn to have any relation to the shadow-play and which has never been explained in this sense by any authority. Hillebrandt1 and Keith2 have very effectively criticised Lüders' interpretation and suggested more reasonable explanations; but whether we accept their view, or agree with Weber3 that the reference here is to the pantomime, or even take the explanation of Kaiyyata (a fairly late commentator) that the Saubhikas were those who taught actors (natānām vyākhyānopādhyāyāh), it is clear enough that there is no real foundation for the view that the Saubhikas discharged the function of showing shadow-figures and explaining them to the audience. The passage of Nīlakantha, again, cannot be taken as proving conclusively the existence of the shadow-play, for he might as well be referring to the puppet-shows or marionette theatre, of whose existence we have definite record; and even if Nīlkantha's testimony is not contested, it only proves the existence of such plays in Southern India (daksinatyesu) at the end of the 17th century. It is not yet proved that the Javanese borrowed it from Southern India, and the fact that some kind of shadow-drama, dealing with the Rama-legend obtained in Java has in itself nothing whatever to do with the hypothesis that its analogue prevailed in India, until it is shewn beyond doubt that the idea was really borrowed from India. Even as a parallel it is not, as Keith points out, adequate, "unless and until it can be proved that the shadow-play sprang up in Java without any previous knowledge of the real drama." Turning to the passage of the Mahābhārata itself on which Nīlakantha comments:

I ZDMG, lxxii, pp. 227f; also see his Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas, München 1914, pp. 6 f, 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> BSOS, i. pt. 4, pp. 27f; Sanskrit Drama, pp. 33f.

<sup>3</sup> Indische Studien, xiii, pp. 488f.

rangāvataraņam caiva tathā rūpopajīvanam| madya-māmsopajīvyam ca vikrayam loha-carmanoh||

we notice that the term is used in the same context with appearance on the stage, drinking, eating flesh and other objectionable practices which degrade the status of a dvija. It is quite possible to argue, as it has been argued, that the term rupopajīvana alludes to the deplorable immorality of the actors, who have been stigmatised more than once as jāyā-jīva, "living by the dishonour of their wives,"1 The same explanation applies to Varāhamihira's use of the term rupopajīvin for the actor, in close proximity in the text to painters. writers and singers; while the term rupadakkha or lupadakkha is capable of other explanations2 than the highly conjectural solution of an actor in the shadow-drama. Mrs. Rhys Davids renders the word rupparupaka of the Theri-gatha, v, 394 by "puppet-show," and this is probable in view of the fact that in verses 390, 391 of the text there is a mention of a puppet. Keith has already shewn3 that the word rupa in Asoka's inscription, as well as the term rupaka as the generic name of the drama, can have no reference to the shadow-play, and the alleged evidence of a shadow device in the Sitabenga Cave is nothing more than a mere conjecture.

As no definite reference to the shadow-play can, so far, be proved anywhere in Sanskrit literature, and as the dramatic genre is unrecognised in theory, no other evidence is left but that derived from the term chāyā-nāṭaka itself, which is used as a descriptive epithet in the prologue or colophon of certain existing plays. Of these works the most interesting, if not the earliest, is the Dharmābhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, which is edited in the Jaina-Ātmānanda-Granthamālā Series (Bhavnagar 1918) and of which a brief résumé is given by Hultzch. In the colophon it is styled dharmābhyudayo nāma chāyā-nāṭya-prabandhaḥ; but in the prologue, the Sūtradhāra speaks of actors (śailuṣāḥ) and acting (abhinaya). There is, however, a definite stage-direction in it which is said to support its claim to be recognis-

I The term *silpopajīvana* is used in the preceding verse in the sense of livelihood by means of some arts.

<sup>2</sup> Pischel interprets the word as "copyist," Boyer as "sculptor," Bloch as "one skilled in painting," while Dr. S. K. Chatterjee suggests "skilled in figures or accounts."

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit Drama, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> ZDMG, lxxv, p. 69.

ed as a shadow-play. As the king takes the vow to become an ascetic, the stage-direction reads yamanikantarad yuti-veşa-dhara putrakas tatra sthapaniyah (p. 15) "from the inner side of the curtain is to be placed a puppet wearing the dress of an ascetic." A reference is found here in the word sthapaniya to the sthapaka of the regular drama who is supposed to have been originally "the arranger of puppets." We have no information about the date of the play. but that it is a late and obscure Jaina drama admits of little doubt, and its evidence as such is of doubtful value. One need not, however, see in the stage-direction any definite reference to the shadowplay; on the contrary, it is a puppet (putraka) which is directed to be placed, apparently on the stage, from the inner side of the curtain, i.e., from the nepathya. It is difficult also to accept the rather fanciful interpretation of the word sthapaniva, which is really not necessary, as the simple meaning of the word is that which is obviously intended. Although the drama styles itself a chayanātya-prabandha in the colophon, it is in all other respects an ordinary, if unpretentious, play of the usual type, dealing with the Jaina legend of king Daśārņabhadra. It is a short play, which consists of one Act but three or four scenes, with a regular nanda, prarocana and prastavana; and we have, with the one exception, referred to above, the usual stage-directions, enough prose and verse dialogues and some Prakrit prose and verse. There is also the usual bharatavākya at the end spoken by one of the characters.

It is curious that no such stage-directions are to be found in the other so-called chāvā-nātakas, not even in the Dūtāngada which is probably the earliest of the group and which is upheld by Pischel and Lüders as the typical specimen. Of these later plays, the three dramas of Rāmadeva-Vyāsa, who was patronised by the Haiheya princes of the Kalacuri branch of Rāyapura and who thus belonged to the first half of the 13th century, are not admitted even by Lüders to be chāyā-nātakas at all. The first drama, Subhadrā-parinaya² consisting of one Act but three scenes, has a theme which is sufficiently explained by its title; the second, Rāmābhyudaya, 3

I See Bendall in JRAS., 1898, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> MS of this work noticed in Bendall's Catalogue of MSS in the British Museum, no. 271, pp. 106 f; for an analysis of the play, see Lévi, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> MSS noticed in Bendall, op. cit., no. 272, pp. 107-8; in Peter-

also a short play in two Acts, deals with the time-worn topic of the conquest of Lanka, the fire ordeal of Sīta and Rāma's return to Ayodhyā; while the third play, Pāndavābhyudaya, also in two Acts, describes the birth and svayamvara of Draupadi. If we leave aside the self-adopted title chāyā-nātaka, these plays do not differ in any respect from the ordinary drama, and there is nothing in them which would enable us to arrive at a decision with regard to their alleged character of a chāyā-nāṭaka. The anonymous Haridūta,2 which deals in three scenes with the theme of Kṛṣṇa's mission to Duryodhana on behalf of Yudhisthira, is regarded as an imitation of Dūtāngada and assigned by Lüders to the class of chara-natakas; but its story corresponds to the Duta-vakya of Bhasa, and it resembles in all respects an ordinary play. Even Pischel doubts whether this work can be rightly considered a chāyā-nāṭaka. These short pieces may have been meant for some festive entertainments and therefore makes some concession to popular taste by not conforming strictly to the orthodox types; but the Hariduta in particular does not describe itself as a chāyā-nātaka and there is no reason why we should regard it as such. The Ananda-latika,3 again, which is regarded by Sten Konow as a shadow-play, is really a dramatic poem in five sections, called kusumas, on the love of Sama and Reva composed by Kṛṣṇanātha Sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya, son of Durgādasa Cakravartin. Eggeling describes it in the following words: "Though exhibiting some of the forms of a nataka (and marked as such outside), the work is devoid of all real dramatic action, being rather a collection of poetry, descriptive and narrative, with interspersed dialogues and quasi stage-directions". The same remarks apply to the modern Citra-vajña described by Wilson, who is undoubtedly right in pointing out its similarities to the popular yatra. Rājendralāla Mitras also mentions a chāvā-nātaka by Vitthala, which

son's Ulwar Catalogue, extracts, p. 72; Descriptive Cat. of Skt. MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, no. 12636. Analysed by Lévi, op. cit., p. 242.

I Eggeling, India Office Manuscripts, vii, p. 1602, no. 4187 (2353b).

<sup>2</sup> Bendall, op. cit., no. 270, p. 106. Analysed by Lévi, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Eggeling, op. cit., vii, p. 1624, no. 4203 (243).

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp. 104-7. 5 Bikaner Catalogue, p. 251.

he describes as "an outline of a drama founded on the history of the Adil Shahi dynasty"; but of this nothing further is known.

This leaves us with the Dūtāngada of Subhata, which also describes itself as a chāyā-nātaka and which has been definitely cited as a typical example by the exponents of the shadow-play hypothesis. The play was produced, according to its prologue, at the court of Tribhuvanapala, who appears to be the Calukyan prince of that name, who reigned at Anahillapattaka or Anhilvad in Gujrat at about 1242-43 A.D. It was presented at a spring festival in commemoration of the dead prince Kumārapāladeva of the same dynasty. The event particularly commemorated appears to be Kumārapāla's restoration of the Saiva temple of Devapattana or Somnath in Kathiawad, and the occasion. as given in one MS (yātrāyām dola parvani), was the dol or holi festival held in the month of Phalguna (March-April).1 It is a short dramatic composition in four scenes, the theme being the same as that of Act vii (Madhusudana's version) of the Mahanataka, which deals with the sending of Angada<sup>2</sup> by Rama to demand restoration of Sītā from Rāvaņa. The work exists in various forms; but a longer and a shorter recension have been distinguished. The shorter recension has already been edited in Kāvyamālā no. 28, 1891 (new edition, 1922). The longer recension is given by a MS in the India Office and is thus described by Eggeling3: "Not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses are also thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage-directions) and a narrative poem. This latter character of the composition is made still more pronounced by an introduction of 39 (12+27) stanzas in mixed metres (partly, however, placed in the mouths of Rama and Hanumat) referring to incidents which lead to the discovery of Sita's hiding-place." This recension must be of later

I See Bendall in IRAS, 1898, pp. 229-230, also his Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the British Museum, no. 269, pp. 105-6, and Gray in IAOS, xxxii, pp. 58-9. Analysis of the play given by Wilson, op. cit., pp. 81-2 and Aufrecht, Bodleian Catalogue, p. 139 (shorter recension); English trs. (shorter recension) in Gray, op. cit., pp. 63-77. MSS in the catalogues mentioned here and below, footnote 3.

<sup>2</sup> The word dūtāngada is already used in Dāmodara's version, ed. Bombay 1909, Act xi, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., vii, ro. 4189.

origin, for most of the supplementary verses are derived from comparatively late Rāma-dramas. For instance, verses 4 (ā dvīpāt parato' pyamī) and 6 (bho brahman bhavatā) are taken from Prasanna-rāghava, while verse 5 (yad babhañja janakātmajā-kṛte), as well as the verse jayati raghu-vaṃśa-tilakah, occurs in the Mahānātaka. The shorter recension is also in the nature of a compilation; and in closing verse, which is omitted in the longer version, the author says¹ that he has not hesitated in drawing upon his predecessors for material, his chief sources being Bhavabhūti, Murāri, Rājaśekhara and the Mahānātaka. Even such gnomic verses as udyoginam puruṣa-siṃham upaiti laksmīh, well-known from the Hitopadeśa, is found in the work.

Pischel was undoubtedly right in calling attention to the resemblance in this and other points between the Dūtāngada and the Mahānātaka, as distinguished from the other so-called chāyā-nātakas; but there is no evidence to establish that either of them is a shadowplay. The prevalence of verse, more narrative than dramatic, over the scanty prose, the absence of real prose dialogues and the omission of the Vidusaka are features which are shared by the Dutangada with the other so-called chaya-natakas already discussed, but which are in themselves not inexplicable. The work, however, is not anonymous as the Mahānātaka; there is a regular prologue, as also some stagedirections; the theme is limited; and the number of persons appearing is not large, nor is Prakrit altogether omitted.2 appearances it is an ordinary, if not insignificant, play of the usual type, composed frankly for some festive occasion, which fact may explain its alleged laxity or want of strict conformity to the orthodox drama. The usual prologue consists of the preliminary benediction and conversation between the Sūtradhāra and the Natī, leading up to the drama. The drama consists of four scenes; in the first, Angada is sent as a messenger to demand Sitā; in the second, Bibhīsaņa and Mandodarī attempt to dissuade Ravana from his fatal folly; in the third, Angada executes his mission, but on Ravana's endeavour to persuade him, with

<sup>1</sup> sva-nirmitam kiñcana gadya-padya-bandham kiyat prāktana-satproktam grhītvā praviracyate sma rasādhyam etat subhatena

<sup>2</sup> Keith (op. cit. p. p. 56) is not correct when he speaks of the absence of Prakrit in the Dūtāngada.

the illusion of māyā-sītā, that Sītā is in love with the lord of Lankā, Angada refuses to be deceived and leaves Rāvaṇa with threats; and in the fourth, two Gandharvas inform us that Rāvaṇa is slain, on which Rāma enters in triumph. There is no indication anywhere that it was meant for shadow-picture; and apart from the term chāyā-nātaka, examples of such brief spectacular plays on the well-known themes of the two epics are neither surprising nor rare.

We have already pointed out that the chaya-nataka is not a category of dramatic composition and is unknown as such to writers on Dramaturgy, early or late. These plays, on the other hand, are to all intents and purposes dramas proper, and may be classified as any other rupaka or uparupaka. If they lack enough dramatic action, it is a fault which they share with many other so-called dramas in Sanskrit, which are in reality dramatic poems; and there is hardly anything in them, except their self-description as chāyā-nātaka, which would stamp them out as irregular species. It would seem, therefore, that the term chaya-nataka, as also its equivalent 'schattenspiel', refers rather to the product than the process. Rajendralala's conjecture that it served as an entract to a theatrical exhibition may be easily dismissed, as there is no evidence for the existence of such entertainments as would correspond roughly to the English interlude or the Italian intermezzi. In view of certain irregularities which may be discovered in such plays, the explanation that it was 'a drama in the state of a shadow' or 'the outline of a drama' has been suggested; but it is possible also to suggest that it was a chāyā or adaptation of existing works on the subject for a particular purpose. What the purpose was is not very clear, but there is nothing to shew that the compositions were meant for shadow-pictures. It is probable, on the contrary, that these works, produced for particular festivals, were composed as recitable poems which could be sung, or even (as in the case of the  $D\bar{u}t\bar{a}ngada$ ) as a compilation from previous works; while the peculiarities of form and spirit, partly due to the nature and occasion of the composition, may suggest that the popular festive entertainments like the patra probably reacted on the literary drama. In any case, we are dealing here with late developments of the Sanskrit drama, and irregularities, such [as they are, would not be out of place. Whatever interpretation may be urged of the term chāyā-nātaka, it is at least clear that the hypothesis of the shadowplay is uncalled for and without any foundation, and it would certainly not be safe to derive from these admittedly late productions any evidence for the growth of the early drama, or draw any inference

from them as to the part alleged to have been played by the shadow-

play in its evolution.

Whatever may be the case with the  $D\overline{u}t\overline{a}ngada$  and the other plays, the Mahanataka is never described as a chaya-nataka, and the shadow-play solution is still more inapplicable to its markedly peculiar features. That it is a drama of the irregular type, more than any of the plays mentioned above, is admitted on all hands. One may go further and say that it is hardly a drama at all. It may at this point be contended that the chāyā-nāṭaka has also no claim to be considered as a drama proper, and in this sense there is no reason why the Mahānātaka should not be called a chāyā nātaka. It may be replied that the point still remains that this work, unlike the other plays mentioned above, has never been so called, and that there is no authority or tradition for such a description. It is possible to imagine a small spectacular play being utilised for the purpose of shadowpictures, but it is impossible to believe that an extensive work of a rambling kind, consisting of 9 or 14 Acts and ambitiously compiling and chronicling the entire Rama-carita, could have been meant for such an object. There is nothing in the work itself nor in the trend of its plot and treatment which lends the slightest plausibility to such a view.

To suggest with Keith that here we have a literary drama, a play never intended to be acted but meant as a literary tour de force, is not to offer a solution but to avoid the question. In no sense can the Mahānātaka he regarded as a tour de force, and its artistic merits, apart from the descriptive verses which are mostly borrowed, are almost negligible. It cannot be argued that its apparently immature dramatic form and treatment betoken an early age when the drama had not properly emerged from the epic condition, for, the quasi-dramatic presentation is not spontaneous but intentional. The work is undoubtedly late and highly stylised, and we are here far removed from anything primitive. That some old matter was worked up into an extensive compilation is obvious, and it is also admitted that it is not a normal drama; but to explain the purpose of the play and its irregularities by suggesting that it looks like a literary exercise is to confess one's inability to explain it satisfactorily; for there are indications, as Keith himself admits, that the work was meant and probably utilised for some kind of performance.

It is clear that the Mahānātaka, as well as most of the plays discussed above, belongs to comparatively recent times, so that any data

furnished by them should be cautiously used for any theory about the origin and development of the Sanskrit drama. Nor should the character of such types of plays as the Mahānātaka be determined without any reference to the literary conditions obtaining at the period in which they could be presumed to have been put in their present form. Whether we accept the time of Bhoja as the period when one of the versions of the Mahānātaka was redacted, it is clear enough that we cannot assign any of the versions to a very early age, nor could it be shewn that it was put together at a time when the Sanskrit drama could be assumed to have been in its most flourishing period of development. On the contrary, the assumption would not be unreasonable that the Mahānātaka was redacted at a time when the classical Sanskrit drama was in its decline, and when at the break up of the old and more or less stereotyped dramatic literature, such irregular types as we are considering could easily have come into existence. We must not also forget that the Apabhramsa and the vernacular literature were by this time slowly but surely coming into prominence, and that along with them popular entertainments like the religious yatras, with their mythological theme, quasi-dramatic presentment and preserve for recitation or singing, were establishing themselves. Having regard to this fact, as well as to the peculiar trend and treatment of such works as the Mahānātaka, we find no special reason to doubt that vernacular semidramatic entertainments of popular origin must have reacted on the literary Sanskrit drama and influenced its form and manner to such an extent as to produce irregular and apparently nondescript types. It is true that the yatra had little pretension to a literary character, while the types of plays we are discussing have a highly stylised form, but it is conceivable that these so-called plays might have been adapted and composed in Sanskrit for a more cultivated and sophisticated audience on the parallel furnished by the popular yatra. In other words, they were something like Sanskrit yātrās, which exhibited outwardly some of the forms of the regular drama and had a mature literary style, but which approximated more distinctly towards the popular vātrā in spirit and mode of operation. As such, these apparently irregular types were not mere literary exercises but represented a living form of quasi-dramatic performance. This conjecture is perhaps more in keeping with the nature of these compositions and the period in which they were probably redacted than the unwarranted and unconvincing solution of a shadow-play theory.

Turning to the work itself, we find that the Mahanataka gives

us a form of entertainment not represented by any Sanskrit drama so far published, in spite of the assertion that the Dutangada is the nearest parallel to it. It begins with a benediction in the orthodox style; in Damodara's recension it is set forth within the reasonable limit of five verses, but in Madhusūdana it is prolonged and elaborated into thirteen verses, a number which is unique in Sanskrit drama, There is no prastavana or prologue, but in Madhusudana there is the usual stage-direction nandyante sutradharah, followed by one verse of prarocana which says that Hanumat himself, at the direction of Vālmīki, is the vaktr of the piece, which deals with the exploits of Rama, that the actors are all well versed in their art, and that the audience consist of men of culture, - "rejoice, therefore, O sedate audience. I shall narrate the story of the Rāmāyana". The actual drama does not yet begin, but we have some narrative verses. four in Damodara and six in Madhusudana, which speak of king Daśaratha, his three queens, his four sons, Rāma's visit to Viśvāmitra's hermitage and his early exploits, thus carrying the story rapidly down to the arrival of Rāma at Mithilā. There is no agreement between the two recensions with regard to these preliminary narrative verses, which fact probably indicates their improvised character. Mohanadasa, commenting on them in Damodara's recension, pointedly

vālmīker upadesatal, svayam aho vaktā hanūmān kapih śrī-rīmasya raghūdvahasya caritam saumyā vayam nartakāl, | goṣṭhī tāvad iyam samasta-sumanal,-sanghena samveṣṭitā tad dhīrāh kuruta pramodam adhunā vaktāsmi rāmāyaṇam ||.

In Kālikṛṣṇa Deva's edition the reading is saubhyāḥ (and not śaubhyāḥ) for saumyāḥ, but this is clearly a quaint misprint due the similarity of the Devanagari letters \( \pi \) and \( \pi \). Lüders, however, accepts this reading and finds in it a reference to the Saubhikas. This is really an instance of misplaced ingenuity. The other three printed editions of M's version as well as the eight MSS we have consulted read saumyāḥ. We agree with Winternitz (ZDMG, lxxiv, p. 142, fn. 3) and Keith (op. cit., p. 272, fn. 1) that saumyāḥ is the correct reading, which is also accepted by the commentator Candraśekhara. Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi in his edition of the work explains it as abhinayapanḍitāḥ, Jīvāṇanda Vidyāsāgara as śobhanāḥ kuŝalā iti yāvat.—In giving an analysis of Madhusūdana's version here, we are following Jīvānanda's text which is the longest version of this recension.

states: idānīm kathā-yojanīya vyākhyā-kṛd ātmanaḥ śloka-catuṣṭayam avatārayati. To say that the vyākhyākṛt refers to the commentator or the redactor would be meaningless; it probably means the person who explains, as the adhikārin or yātrāwālā does in a yātrā, the narrative parts to the audience and thus carries on the thread of the story.

In Madhusudana we have, after this, five verses uttered by Vaitalikas as Rāma enters Mithilā, which panygerise the hero and his early exploits, but some of which are borrowed from plays like the Prasannarāghava. In these vaitālika-vākyas,1 which are fairly frequent. one is naturally reminded of the chorus-like songs (still a feature of Bengali vātrās) of the popular vātrās, which often mark an important incident or the end and commencement of an episode. In Damodara's recension verses of this kind are not mentioned as vaitalikavākvas, but the narration is anonymous, or at best imagined (as Wilson puts it) to be spoken by an indifferent person or the poet; it is highly probable that they were uttered by the director of the performance or his assistant chorus. Then follows the episode of the breaking of Siva's bow, in which some agreement is noticeable in the verses of the two recensions, and the action is carried on by metrical dialogues between Janaka, Rāma, Sītā (monologues), Laksmana and others. After some more narrative verses, which applaud this feat of Rama but most of which are borrowed from Mahāvīra-carita, Prasanna-rāghava and other plays, the first Act ends in Madhusudana, and the second begins with Rāma's encounter with the terrible Parasurāma, in which the interlocutors include, beside the hero and his rival, Laksmana and Dasaratha.

I Sometimes these verses are put into the mouths of groups of persons like the Pauras (paura-vākyam) or even generally anyeṣām api (vākyam), as we find them, e.g., at Rāma's breaking of Śiva's bow, at the commencement of Rāma's exile etc. Such chorus-like songs are still a feature of Bengali yātrās and are known in modern times as juḍir gān ( जुड़िर गान ). Long descriptive verses, put throughout under headings like atha rāvaṇa-ceṣṭā, atha sītānveṣaṇe rāma-caritam, atha mṛga-caritam, atha yuddhopakramaḥ etc, were probably utilised in this way. In Kālikṛṣṇa's edition of Madhusūdana's version, the editor puts these descriptive and narrative passages (where they are not explicitly assigned to vaitālikas or pauras) to the Sūtradhāra but this is not warranted by MSS.

All this, however, is comprised in Act I in Damodara. The appearance of Parasurama is described in several narrative verses put into the mouth of Laksmana, and here for the first time we meet with two prose passages in the heroic strain uttered by Paraśurāma. With some more narrative verses (which are vaitālika-vākyas in Madhusūdana) leading to Sītā's marriage, ends (in Dāmodara) Act I, which is entitled Sītā-svayamvara. In the course of this we have in Dāmodara (in place of Madhusudana's vaitalika-vakya) descriptive headings over the narrative verses which are uttered by no one in particular; such as rāma-nātya-varnanam (describing how Rāma took Paraśurāma's bow and threw an arrow stopping the latter's passage to heaven), sītā. nātyam (describing how on Rāma's drawing Parasurāma's bow, Sītā was apprehensive that Rāma might be breaking another bow and winning another bride) and finally, rama-vivaha-varnanam, the corresponding verses of which are in part vaitalikail pathitam in Madhusüdana.

The second Act in Damodara is entirely undramatic, being a highly flavoured erotic description, with occasional inarma-vacana, of the love-sports of Rāma and Sītā in a strain which may be an offence against decency and the drama, but which is approved in poetry and is in strict conformity with the requirements of a Kāvya. In Madhusudana this is taken up as a part of Act II, the first half of which describes the episode of Parasurama. The third Act, even less dramatic than the first, is mainly descriptive, dealing with the agitation of Kaikeyī, the exile of Rāma, the sorrow of the people and the relatives, Bharata's rebuke of his mother, the residence at Pañcavați and the departure of the two brothers in chase of the false deer. Here in Damodara the Act III ends, and the fourth Act begins with the description of the chase, in which we have the gestures of the deer delineated by the well-known verse grīvā-bhangābhirāmam from Śakuntalā. This is followed in the same Act (Act III in Madhusudana and Act IV in Dāmodara) by the appearance of Rāvaņa, abduction of Sītā, Jațāyu's fruitless attempt at rescue, and the story is carried down to Rāma's return after the chase to the deserted hut. In Madhusūdana, as already noted, all these incidents are comprised in the third Act.

It is not necessary to follow up the whole story to the end of this extensive work in the two recensions, for what is given above will be enough to indicate its general character. Before we comment on some of its peculiar features in relation to its resemblance to the mode of the yātrā, we should like to deal with one very interesting

point to which Lüders refers but which he presses into the service of his inevitable shadow-play theory. There are throughout the play (especially in Dāmodara's version) elaborate descriptive stagedirections, very unlike the brief and pointed directions usual in Sanskrit plays; and these consist of several lines of florid prose and present a complete picture in themselves. Thus after the death of Rāvaņa we read: mandodarī sakala-sundara-sundarībhih parivṛtā galadavirala-netra-jala-pravāhaih sītā-pater virahānalena saha lankā-pateh pratapanalam nirvapayanti hahakaram ghora-phutkaraih kurvanti jhatiti trikūtācalād utpatya samara-bhūmau mahā-nidrām gatasya nijaprāna-nāthasya lankā-pates carana-kamalayor nipatya. During the fight between Rāma and Rāvaņa, we have: tatrāśoka-vanikā-sthitavimānam āruhya jānakīm rāma rāvaņayər yuddham darsayati trijatā saramā ca| mandodary api sundarī-parivṛtā lankācala-sikharam āruhya pasyati| rudro 'pi samudra-madhye ekena caranenopasthito yuddham pasyati| devāh sarve vimānādhirūdhā nabho-mandala-gatā yuddham pasyanti. Very often they are not stage-directions but descriptions which carry forward the narrative. Thus in the account of Rama's return to Ayodhyā with his newly married bride, the following lines describe Rāma's love-sick condition as a prelude to their love-sports which immediately follow: sarva-laksanopetan deva-bhupala-yogyan medura-mandurāyām turagān avalokya māra-jvarākulita-citta-bhrāntyā vadhū-putrayor mangalāvalokanāvāgatasya bhagavatas taraneh kiranamālinas turagā ime svabhāva-tejasvinas tat-tādanam asodhāras tāditāh punah punar bhagavantam bhaskaram druta-gatyustacalam nayantv iti buddhvā dāsarathir janaka-putrī ca dandāghātais turagāms tādayāmāsa nisayam praudhayam sighram avayoh sangamo bhavatv ity abhiprayah. This clumsy passage is really an expansion of the idea contained in the previous verse (Dāmodara ii, 1). In Madhusūdana,1 there is a fairly long prose passage which would cover two printed pages and therefore too long for quotation here, in which Rāma's search after Sītā and his sorrow are described in the familiar style of the Sanskrit prose romances. Luders maintains that these lines of descriptive prose are really portrayals which correspond to the so-called Janturan of the Javanese shadow-play, which is sung with the accompaniment of muffled music; and from this he would infer that the scenery in the old Indian drama was delivered in a similar way.

Apart from the fact, which is ignored by Lüders, that some of

I Ed. Jivānandā Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1890, pp. 165-170.

these descriptive passages are not stage directions, it may be pointed out that, whatever may be the value of the parallel drawn from Java, the same feature is certainly noticeable in the Citra-yajña described by Wilson. Thus at the end of the first Act of this play, the stagedirection, according to Wilson, is: "Daksa bows down at the feet of the gods, and puts the dust from under them upon his head, after which he propitiates them fully in the spoken dialect, and then proceeds to the place of sacrifice, reading or reciting the usual formulas, and followed by the Rsis." Now this Citra-yajña, which is described as a drama in five Acts dealing with the legend of Daksa, is undoubtedly a modern work belonging to the commencement of the 10th century, but it has many striking points of similarity with the Mahānātaka. The dialogue is curiously imperfect, being left to be supplied in the course of the performance. Passages of narrative are often interspersed with dialogues and elaborate stage-directions. and the work has little pretension to a dramatic character. Wilson rightly notes that it is a valuable example of the manner of the yatras which follow a somewhat similar plan. But Wilson is hardly correct in his conjecture that the yatra, which has through ages an unbroken tradition independent of the literary drama, and which makes still less pretension to a literary character, follows the plan of such plays as the Citra-yajña; on the contrary, such late Sanskrit plays, written for some popular festival, seem to make concessions to popular taste by adopting some of the peculiar features of the patra of popular origin. The lengthy stage-directions made up the want of scenic apparatus in a yātrā, as in a play of this type; while the elaborate descriptive and narrative passages were recited with a flourish by the adhikarin or director of the performance, who in this wise unfolds and sometimes explains the tenor of the play to the audience. Such highly florid prose passages are also a notable feature of the Kathakatā in Bengal, which is another mode of popular entertainment allied to the vātrā and the pāmcālī. Examples of such passages, which became stereotyped as "set passages" in later times, will be found in Dinesh Chandra Sen's History of Bengali Language and Literature,2 and we have some specimens of these in the Dacca University MSS collection. Dr. Sen thus comments on these passages: "There are formulas which every kathaka has to get by heart, set passages

I Op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta 1911, pp. 586-87, fn.

describing not only Siva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and other deities, but also describing a town, a battle-field, morning, noon and night and many other subjects which incidentally occur in the course of the narration of a story. These set passages are composed in Sanskritic Bengali with a remarkable jingle of consonances, the effect of which is quite extraordinary." It is not known whether the yātrā adopted the plan from the Kathakas, who may be regarded as the descendants of the old Granthikas, or vice versa; but it is probable that it was a peculiar feature of most of these forms of popular entertainments, and we need not go out of our way in assuming that it had a direct connexion with the shadow-play, of which the Indian tradition knows nothing.

Informations about the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  of old times are rather meagre, but what little we know and what we can surmise about them from the specimens of comparatively later times confirm our conjecture that compositions like the  $Mah\bar{a}n\bar{a}taka$  should be explained in relation to the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  to which it bears a distinct kinship.\(^1\) The name  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  suggests that it might have been originally some kind of religious procession, by which term it is often rendered;\(^2\) but we have evidence to shew that in historical times it was some kind of operatic and melodramatic performance, a Volkspiel, with some dialogue and semidramatic presentation, in which improvisation played a considerable part. Its traditional existence is known to us from time immemorial, and there is no valid reason to doubt that it probably descended from earlier festive popular entertainments of a religious character.\(^3\) It is not known whether the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  had any direct connexion

I It must be noted that it bears no kinship to the spectacular Rāmalīlā which prevails in the upper provinces.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lévi, op. cit., p. 394; Caland, Een onbekend indisch Tooneelstuk (Gopāla-keli-candrikā), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the Bengali  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  and its early history, see S. K. De, Bengali Literature 1800-1825, Calcutta 1919, pp. 442-54. Dinesh Chandra Sen's account (op. cit., pp. 724f.), as well as that given by Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya (The Yātrās or the Popular Dramas of Bengal, London 1882), is based chiefly on the works of Kṛṣṇakamal Gosvāmin who wrote pseudo-literary yātrās about 1870-75 A.D., and therefore deals with fairly late specimens, which are not entirely free from the influence of English or anglicised theatre in Bengal.

with the literary drama, but it is probable that it was a continuation of an old type, while it is a fact that it survived the decadence of the regular drama into which it never developed, and that its even tenor of existence was hardly ever modified in form or spirit by any literary pretensions. The principal elements of the old yatra seem to be of indigenous growth, peculiar to itself, and there is no evidence to shew that these elements, which have survived in a rough way through ages, had anything to do with the theory and practice of the literary drama. Its religious and mythological theme, no doubt. raises a presumption of its kinship with the Sanskrit drama, but it really points to a probable connexion with religious festivities of a popular character. It is true that a dramatic element always existed, but the operatic and melodramatic peculiarities prevailed over the dramatic. The religious preoccupation of these festive entertainments expressed itself naturally in song, or in recitative poetry which could be chanted, and this choral peculiarity threw into shade whatever mimetic qualities they possessed. Although the realities of scenery and character were not totally ignored, there was little dialogue, still less action, and hardly any analysis or development of character. Every representation was concerned primarily with the gradual unfolding of an epic or pauranic theme, a simple story often perfectly well-known to the audience; but the performance was necessarily slow and elaborate. the session sometimes occupying more than one day, because description, recitation or singing was given preference to mere action and There was no scenic apparatus, and even no regular scene-division, which appears to have been introduced much later from the Sanskrit or English drama, and all the details were lest to the imagination of the audience, the Yātrāwālā or his chorus or some individual character sketching, explaining and commenting (by means of elaborate descriptive passages in verse and prose) on the outlines of the narrative, which was eked out by the principal characters in metrical or choral dialogues. Some of these dialogues, as well as most of the chorus songs, were composed and learnt by heart beforehand; but they must also have been developed considerably by improvisation. Wilson compares the yatra to the Improvvista Commedia of the Italians, the business alone being sketched by the author, the dialogues supplied by the actors and the narrative details explained by the Yatrawala or his chorus. The Yatrawala, unlike the Sūtradhāra who sets the play in motion and then retires, was an important figure in the old, if not in the modern, yatra; for

he not only controlled and directed the performance but was always in appearance, supplying the links of the story by means of the descriptive and narrative passages, explaining and expanding it with the help of his chorus, the actors making their appearance just to impart enough verisimilitude by their presence and their metrical dialogues. It was his show and he was the show-master. It is also important to add that there was in the old yatra an exclusive preponderance of songs or recitative poetry, in which even the dialogues were carried on and the whole action worked out. In comparatively modern yatras, no doubt, secular themes are admitted; the details of the story are more minutely and faithfully followed; there are less music and poetry and more dialogue and dramatic interest; and even lively interludes of a farcical nature are introduced to relieve their seriousness and monotony.1 But even these improvements made of late years could not altogether lift the yatra out of its religious envelopment and its essentially poetic or musical structure.

If we bear these characteristics in mind, it will not be difficult to see that a work like the Mahānāṭaha approximates very closely to this type. The religious or mythological theme of this work, its epic or narrative character, the imperfection of its dialogues, its descriptive passages interspersed with elaborate and vivid stage-directions, its chorus-like vaitāliha-vāhyas, its length and extended working out of the story,—all these peculiarities find a natural explanation when we consider that these are also the prominent features of the vātrā. As the imperfect dialogues and narrative passages were frequently supplemented, it is not surprising that a work meant for such performances increased in bulk, incorporating into itself fine poetic passages from various sources, and different versions came into existence.

Pischel has already made a very significant remark with reference to the  $D\bar{u}t\bar{a}ngada$  that "there are almost as many  $D\bar{u}t\bar{a}ngada$  as there are manuscripts". This remark applies with greater force to the  $Mah\bar{a}n\bar{a}taka$ . The two recensions of  $D\bar{a}modara$  and  $Madhus\bar{u}dana$  have already been distinguished; but there is a great deal of discrepancy in the different MSS and printed editions with regard to the number of verses and Act-division in each of the recensions.

At the present day, the Bengali Yātrā is being entirely moulded by the anglicised Bengali drama and theatre, and is therefore departing completely from the older type.

Unfortunately most of the existing catalogues of MSS give us little information on this point, for they seldom are so painstaking as to collate the different MSS or compare them with the printed editions and register the differences. But in some cases these have been noted and interesting facts have been brought to light. In one MS of Damodara's recension, which contains the commentary of Balabhadra, the colophon to the commentary at the end speaks of the fifteenth prakāśa,1 which makes it probable that this version contained fifteen, instead of the usual fourteen Acts.2 Similarly in a MS, preserved at the India Office3, of Madhusudana's recension, the last Act (IX), which is one of the longest, is divided into two, thus giving us ten Acts, probably in conformity with the Sāhitya-darpaṇakāra's prescription that a mahānātaka should contain ten Acts. With regard to the number of verses, the MSS vary considerably. According to Lüders4, the Bombay edition of Damodara's recension, published in śaka 1786, gives 582 verses; but the Bombay edition (Venkațeśvara Press) of śaka 1831, which we use, gives a total 578 verses. Eggeling's three MSS at the India office 5 give 588, 570 and 611 verses respectively. Keith gives the number in an Oxford MS as 557. The Bodleian MS noticed by Aufrecht7 contains 548 verses, and on comparison of this MS with the Bombay edition of Saka 1831, it is found that the discrepancies occur in Acts I, III, V, VI, VIII, IX-XIV. The same kind of discrepancy is also noticeable

I iti.......śrī-balabhadreṇa viracitāyūṇi śrī-hanūmannaṭaka-dīpi-kūyāṃ pañcadaśaḥ prakāśaḥ (Bhandarkar, Report 1883-84, p. 358). Kielhorn (Catalogue of MSS in the Central Provinces, Nagpur 1874, p. 76) gives the number of ślokas in this version of Balabhadra as 2654! In another version by Nārāyaṇa the number is given as 1760!

<sup>2</sup> One of the concluding verses of Dāmodara's recension (xiv, 15) tells us that the number 14 was adopted on the analogy of the fourteen worlds. It was thus apparently an artificial division.

<sup>3</sup> Tawney and Thomas, Catalogue of Two Collections of Skt. MSS at the India Office, p. 36. With this arrangement, the majority of Dacca University MSS of Madhusūdana's recension agree.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 705, footnote 5.

<sup>5</sup> Op cit., vii, pp. 1583f.

<sup>6</sup> Keith, Catalogue of MSS in the Indian Institute at Oxford, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Bodleian Catalogue, p. 142a.

in the two fragments noticed by Weber. The following table will make the differences clear:

Act	Bombay ed. of 1831 saka	Aufrecht	Weber (fragment)	Weber (fragment)
I	58	52	5 <b>r</b>	51
II	30	30	34	32
III	27	26	30	26
IV	16	16	16	17
V	64	59		60
VI	46	45		48
VII	20	20		18
VIII	58	55	talls extribited	de transfer
IX	41	40		
X	24	24	ALC: N	
XI	41	42		
XII	19	17		
XIII	38	35		
VIX	96	87		

What is said here of the recension of Dāmodara applies with equal force to that of Madhusūdana. Aufrecht's Bodleian MS gives 720 verses; but we have eight MSS of this recension in the Dacca University collection which do not agree with this MS, nor with each other, with regard to the distribution and total number of verses. The published editions of this recension will also bear out this point. The early edition of Mahārājā Kālīkṛṣṇa Deva Bāhādur (Calcutta, 1840) need not be taken as authoritative, for the editor confesses in his prefatory verses that he has inserted the stage-directions, the titles of scenery etc., and it is not clear if he has followed any particular MS or groups of MSS for his edition. This edition 2 gives, according to the editor's own numbering, a total of 613 verses. The edition of Rāma-

I Berlin Catalogue, I, p. 163 (no. 552); II, i, p. 157 (no. 1568).

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that this edition omits the end-verse to each Act which speaks of Madhusūdana as the redactor; but in the prefatory remarks the editor speaks of Madhusūdana as such, and this leaves no doubt that he followed this recension. For the number and order of the verses in the Dacca University MSS of this recension, see Appendix, infra, pp. 571ff.

tāraṇa Siromaṇi, published with his own commentary (Calcutta 1870), is based (as the editor states) on two printed texts and 9 or 10 MSS, but it notes few variants and the text is frankly eclectic. It follows generally, however, the commentator Candraśekhara's text and gives a total of 730 verses. In the edition published by Candrakumāra Bhaṭṭācārya, which contains the ṭīkā of Candraśekhara (Calcutta 1874), we have in all 734 verses. Finally, the edition of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara with his own commentary (Calcutta 1890), which does not appear to have utilised any MS but only uncritically copies the printed editions (chiefly that of Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi), as well as draws verses from Dāmodara's version, contains the largest total of 788 verses. The distribution of verses in the different Acts may be shown in a table thus:

Act	Kālīkṛṣṇa	Rāmatāraņa	Candrakumāra	Jīvānanda
I	43	47	48	59
II	46	52	52	63
III	85	88	89	94
IV	73	72	72	80
V	79	103	100	III
VI	111	III	116	114
VII	58	72	72	80
VIII	20	37	37	38
IX.	98	148	148	149
Total	613	730	734	788

Although Dāmodara and Madhusūdana appear to have made a final redaction of the work, it is clear that even each of their recensions was in a state of flux. The respective Act-division is more or less kept intact in each recension (with just two exceptions already noted); but there was considerable addition or omission of the constituent verses in each Act. This fate the Mahānātaka doubtless shares with many other Sanskrit plays, of which different recensions exist; yet with the exception perhaps of the erotic elaboration of Act III of Śakuntalā and the irregular Act IV of the Vikramorvasīya, the extent of interpolation or omission in the text is never so great as we find it in the Mahānātaka; for here we have of each recension practically as many versions as there are manuscripts. This fact makes it probable that the work was utilised for some form of performance.

mance in which the descriptive passages could be eked out at will, so that within the fixed outline of the accepted redactions, verses were added or omitted to suit the performance, the performers, or the audience, just in the same way as the regular plays were adapted to the requirements of stage-acting, e.g., by the Cakkyars of Malabar.

Further interesting light is thrown on the question by eight Bengal MSS of the work, which give us a version not associated with the name of Madhusūdana and which appear to confirm our conjecture regarding the origin and character of the Mahūnūtaka. These MSS do not entirely agree with each other in their texts, some being very short and others comparatively long; but taken together there is a substantial agreement, which gives us a version which may be called the textus simplicior, as distinguished from the textus ornatior of Madhusūdana. The finally redacted recension of Madhusūdana, which came to prevail in Bengal and which was doubtless based on some such simpler version, regularised the work into the semblance of a drama, but these MSS tell us a different story.

We have in the following pages given a part of the text edited from these MSS, in parallel columns with the corresponding portion of the text of Madhusudana (Acts I and II) as we find it in its longest version in Jīvānanda's edition. A detailed comparison between the two would be interesting. In Madhusūdana, we have at the commencement, 13 benedictory verses (which number appears as 10 in the texts of Rāmatāraņa and Candraśekhara¹ respectively); but in the majority of our MSS this pseudo-nanda is kept within the reasonable limits of 4 or 5 verses. The prarocana-verse, which names Hanumat as the author, as well as the direction nandyante sutradharah, is omitted in our MSS and this is obviously an after-thought of Madhusūdana's as we do not find it also in Dāmodara's version. Curiously enough, our MSS give here an indication of the gradual process of accretion and expansion. The two MSS marked A and D incorporate a large number of verses of a narrative or descriptive character from different sources, the latter specially interpolating more than once a large number of verses stringed together from the Anargha-raghava and the Prasanna-raghava. The verse

I Candrasekhara comments on this: nātake śloka-trayena śloka-dvayeva vā nādī kriyate.....mahānātake tu nāyam niyama iti bahubhih ślokair nāndīm karovi.

next following the benediction affords an example of this process of amplification which must have already been in existence when Madhusudana took up the work. This verse (no. 6) is not uttered by any actor but narrates the beginning of the story by telling us all about Dasaratha, his three queens and four sons and corresponds to verses 15-16 of Madhusudana. But this verse is amplified in four of our MSS by the addition of another verse which is clearly an imitation of the first, while one MS adds some more verses thereafter with the heading Rāma-caritam. After this, all the MSS (with the exception of three) plunge directly into the plot by going straight to the episode of the Sītā-svayamvara, omitting Rāma's early exploits narrated by Madhusūdana, but alluding to these exploits in the opening verse uttered by the Maithila Vaitālikas, who welcome Rāma on his arrival at Mithila. The episode is briefly sketched in rough outline, and is not such an elaborate affair as it is in Madhusūdana. Satānanda speaks in one verse (borrowed from Bālarāmāyaṇa iii, 27) of Janaka's vow. Sitā is apprehensive in the next, and Laksmana follows up in two more verses as Rāma takes up Siva's bow. The episode is then rounded off by a vaitālika-vākya again, which applauds in six or seven verses the feat of breaking the bow, which is further praised by the Pauras and by Laksmana in single verses respectively. After this come four more verses uttered again by the Vaitālikas, which describe Rāma's marriage and return to Ayodhyā. necessary to follow up the analysis of the text further, for this rapid account of what corresponds to the first Act in Madhusūdana's recension and what contains no prose, little action but much more Vaitālika-vākya, and takes up only 24 verses as against Madhusūdana's 59, will give a rough idea of the general character of this simpler version.

In this connexion attention may be drawn to several points. In the first place, these MSS give us a shorter and much simpler text, in which the story is sketched in bare outline without any amplification of matters of details. Secondly, the prarocanā-verse, as well as the verse which occurs at the end of each Act and names Hanūmat as the author and Madhusūdana as the redactor, is to be found in none of our eight MSS, and there is nowhere any mention of Madhusūdana or the fact of his having redacted the work. Nor is there in these MSS any verse or any indication which associates the work with Hanūmat. Thirdly, the stage-directions are

generally very simple and take the form of brief indications like atha laksmana-vākyam, atha sītā-manasi paribhāvanam, atha vartmani parasurāma-darsanam etc. There is also throughout no Act-division, and the work is presented as a continuous whole without any break of Acts or scenes. This is an important fact, which obviously shews that the work was meant for some kind of continuous performance like the yatra, which knew of no Act or scene division. We are told at the end of each Act in Madhusudana's recension that it was Madhusudana, who arranged the work in the form of a sandarbha (misra-srī-madhusudanena kavinā sandarbhya sainkrte etc.). With our new material it would not be unreasonable to surmise that originally the work existed, as we find it in our MSS. in the form of a continuous narrative piece furnished with metrical dialogues, which, however, were hardly dramatic and curiously imperfect, being left to be supplied in the course of the performance; and that later on Madhusūdana redacted some such earlier version and gave it a semi-dramatic form by regular Act-division, stagedirections and some prose, and filled out the dialogues and the narrative and descriptive passages more elaborately. It must also be noted that these MSS mark quite distinctly the Vaitālika-vākyas or Pauravacanas, in which long recitative poems (which were doubtless meant for singing) were put in the mouths of groups of persons, commenting on an incident or enlarging upon a theme; and there can hardly be any doubt that these were employed in the same way as the chorus-songs in a yatra, which punctuated the performance in a similar manner. It is further important to note that in our MSS. the prose passages, whether narrative, descriptive or conversational, are entirely omitted, a fact which is in keeping with the almost entirely choral or recitative character of the old yatra. 1 lt cannot be said that these prose passages are frequent or numerous in the two accepted recensions of Dāmodara and Madhusūdana, but whatever prose there is, it must have been added (in deference partly to the actual practice of the Kathaka and the Yātrāwālā) in later times when the recensions were finally redacted, so as to impart the semblance of a dramatic composition to the work.2

The erotic elaboration of Act II is entirely omitted in our MSS (with the exception of one MS only, marked F, which places these verses in another context in Act III).

<sup>2</sup> That our MSS are not mere abridgements or summaries of

The features noted above are really remarkable and highly significant; and from what has been said in the foregoing pages there is no special reason to doubt that, at least in Bengal, a simpler version of the work existed, of which the tradition is recorded in these eight MSS, and which, to all appearance, bears a strong kinship, in general character and structural similarity, to such works as may have been utilised for popular festive performances of a quasi-dramatic nature, in which song and recitation prevailed over real acting and the drama.

That the vernacular yātrā reacted on the literary drama at this period admits of little doubt. We have referred to the Citrayajña described by Wilson, although it is a fairly modern work from which deductions for an earlier period would not be safe. Keith really touches upon this solution of the problem when he suggests that works like the Mahānātaka were composed "in preparation for some form of performance at which the dialogue was plentifully eked out by narrative by the director and the other actors"; and he rightly compares such irregular types with the Gita-govinda of Jaydeva and the Gopāla-keli-candrikā of Rāmakṛṣṇa, both of which can be (and in the case of Gita-govinda it actually is) enjoyed as lyrical poems or songs, but which are at the same time capable of quasi-dramatic presentation. Had more informations about the yatra been available, Keith would probably have seen its close resemblance to these types instead of explaining them with the rather facile conjecture that they were merely literary exercises. In both the Gita-govinda and the Gopalakeli-candrikā, however, we find a sublimated outcome of the simple

the Mahānātaka is clear from fact that we have some other MSS in the collection at the University of Dacca which expressly call themselves saṃkṣepa-mahānātakam. It may also be noted in this connection that two of our MSS of the simpler version (marked A and B) bear the same date of copying, viz., Śaka 1714 (= A.D. 1792) and appear to have been prepared by the same scribe, Puruṣottama-deva Śarman. A was procured from Baghia in the district of Faridpur, B from Borai in the district of Bogra. But these two MSS do not appear to have been copied from the same archetype, as A is more elaborate and has a large number of added verses, and C agrees with it more closely than B. The scribe was thus apparently copying at the same time two versions for two of his patrons,

Krsna-yātrā, but in the Mahānāṭaka-type we have the adaptation of traditional matter for the purpose of such melo-dramatic and operatic performances. The date of Rāmakṛṣṇa's work is unknown, but it is apparently a late work written in Gujrāt. Caland who has edited it (Amsterdam, 1917) touches upon (p. 8f) its similarity to the yātrā; and its parellel to the Swang of North-west India, which, unlike the regular drama, is metrical throughout and in which the actors recite the narrative portions as well as take part in the dialogues, is rightly suggested. But this play in five Acts, with definite stage-directions and elaborate prose and metrical dialogues, is, like the Gita-govinda. a highly fictitious composition which cannot be classified properly with the type we are considering, although its connexion with the Mahānātaka is indirectly mentioned in the prologue.1 Lévi2 mentions a Tāmil version of the Śakuntalā which may be a near enough parallel to our type; and the influence of the popular theatre on the fourth Act of the Vikramorvasīya is also probable. To this category may also belong the Ananda-latikā already mentioned, as well as the Nandi-ghosa vijaya noticed by Eggeling.3 This last-named work, also called Kamalā-vilāsa, is a semi-dramatic entertainment in five Acts on incidents connected with the ratha-yātrā festival (at Puri) and was composed by Sivanārāyana Dāsa in honour of his patron Gajapati Narasimha Deva (of Orissa). But all these works, inspite of the undoubted influence of entertainments like the yatra on them, can be similarly differentiated. It is indeed difficult to find a work of precisely the same pattern as the Mahānātaka, which thus stands unique in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature; but its uniqueness makes it an extremely important production which throws, as no other work can, an interesting light on certain phases of development of later Sanskrit drama.

We are now in a position to conclude that the origin of a work like the Mahānāṭaka is not to be sought in the far-fetched shadow-play, the existence of which in ancient India is not yet beyond doubt, nor should any inference be made from an obviously late work with regard to the early evolution of the Sanskrit drama. With its highly stylish form the work has nothing primitive about it, nor can it be assigned to a very early period. It had its origin probably at a time when the Sanskrit drama was already on the decline. Such

p. 44, line 29.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., vii, p. 1606, no. 4190 (607a).

irregular types could at this period come into existence, partly through the influence of such choral and melodramatic performances as the popular yātrā, which were now being brought into prominence by the gradual rise of vernacular literature. It is not contended, in the absence of any tradition, that such a pseudo-play was actually enacted as a yatra. It may or may not have been; but it is possible to maintain that such works were not mere literary exercises but were intended for some kind of performance of the type mentioned above. They were, to all intents and purposes, a kind of Sanskrit yatra or were meant as such, composed for a more cultivated audience. who, with the decline and fading popularity of the classical Sanskrit drama, wanted something which would be an analogue to the looser vet highly melodramatic and operatic popular entertainments. The anonymity of the work and the existence of different but substantially agreeing versions are points in favour of our view. We can also understand why the work is in the nature of a compilation with just enough nucleus round which borrowed verses could be easily woven.

In conclusion we should like to point out that the Mahānātaka has not yet been critically edited, nor has all the MSS-material for such edition been yet properly utilised; and that such an edition furnishing a critical text or texts, concordance and other relevant data is a desideratum. We hope we have been able in this essay to bring into prominence the importance of the work, and the ample material which still exists in MSS for a study of the problems connected with the question of its character and origin. We regret we have had no MSS of Dāmodara's recension to utilise for this essay, but we suspect from our study of the Bengal versions that the examination of the MSS of the other recension may bring to the light fresh data.

#### APPENDIX

In order to enable the reader to judge for himself of the value of the simpler recension of the Mahānāṭaka given by our MSS, we edit below a part of the text from eight MSS in the Dacca University Manuscript collection. For convenience of comparison this text is printed in parallel columns with the text of Madhusūdana's recension as given in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition. Although not perfectly authentic, Jīvānanda's text is selected because it gives perhaps the longest text of this recension. We have, however, compared Jīvānanda's text with the text of the same recension given respectively in three earlier printed editions and eight MSS of the Dacca University collection, and noted the readings given by them. It appears that Jīvānanda had hardly any MS as his authority but simply copied the text from Rāmatāraṇa Śiromaṇi's edition (even noting its alternative readings) and uncritically incorporated verses from Dāmodara's recension into Madhusūdana's version.

The specimen-text is edited up to the end of the second and beginning of the third Act of Madhusūdana's recension. References are noted where verses are found also in Dāmodara's recension, as well as to such Rāma-dramas as Mahāvīra-carita, Anargha-rāghava, Bāla-rāmāyaṇa, Prasanna-rāghava etc. It is noteworthy that the majority of MSS of Madhusūdana's recension give it in ten Acts.

### Manuscripts

The text of the simpler version (called here "Our Text") is based on the following eight MSS belonging to the Dacca University Manuscripts Library:

- A=MS no. 1640, dated in saka 1714 (=1792 A.D.). Palm leaf; fol. 123; total no. of verses 592; 3 lines as a rule on each folio. The scribe writes at the end: श्रीपुरुवोत्तमदेवशर्मणः स्वाज्ञरमेतत्। इति शकाब्दाः १७१४॥ Purchased from Indranarayan Chakravarti, Vill. Baghia, Dt. Faridpur.
- B=MS no. 1581, dated in saka 1714 (=1792 A.D.). Palm leaf; fol. 114; verses are not numbered; 2 lines as a rule to a folio. The scribe who appears to be the same as that of MS A, writes at the end: गते संबद्धार शाके वेदेन्द्रसत्तवन्द्रके। लिखिता पुस्तिका चेश पुरु

- चोत्तमशमणा। Presented by Bhavadeva Bhattacharyya, Borai, Dt. Bogra.
- C=MS no. 2093. No date, but is not older than the two MSS noticed above. Palm leaf; fol. 61; total no. of verses 341, but the MS is incomplete; the lines on each folio vary from 2 to 3. This MS agrees very closely with A, and is probably derived from the same archetype. Both the MSS belong to Faridpur. Purchased from Govinda Charan Bhaduri, Vill. Silangal, Dt. Faridpur.
- D=MS No. 406b. no date, but not older. Paper MS; fol. 17 only, and number of verses 159; 8 lines to a folio; MS incomplete; Purchased from Vajrayogini, Vikrampur, Dt. Dacca.
- E=MS no. 1806b. No date, but not older. Palm leaf; fol. 73; 3 lines to a folio. No. of verses 281; MS incomplete. Presented by Babu Yasodakanta Chakravarti, Kashabhog, Palong, Dt. Faridpur.
- F=MS no. 271c. Dated in 8 Caitra, 1139 san (=1732 A.D.). Paper MS; fol. 48 (first fol. torn in places); no. of verses 556 (but irregularly numbered at the end). The scribe's name does not occur but he writes at the end: सन ११३६ साल ८ चेत्र समाप्त ॥ मोकाम भरतपुर, परगणे फर्ने सिंह ॥ Purchased from Nalhati, Dt. Burdwan.
- G=MS no. 1275. No date, but probably belongs to the same date as A. Palm leaf; fol. 56; 3 lines to a folio; no. of verses 354; incomplete beginning and end missing. Presented by Tarini Charan Bhattacharyya of Bijura, Sylhet.
- H=MS no. 1364a. No date, but appearance and character old; it belongs probably to the 18th century. Paper MS; fol. 17; 8 lines to a folio. Incomplete, at the end. The verses are not numbered. Presented by Peary Mohan Goswami of Lugaon, Sylhet.

The variant readings of Madhusūdana's text are noted from the following MSS of Madhusūdana's recension, existing in the Dacca University collection:

- A=MS no. 500b. Paper MS. No date, but probably not older than the 18th century. Fol. 49; 7 lines to a folio; total no. of verses 439, but incomplete at the and; Purchased from Rohini Chandra Bhattacharrya, Malatinagar, Bogra.
- B=MS no. 619a, Dated in Asadha, saka 1755 (=1833 A.D.). Paper

MS; fol. 98; complete in 10 Acts; verses numbered separately in each Act (except in Act vi, vii where the numbering is irregular), as follows: I—47; II—47; III—96; IV—67; V—124; VI—125; VII—83; VIII—30; IX—90; X—67. Marginal glosses in Acts I and II. The scribe writes at the end: शकाब्दाः १७४४ आषाद। नत्या तारापदद्ग्यं श्रीगोरीश्वरमर्मणा। लिखित्या पुस्तकं द्तां श्रीहरदत्तमर्मणे॥ In the collection of Yādaveśvara Tarkaratna of Rangpur, purchased by the University.

- C=MS. no. 623. Paper MS; fol. 82; 4 lines to a folio: incomplete, breaking off at verse 39, Act VI. The verses in each Act are separately numbered thus; I—47; II—47; III—95; IV—69; V—II8; VI—39 (incomplete). No date, but the MS seems to belong to the first part of the 19th century. Occasional marginal gloss in Acts I and II. In the same collection as noted for MS, B.
- D=MS. no. 662. Dated in śaka 1715 (=1793 A.D.). Paper MS; fol. 89; 5 lines to a folio; verses numbered separately in ten Acts, except Act vii, as follows; I-47; II-47: III-96; IV-67; V-119; VI-129; VII-82; VIII-32; IX-91; X-68. Occasional marginal glosses. The scribe writes at the end: सप्ताब्जशाकेऽत्र सपञ्चचन्द्रे रवेदिने सिंहरविगतेऽसो। श्रियाद्य गोविन्द- हराद्यविश्रो लिखेन्महानाटकाच्यदिव्यम्॥ श्रीहरगोविन्दस्येदम्॥ In the same collection as for MSS, B and C.
- E=MS. no. 1019a. Paper MS; fol. 22; total no. of verses 168; incomplete. No date, but probably belongs to the 18th century. 5 lines to a folio. Presented by Tarachand Bhattacharya and Nalini Mohan Bhattacharya, Borai, Dt. Bogra.
- F=MS. no. 1049. Palm leaf; fol. 78; 4 lines to a folio; total number of verses 479; incomplete. No date, but not older than the 18th century. In the same collection as for MS, E.
- G=MS no. 1620. Paper MS; fol. 77; 9 lines to a folio. Complete in 10 Acts. Total number of verses 718 (excluding the end verse eṣa śrīla-hanūmatā), distributed over ten Acts thus: I—45; II—53; III—89; IV—77; V—103; VI—verses not numbered; VII—verses irregularly numbered; IX—90; X—60. Marginal glosses. At the end we have: ज्लोका निरङ्काः खलु ये वसन्ति संगाय तेषां सकलाङ्कपालीम्। सप्य वे विश्वतिमाशु तत्र बुध्वस्व तैः सप्तश्रतीं समग्रम्॥ Purchased from Sivaratan Mitra of Suri, Birbhum.

H=MS no. 2322. Paper MS; fol. 67; 6 lines to a folio; complete in 9 Acts, The numbering of verses is irregular. No date, but the MS apparently belongs to the 18th century. Purchased from Amulyaratan Mukherjee, Majigram, Dt. Burdwan.

Of these eight MSS of Madhusūdana's recension, close agreements of reading as well as numbering and order of verses are to be found in two groups (i) A,E,F (Bogra MSS) and (ii) B,C,D (Rangapur MSS); while G (Birbhum MS) and H (Burdwan MS) stand apart. This variation according to locality is interesting.

### Editions

The following printed editions of Madhusudana's recension have been used for noting differences of readings:

- KK=ed. Mahārājā Kālīkṛṣṇa Deva Bāhādur, Calcutta, śaka 1762 (=1840 A.D.). There is a Sauskrit metrical introduction in which the editor tells us that he is following Madhusūdana's recension, but that he has inserted proper stage directions of his own.
- RS=ed. Rāmatāraņa Siromaņi, with his own commentary, Calcutta 1870.
- CS = ed. with the tīkā of Candrasekhara by Candra Kumāra Bhattācārya, Calcutta, saka 1795 (= 1874 A.D.).
- J = ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, with a commentary. Calcutta 1890.

### Other Abbreviations used in the footnotes

M = Madhusūdana's recension.

Dām. = Dāmodara's recension, ed. Venktesvara Press, Bombay śaka 1831 (= 1909 A.D.).

PR-Prasanna-rāghava, ed. S.M. Paranjape and N. S. Panse, Poona 1894.

BR - Bāla-rāmāyaņa, ed. Govindadeva Śāstrī, Benares 1869.

AR - Anargha-rāghava, ed. Kāvyamālā 5, Bombay 1894.

Mahāvīra-carita - ed, Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1910.

म हा ना ट क म्

# महानाटकम्

### OUR TEXT

विश्वेशो वः स पायाति्रगुणसिचवतां योऽवळम्ज्यानुवारं। विश्वद्रीचीनसृष्टिस्थितिविळयमजः स्वेच्छया निर्मिमीते। यस्येयतामतीत्य प्रभवति महिमा कोऽपि लोकव्यतीत-<sup>3</sup> स्त्यको यश्रक्षराद्यैरिष नियुणतया<sup>3</sup> वीक्षणादिक्रियासु॥१॥ विघेशो वः स पायाद्विहतिषु जर्ठाधं 4 पुष्कराघेण पीत्वा यस्मिन्तुद्धत्य हस्तं विस्जति सक्छं दृश्यते व्योग्नि देवैः। काप्यम्भः कापि विष्णुः कचन <sup>5</sup> कमळम्ः काप्यनन्तः क च श्रीः काप्योवेः कापि शैट्टाः <sup>6</sup>क्त्वन मणिगणाः <sup>7</sup> कापि नकादिचक्रम्।।२॥<sup>8</sup>

I In F this part is torn, up to the end of विलयमजः। गोऽवलस्यानुवारं B.

2 All words from ज्यतीत up to अञ्चल (inclusive) torn in F.

, नियुष्ततमो A,D,F.

4 पायाज्ञलनिधिमिखिलं H.6 क्रापि मत्स्याः H.

क्रचन सुनिगयाः B, C, E, H; क्र बरसुनिगयाः A.

This verse is omitted in F, which reads in its

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

विश्वेशो¹ वः स पायात्तिगुणसिचवतां योऽवल्फ्ट्यानुवारं <sup>3</sup> विश्वद्रीचीनसृष्टिस्थितिविल्यमजः स्वेन्च्छ्या निर्मिमीते । यस्येयतामतीत्य प्रभवति महिमा कोऽपि लोकन्यतीत-स्त्यको यश्चसुराद्यैरिष निपुणतमै³वींक्षणादिक्रियासु⁴॥१॥ विन्नेशो वः स पायाज्ञलिनियमित्वलं धुष्करात्रेण पीत्वा यस्मिन्नुद्धत्य तोयं विस्चाति सकलं हस्यते व्योक्ति देवैः

ा विघे गो A.

2 योऽवलच्यानुवारं A.

3 J notes the other reading निष्ध्यतमो, which is given also by RS and KK; निष्ध्यतमे: RS, CS and G; तिष्ध्यातया A, E, F; निष्ध्यातया B, C, D, H.

4 A, E, F read as the first verse no. 3, which is followed by no 8, after which come nos. I and 2. C, D, B, H interpose nos. I and 2, reading 2 first, then I. 5 Omitted in A, E, F, G. 6 विद्यतिषु जनमि E, A. 7 J notes two readings तोयं (KK, RS, CS and

G) and geri (B, C, D, E, F, H, RS). A reads faxis. S क्याया: A, E, F.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

काप्यम्भः कापि विष्णुः क्षचन कमलभूः काप्यनन्तः क च श्रीः। काप्योत्रं: कापि शैला: कचन मणिगणा: कापि नकादि- चक्रम्।।२॥³ गुणाभिरामं कमलाननं तं यदास्पढं न क्षणमुरुमति श्री: ॥ ४ ॥ ६ जयति रघुवंशतिलकः कौशल्यानन्दि वर्धनो रामः। नमामि देवं उत्कल्पश्चक्षं यतुर्घरं नीरदनीलगात्रम्। द्रशवद्ननियनकारी दाशार्यथः पुण्डरीकाक्षः ॥ ३ ॥ रामं ळक्ष्मणपूर्वजं रघुवरं सीतापति सुन्दरं

वन्दे लोकाभिरामं रघुकुलतिलकं राघवं रावणारिम्॥ ४॥ 1 राजेन्द्रं सत्यसन्धं दश्यश्यतनयं श्यामळं शान्तमूति काकुत्स्थं करणामयं गुणनिधिं विप्रप्रियं थार्मिकम्।

place जयित रघुवंशतिलकः etc. (M. no. 3). D introduces जयति खंत्रंगतिलकः after ही. 3 of our text (variant आनन्द-

वन्दे लोकाभिरामं रघुकुलतिलकं राघवं रावणारिम् ॥ ३ ॥³

राजेन्द्रं सत्यसन्यं दशारथतनयं श्यामळे शान्तमूर्ति

काकुत्स्थं करणामयं गुणनिधि विप्रप्रियं धार्मिकम्।

रामं ळक्ष्मणपूर्वजं रघुवरं सीतापति । सन्दरं

मत्स्याः B,C,D,H and CS.

This verse is quoted in Sirrigadhara-paddhati as Hanumatah (no. 90).

कौंशल्यानन्द in all Mss. except G, also in KK,

रामं H. 6 This verse is omitted in A.E.F. This verse is omitted in A,E,F.

क येलाः B,C,D,H and CS.

I In F all letters from of Brait up to the end of गुम्निविध lost, as also from oिमरामं up to the end of राघवे.

2 सत्यसिन्धं C,H.

D and E read after this verse:

मनोऽ¹मिरामं नथनाभिरामं वचोऽभिरामं अवणाभिरामम्। सदो²मिरामं सतताभिरामं बन्दे सद्दा दाशरिधं च रामम्³ ॥६॥⁴ श्रीरामचन्द्र भुवि विश्वत⁵कीर्तिचन्द्र स्मेरास्थचन्द्र रजनीचरषद्यचन्द्र

आनन्दचन्द्र रघुवंशसमुद्रचन्द्र सीतामनःकुमुद्दचन्द्र नमो नमस्ते ॥ ७ ॥<sup>6</sup> कल्याणानां निदानं कल्पिमत्यम्यं जीवनं सज्जनानां पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपिद्धि परपद्प्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य । विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां पावनं पावनानां बीजं धर्मद्गु माणां र प्रमब्दु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥८॥<sup>8</sup>

> कल्याणानां निधानं कल्मिलमथनं जीवनं सज्जनानां पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपद्गाप्तये प्रस्थितस्य । विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां पावनं पावनानां बीजं धर्मद्रूमाणां प्रमवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥ ४ ॥<sup>1</sup>

वाल्मीकिस्मृतिमन्देरेण् मथितः सीतारमासम्भवः स्प्रीवामरभूरहोऽङ्गदगजः सौमित्रिचन्द्रोदयः। वातीत्पन्नमण्णिवभीषण्यस्थः पौलस्त्यहालाहलः श्रीरामायण्टुग्यसिन्धुरमलो भूयात् स वः श्रेयसे॥

It is after this verse that D reads जयति रघुंगातिलकः as noted above.

I This verse is given by A, C, D, E, but omitted

by B, F and H.

रामा B, C, D, H. 2 मनो B, C, D. प्रकासम् B, C, D.

4 This verse is omitted in A, E, F. 5 J notes two readings विभूत (H, KK, CS, RS) and विस्तृत (B, C, G and RS).

This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

7 All MSS. (except G) and KK, CS read धर्मद्र मस्य 8 Dām. I, r. MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

पातु श्रीस्तनपत्रमङ्गमकरीमुद्राङ्गितोरःस्थलो देवः सर्वज्ञगत्पतिमंधुवधूवक्ष्माञ्जचन्द्रोद्यः। क्रोडाकोडतनोनंवेन्द्रविशदे दंष्ट्राङ्गरे यस्य भू-भाति स्म प्रत्याञ्चिपत्वव्यलेत्थितंकमुस्ताङ्गतिः॥१॥¹ यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मे ति वेदान्तिनो बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः। अहिन्नत्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः सोऽयं वो विद्यातु वाञ्छितम्ब्लं त्रेलेक्यनाथो हिरः॥१०॥ पृज्यं प्राज्यं प्रतापावल्यितज्ञलिधं सर्वसौभाग्यसिद्धम्। विद्यानन्दैककन्दं कल्पिनल्यव्यव्यित्तं स्विम्यदेवं सर्वित्मानं नमामि त्रिसुवनशर्तणं प्रत्यहं निष्कब्ब्रह्मम्॥११॥ एतौ द्वौ द्याकण्ठकण्ठकद्वीकान्तारकान्तिन्छ्वदे I This verse and nos. Io and II following are omitted in all Mss and printed texts. They are given in Dām. I, 2, 3 and 4 and are probably copied therefrom by J.

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देयास्तामुरुविक्रमौ रघुपतेः श्रेयांसि भूयांसि वः ॥१२॥

लोकत्राणविधानसाधुसवन । प्रारम्भयूपौ भुजौ

OUR TEXT

आज्ञा वारिधिवन्धनावधि थर्मो लङ्केशनाशावधि 3 ताते काननसेवनावधि कुषा सुत्रीवसख्यावधि ।1 बालक्रीडितमिन्दुरोखरधनुभंङ्गावधि प्रह्नता

श्रीरामस्य पुनातु लोकवशता जानब्युपेक्षाविध ॥ १॥

ा असम्ब्रास्या B, C, D, G, H. J follows the printed

वाल्मीकेरपदेशतः स्वयमहो वक्ता हत्मान् कपिः 5

नान्धन्ते सूत्रधारः।

अरामस्य पुनातु लोकवशता जानक्युपेक्षांवधि ॥ १३ ॥

आज्ञा वारिधिबन्धनावधि यशो लङ्केशनाशावधि

ताते काननसेवनावधि कुषा सुमीवसख्यावधि ।

बालक्रीडितमिन्दुशेखरधनुभंङ्गावधि प्रह्नता

3 A, E, F, H add after this: अलमतिविस्तरेख। KK 2 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

and CS, read, after this and before no. 14, the following verse

त्तेषां श्रीविमला भवत्यनुदिनं नश्यन्ति चारातयः॥ वाल्मोकेबंदनामलेन्दुगलितं हद्यं परं पावनं श्रीतं वागमृतं पिबन्त्यनुदिनं ये श्रोत्रपात्रेजनाः। विष्णोः सम्बरितं चराचरगुरो रामायणं सादरा-

5 mfq: A, E, F.

व्यक्तां A, E, F, H.

०व सच्यावधि lost in F: सच्या॰ dropped in H.

Last two syllables torn in F. बन्धनावधि dropped in H. 2

राजासीत् स महारथी दशारथः सुत्रामित्रं वशी तस्यासन् कमनीयकेछि¹निल्यासित्नो महिष्यः ग्रुभाः।² त्रीरांसाश्चतुरः सुतान् सुधुविरे रामं तथा लक्ष्मणं शत्रुन्नं भरतं च कैटभरिपोरंशावतारा अमी॥ है॥³ 1 oकीतिंo D, E.
2 Lost in F from स्विद्या.
3 A, C, D, E amplify this verse by reading after it no. 15 and 16 of M. The variants are in no. 15: (L.1) द्यारो राजानुरूपे विमु: A, D, E; म्रासीदायरथो नृपो गुप्प-गुपेर्फानुरूपो विमु: C: (L.4) ज्येष्टो राम इतः भ्रतोड्य भरतः ख्यातस्तितो सद्भायः, F. In no. 16, the variants are: (L.1) धन्निक्तेक्द्यः A, C, D, E; (L.4) भ्रीमत्यंक्तिरथात्मजा मुर॰ A, C, D, E; भ्रीमद्दायरथात्मजा मुर॰ C, E, F ; श्रीमद्दायरथात्मजा मुर॰ C, E, F; श्रीमद्दायरथात्मजा मुर॰ C, E, F ; ति for पे A, F. F has these two verses but with some modifications. It omits the first two lines of no. 15, reading in its place the first

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.) श्रीरामस्य रघृद्धहस्य 1 चरितं सौम्या² वयं नर्तकाः । गोष्टी तावदियं समस्तम्रमनःसङ्घेन³ संवेष्टिता तद् थीराः कुरुत प्रमोदमधुना वकास्मि रामायणम् ॥१४॥ राजासीत् स महारथो दशरथश्चणडांशुवंशायणी-⁴ स्तस्यासन् रमणीय⁵ केळि<sup>6</sup> निल्या<sup>7</sup> स्तित्वो महिच्यः शुभाः। वीरांस्ताश्चतुरः मुतान् मुधुविरे क्षत्रानुरूपांस्तथा<sup>8</sup> ज्येष्टो राम इतः कनिष्टभरतस्तस्यानुजो लक्ष्मणः ॥१५॥ 

 1
 स्कूतमस्य H.
 2
 सौन्याः KK only.

 3
 ॰सम्येन B, C, D.
 4
 स्त्रामिमंत्रं वशी B, C, D.

 5
 कमनीय B, G, KK, RS, CS.

er RS.

कमनीयपद्मनयना A, E, F.

8 All the Mss (except H), KK and CS, read: वीरोस्ताश्वतुर: छतान् छपुविरे राम तथा तक्मण् सन्नुष्टः भरते च कैटभरिपोरंशावतारा अमी॥

reads : प्रत्रास्ताः छपुतुः स्ववंशघरयान् जनानुरूपांस्तरी

ज्येष्टो राम इतः कनिष्टभरतस्तस्यानुजा लक्मणाः॥

रात्र झो साजप्रत्रसादनु समभवन्छत्र निष्नैकवीरः सोऽयं स्तेहानुबृत्या भरतमनुगतः केकयीसूनुमेव । सोमित्री राममेवान्वगमद्य सदा धर्मकर्मप्रवीणः¹ श्रीमहाशस्थाः स्वयं मुरिर्पोरंशावतारा अमी ॥ १६ ॥² तेषां रामः कुशिकतनयप्रार्थितो यज्ञसिद्धैय तातस्याज्ञां शिरिस विद्धह्यस्मणेनानुयातः । पौरकोभिनंधनकम्छैः साद्गं वीक्यमाणः क्रव्यादाळी³निधनकुतुकी⁴ यज्ञभूमि प्रतस्थे ॥ १७ ॥ J adopts the reading of CS in the text, but this is the only authority he has in his favour.

- भवीरः KK.
- 2 This verse is given in the printed texts, as also by G and H: but it is omitted by all the other six Mss. A, E, F read in its place no. 5(रामं लद्ममण्ड्नें).
  - 3 कव्यादानां H, CS, RS, E, F.
- 2 परिभवकृते E,F. A reads: कञ्यादालीहननगमनी.

two lines of verse 6 of our text, the last two lines of which are omitted.

A and C read after these verses several additional verses as follows:

ss as follows : कौशल्यानन्द्रन रामं सौमित्रिलक्मणोऽन्वगात्। भरतं केक्यीयुत्रं शत्रुघो लक्मणानुजः॥

रामचरितम्। हिदंदाति न चार्थिन्यो हिः स्थापयिति नाश्रिताम् हिः शरान् नैव सन्धत्ते रामो हिनैव भाषते॥ धनुवेदे च वेदे च वेदाङ्गे परिनिष्ठितः। विधुलांसो महाबाहुः कम्बुग्नीबो महामनाः॥

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ततः अरामचन्द्रे तपोवनं प्रविश्वति वैतालिकवाक्यम् । विद्यां विशिष्टां विजयां जयां च

सम्प्राप्य सम्यङ् ननु<sup>ऽ</sup> गायिषुत्रात्

समागतः सम्प्रति रामभद्रः ॥ १८ ॥

रक्षांसि हन्तुं कतुबन्धुवन्धुः

मारीचं निजवान राक्ष्सिचमूनाथं स्वयं राघवः सर्वेऽन्ये किछ छक्ष्मणस्य विशिक्षैयीताः क्रतान्ताळ्यम्। तोषं प्रापुरथो महर्षिसहिताः सर्वे पुनन्नविगा-स्ताभ्यां संयुयुज्जः \* धुभाषितमति <sup>5</sup>स्कीताः समाप्तक्रियाः ॥१६॥ हते रक्षःक्ष्ठे तत्र रामेण विधिवत् क्रतौ।

Omitted in A, E, F.

निवृत्ते कौशिके प्रायात् ताभ्यां जनकपत्तनम्।। २०॥

बैतालिकै: पटितम् E,F,G; मुनिभिरनुमीय पठितम् B, C, D,

संप्रदृद्धः A, E, F.

मिन B, C, D, G, H. 'मिन A, E, F.

अथ सीतास्वयंवरे ध मैथिलवैतालिक्वाक्यम्।

यो दत्तः कुशिकात्मजाय मुनये तातेन यज्ञोत्सव-प्रत्यूह्पशमाय वर्त्मविषिने हत्वा ततस्ताङकाम्। I A and C read just before this verse: तत्तो विश्वामित्रेण् प्रार्थितो रामस्तदाश्रमं जगाम, which is followed by no. 17 of M (तेषां रामः कृधिकः). After this comes the following:

भ्रथ वर्त्मीन ताडकानिघनम्। ततो दाग्रारिथगेत्वा सानुजः कौशिकाश्रमम्। निह्न ताडको बाग्रैमेखविष्टमस्लाडयत्॥

Then follows no. 18 of M, with its heading (वैतालिक: पठित only for वैतालिकवाक्यम्). Then comes अथ सीतास्वयंवरे जनकप्रतिज्ञा followed by no. 26 of M. After this we have: ततः स्वयंवरे विश्वामित्रानुगमने नाविको रामं वदित। जालयामि तव पाद्पक्षजे नाथ दारहषदोस्तु का मिदा। मानुषीकरयारेश्वरस्ति ते पाद्योरिति कथा प्रथीयसी॥ Higher Mss omit these verses here: only Higher here no. 17 of M (variant कञ्यादानां A,C,H).

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MAHĀNĀTAKAM

श्रथ मिथिलां प्रविश्वति रामें वैतालिकैः पिर्सम्।
यो दत्तः कुशिकात्मजाय मुनये तातेन यहोत्सवप्रत्यूह्प्रशामाय वर्त्मविषिने हत्त्वाहितां उत्ताङकाम्।
रुव्ध्यशामाय वर्त्मविषिने हत्त्वाहितां उत्तादकाम्।
रुव्ध्यशाणि मुनेरवेक्ष्य च मखं तस्यानुगः कौतुकात्
सोऽयं सम्प्रति राघवो निर्मिषतेः प्राप्तः पुरीं सानुजः ॥ २१॥
भ्रापः पङ्किरयोतिप्रद्योन्माधिविक्रान्तिको
भूषः पङ्किरथो विभावसुकुल्प्र्यस्थातकेतुर्वेली।
इर्वीवर्वरभूरिभारहतये भूरिभवाः पुत्रतां

- मिथिलायां A,E,F,G.
- 2 Omitted in A: रामचन्द्रे E, F.
- 3 हत्वा च तां A, E, F: हत्वा ततः B,C,D.
- 4 A. E. F read this line as: संप्राप्ते मिथिलाधिनाथनगरीं श्रीराघवः सानुजः॥
- 5 This verse, as well as nos. 23, 24 and 25, seems to be copied by J from Dām. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8. They are omitted in all our MSS and the printed texts. A, E, F, read, after no. 21, the verse no. 33 ( समामां

ळ्ळ्यास्त्राणि मुनेरवेक्ष्य च मखं तस्यानुगः कौतुकात् सोऽयं सम्प्रति राघवो निर्मिषतेः प्राप्तः पुरी सान्जनः ॥ ७॥1 n H reads after this verse no. 18 of M (विद्यां विशिष्टां; variant समस्तां for विशिष्टां). E reads after this verse ज्ञालयामि तव पादपञ्जले (see footnote 1, p. 584 above) with the neading श्रीरामपारकाले कश्चित्राद्दिको वद्ति (variant विमन्तरम for ०स्तु का भिदा).

D reads after this verse a long metrical conversation chiefly between Visvāmitra and Janaka, extracted from the Prasanna-rāghava and the Anargha-rāghava, as follows:

श्रथ जनकं दृष्ट्वा विश्वामित्रवाक्यम्।
श्रक्ते रक्तीकृता यत्र (PR, iii, 7).
श्रथ विश्वामित्रं दृष्ट्वा जनक्वाक्यम्।
यः काञ्चनमिवात्मानं (PR, iii, 8).
श्रथ रामलह्मयौ दृष्ट्वा विश्वामित्रं प्रति जनकः।
युतयोरहमुदारह्पयो० (PR, iii, 19).
श्रथ तं प्रति विश्वामित्रः।
तस्य पश्चवनबान्धववंशो० (PR, iii, 25).

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

तेषामीश्वरतागुणैश्व जनुषा ज्यायानभूद्रायवो

रामः सोऽप्यथ कौशिकेन मुनिना रक्षोभयाद्याचितः।

राजानं स यशोधनो नरपितः प्रादात् सुतं दुःखितस्तस्मै सोऽपि तमन्वगादनुगतः सौमिन्निणोच्चेभुंत्।। २३॥

सुन्दस्त्रीद्मनप्रमोद्मुदितादास्थाय विद्योद्ध्यं

रामः सत्यवतीसुताद्ध्य गतस्तस्याश्रमं लील्या।

कुन्ते कौशिकनन्दनेन च मखे तत्रागतान् राक्षसान्

हत्वामूमुचदाशु भाविविद्सौ मारीचमुप्राक्रितम्॥ २४॥

कूणे यज्ञविधौ यियासुरभवद्रामेण सार्थं मुनिः

सीतासंवरणागताखिल्ज्नुपञ्याभप्रवीर्थिश्रयम्।

श्रुत्वा तद्धनुरुत्सवं च मिथिल्यास्थाय तेनाधिकं

सत्कारैरेपल्मिमतः पुनरगाचापाश्रितं मण्डल्म्॥ २४॥

रायुक्तायां ), after which comes no. 34 (श्यात जनकशुल्कं) with the heading तदेव वचः। B, C, D read हरकोद्धदर्धनाथंमा-गतानां साजाजनकप्रतिज्ञा। and then no. 25. The other two MSS G and H read, immediately after no. 21, no. 26, with the heading जनकवाक्यम् only. The printed texts follow the last arrangement.

मनसि भावनम्। ऋथ रामसीते चन्द्रकुमुद्रिन्योद्द धान्तेन कथयति विश्वामित्रे जनकत्य तद्रश्चिया निन्दितचम्पकोत्पलौ (PR, iii, 21). जिञ्चान् द्यारथः स हि राजा (PR, iii, 29). अथ रामलक्मणयोनिवंग्य जनकः। (Footnotes continued) अथ विधामित्रो जनकं प्रति।

यस्य ख्यातो जगति सकले (PR, iii, 35). अथ विश्वामित्रं प्रति जनकः।

प्राणान्तावधि मे दुरुद्धरमिदं मल्यं हदि स्थास्यति॥ किं सूर्यान्वयमीदृशं मम पुरीमानीत्रशनभकम्। त्वं जानक्रिप जानकीपरियायप्रत्यृहमेशं धनुः बृद्धस्याप्यसमीत्यकारिया इव क्रूरप्रतिज्ञाभृतः ऋथ रामं प्रति विश्वामित्रवास्यम्। यद्गोत्रस्य प्रथमपुरुषं (AR, iii, 25). तदेतदारोपय (AR, iii, 51). अपि च

मारीचमारचतुरं (PR, iii, 32). अपि च।

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

म्रथ जनकवाक्यम्।

केयं च ते धनुषि हुर्मदंदोःपरीक्षा ॥२७॥ 4 तच्छ्रत्वा राव्यादृतः श्रोष्कतः सकोपम् । मम दुहितुः स परिमहं करोतु ॥२६॥ हेर स्त्रवण मुखब्वपप्रमथावकीर्णम् अथ नरिकन्नरिसद्चारणानाम् नमयति यदि कोऽपि चापमेतं2 सार्धं हरेण हरवछभया गिरीशं कैलासमुद्रतवतो दशकन्धरस्य असुरसरमुजङ्गः वानराणां

- ॰भुजङ्गम B, C, D, contrary to metre. चापमेशं G, CS.
- texts- A,E,F omits it. B, C, D read here : ततः सीता-स्वयंत्ररे समागतो रावण्ड्तः सौष्कतः। आज्ञा शक्षिष्णमण्यम्भिष्या This heading is given by G, H and the printed (BR i, 36), the variant in D,C being शकशिरोमिष् This is followed by सकोपं सौष्कलः। सार्थं हरेगा etc. (no. 27),
  - This verse is from BR i, 44 and occurs as Dam. i, 17. It is omitted by A,E,F.

# तयोक्तिप्रत्युक्ती।

तद्वतानि परोरजांसि मुनयः प्राच्या मरीच्याद्यः ॥ २६ ॥ इ गुरोः शम्मोर्धनुनो चेच्चूर्णतां नयति क्षणात् ॥ २८ ॥3 तत् कि मूहवदीक्षसे ननु कथागोष्ठीषु नः शासते <sup>4</sup> दातव्येयमवश्यमेव दुहिता कस्मैचिदेनामसौ दो:क्रीडामशकीकृतत्रिभुवनो लङ्कापतियाँचते। यमाहेश्वरं धनुः कुर्याद्धिज्यं चेहदास्यहम्।

I Omitted in A,E,F,G.

2 B,C,D,H,CS read जनकः। before this line and हुत: before the next line. G omits these but writes on the margin तयोहिक्त्रात्युक्ती। तत्र जनकः। दूत आह।

3 This verse is omitted in A,E,F.

All passages from here up to the end of verse no. 32 are omitted in all the Mss and printed editions. They are probably drawn from Dāmodara's version by Jivananda. The verses occur as given below.

5 Dām, i, 12 = AR iii, 44.

20

(Footnotes continued)

देव श्रीरघुनाथ (no. 10 of our text) मारीचमुखरजनीचर॰ (PR, iii, 34). तदाकायं लहमग्रवाक्यम् । म्रथ जनकः।

अथ शतानन्द्वाक्यम्।

उत्मिमं सह कोशिकस्य (no. 12 of our text) अथ रामे धनुगृ हीतवति लह्मण्वाक्यम्। प्रथित स्थिता भव (no. 11 of our text). श्रथ सीताया मनसि परिभावनम्। ऋगुत जनक्युल्के (no. 8 of our text) अथ जनकस्य मनसि परिभावनम्। रतिरिव जननेत्रानन्दिनी (PR, iii, 36) स्त्रथ घनुभेङ्गे वितालिकनाक्यम्। कमरुप्रस्करोरः (no. 9 of our text)

I.H.Q., SEPTEMBER, 1931

After this our text is followed in due order..

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

मरे राम त्वं मा जनकपतिपुत्रीमुषयथाः ॥ ३०॥1 तरङ्गः कन्मीळ्डुजपरिथसौरभ्यशुचिता। स्वयं पौलस्त्येन त्रिमुवनजिता चेतिस धृता-माहेश्वरं धनुः कष्टुमर्हते दशकन्यरः ॥ ३१॥ शम्मोरावासमचल्मुत्क्षेप्तुं भुजकौतुकी। समन्तादुतालैः सुरसहचरीचामरमरू-युनश्च रामं प्रति।

पिनाकारोपणं शुरुकं हा सीते कि भविष्यति ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>3</sup> सभायां नृप 5युक्तायां जनकस्य पुरोहितः माहेश्वरो द्राष्ट्रीवः श्लुद्राश्चान्ये महीमुजः इत्युका दूते गते। दूतः सर्वेदम्।

- 1 Dām. i, 13 = AR iii, 61.
- Dām. i, 15 = AR, iii, 50.
- Dām. i, 16= AR, iii, 49,
- 4 This heading is given only by G, H, and the राम B, C, D.

तत्रैव शतानन्द्वाक्यम्।¹ श्र्युत जनकशुल्कं क्षित्रयाः सर्वं एते दशवदनभुजानां कुण्ठिता यत्र शक्तिः। नमयति धनुरेशं यः शरारोपणेन² निस्वनजयत्र्यमीमैथिली तस्य दाराः॥ ८॥³

Madhusādana's Text (Jivānanda's Ed.) शतानन्दो वचः प्राह श्ण्यवतां सर्वभूसुजाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>श्णुत जनकशुल्कं क्षत्रियाः सर्व एते दशवदनभुजानां कुण्ठिता यत्र शक्तिः । नमयति धनुरैशं यः सहारोपणेन <sup>3</sup> त्रिभुवनजयळ्क्ष्मीमैथिली तस्य दाराः ॥ ३४ ॥ <sup>4</sup>

- I This verse is omitted in A, E, F.
- 2 G and CS add a heading before this verse:
- 3 शरारोपसेन B, C, D, E, F, KK.
- 4 Dām. i, 18=BR iii, 27. After this verse and before no. 35, B, C, D, read as follows:

परमे माहैश्वरे धनुषि पौलस्त्यो न योग्यः।

क्रोधाच्छतानन्दः।

श्रम्भोरावासमचलमुत्लेप्तुं etc. (no. 31)

सोपालम्भं शोष्कलः।

भानिराध पुलस्त्यक्ष etc. (AR iii, 48).

ा A and C amplify the heading as ततो जनकवनादु गौतमा-त्मजः श्वतानन्दनामा पुरोहितो ह्पान् श्रावयति। E reads श्वथ स्वयंवर-प्रकरण्म। तत्रैव शतानन्दवाक्यम्. B reads instead तत्रैव वैतासिक-

- 2 गुष्पारोपर्धेन A, C.
- 3 A and C read after this verse:

ततः शतानन्दं प्रति शवयानुवरः—ग्रोरे किमात्थ किमात्थ, 'दय-बदनभुजानाम्' इत्यादि पठति, तस्य भुजविष्ठभमजानक्षेवं कथां कथयति भवान्। साधं हरेया हरवछभया (М. no. 27). MADHUSüdana's Texr (Jivānanda's Ed.)

रपतिमिरगृष्टीते घनुषि जनक्वाक्यम् ।¹ आ द्वीपान्तरतो ²ऽप्यमी नृपत्यः सर्वे समम्यागताः कृन्येयं कल्योतकोमल्फाचिः कीर्तिस्तु नातः परा । नाक्रप्टं च न टङ्कितं न निमतं नोत्थापितं स्थानतः केनापीद्महो महद्भनुरतो निर्वीरमुर्वीतस्म् ॥ ३४ ॥

रामो दूर्वाद्रळस्थामो जानकी कानकी छता। अनयोयोंग्य उद्वाहो धनुरैशं पणो महाम्।। ३६॥

संखीजनवाक्यम्।

- I This heading is omitted in A, E, F. H reads जनता० for जनक०
- 2 आ द्वीपात्परतो B,C,D,H, and the printed editions : आद्वीपाद्वलिनो G.
- 3 Dām. i, 10=PR, i, 32.
- 4 This heading and the verse no. 36 which follows are omitted in all Mss, but given by the printed editions. CS reads अनन्तर सखीजन॰

ञ्चथ सीतामनसि परिभावनम्।1

कमठष्रष्ठकठोरमिदं थतु-मेधुरमूर्तिरसौ रघुनन्दनः। कथमधिज्यमनेन विधीयता-महह तात पणस्तव दास्णः॥ १॥

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

ञ्चथ सीताया मनसा भावनम्।

कमठप्रुष्टकठोरमिदं थतु-मेधुरमूर्तिरसौ रघुनन्दनः। कथमधिज्यमनेन विधीयता-महह तात पणस्तव दाहणः॥३७॥³

ा अथ सीतावाक्यम् B, E: the heading omitted by F.

2 This verse is omitted in E; D and F place it after no. 11 of our text. A and C read after this verse: ततः सीतां प्रति वैतालिकाः। माहेशरो द्याप्रीवः (no. 32 of M).

ततो जनकवाक्यम्। श्रा द्वीपात् पुरतोऽप्यमी तृपतयः (no. 35 of M).

F only reads भा द्वीपात्र (without any heading) after no. 9 of our text, which however is placed, as already

noted, after no. 11.

रामेन गृष्टीते घनुषि सीतामनषि H.

This heading is omitted here in all Mss except G.

3 Dām. i, 19. A, B, C, D, E, F, H, omit it here but place it later with a different heading, after no. 38.

अथ रामे धनुगृहीतवति लह्मण्घाक्यम्।

देव अगरघुनाथ कि बहुतया भृत्योऽस्मि ते त्थ्र्मणः मेर्वादोनिह भूधरान्न गण्ये जीर्णः पिनाकः कियान्। तन्मामादिश देव यस्य भवतो वाक्यादृहं कौतुकी प्रोद्धर्षे परिणामितुं प्रचिछितुं भङ्कां सदैव क्षमः॥ १०॥

- ा तदाक्षर्यं लह्मयावाक्यम् A, D: अथ लह्मयावाक्यस् E, H. F omits this heading but places the verse, which follows, after no. 7 of our text.
- 3 पर्वतान्न A.
- 4 Dropped in B.

्2 नाथ E, वीर F.

- प्रतिनामितुं A, C, D: प्रविचालितुं F.
- 6 नमियतुं F; प्रवितितुं E.
- 7 For the readings of D, see above p. 584, fn. 1. E reads, after this, a verse which is somewhat corrupt:

इति तहमणी वाक्येन रामाभिष्युख शुत्वमनुगस्य पुनराष्ट्र कि वैचित्यमिदं त्वदीयचरण्डन्द्रप्रसादाद्वं यत्त्वेकत्र धनुद्वं यं नमयितुं शक्तोऽस्मि कोऽयं श्रमः। कि लेकं विनिवेदयामि नमिते कोद्ग्डलग्डे मया यत्नौयात् परिणामदूषण्मिदं सर्वं त्त्वया ज्ञायते॥

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

श्रीरामे'लज्ञां कुर्वति सीताया उत्साहं वर्धयत् लक्मणः। देव² औरघुनाथ कि बहुतया³ दासोऽस्मि ते व्यस्मणः मेर्वादीनिष न भूधरात्र गणये जीणः पिनाकः कियान्। तन्मामादिश वीर⁴ षश्य⁵ भवतो वाक्यादृहं कौतुकी प्रोद्धतुं प्रचलायितुं नमियतुं मञ्जःुं सदैनत् धसमः॥ ३८॥

- ा रामे B, C, D, which also add सित after कुर्वति. A, E, F read श्रीरामचन्द्रे लज्जां कुर्वति श्रीलइमण्टः।
- 2 J notes the reading बीर, which variant is also noted by RS. A reads देच but notes on the margin बीर as a variant.
- किमिदं B, C, D, contrary to metre.
- देव A, B, C, D. 5 यस्य E, F, G.
- प्रविचालितुं A.F; प्रविनामितुं B, C, D; पिरचालितुं E; पिर-ग्यामितुं G.
- 7 प्रचलितुं B, C, D; प्रवासितुं E; प्रबलितुं G.
- अ सदैनं A, E, F, G, H, KK, RS; सदैन B, C, D, CS.
- A, E, F read after this verse : श्रीरामस्य कोमलबधुर्वीह्य चापस्य काठिन्येन सीताया:\_लेदः। कमउष्टक्टोरः (no. 37)

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

1गृहीते हरकोदण्डे रामे परिणयोन्सुखे। पस्पन्दे नयनं वामं जानकीजामदगन्ययोः॥ ३६॥

रामेण घनुषि गृहीते लह्मण्वाक्यम् ।<sup>3</sup> पृथ्वि स्थिरा भव भुजङ्गम धारयैनां त्वे कूर्मराज तिद्दे द्वितयं द्यीथाः ।

> पृथ्वि स्थिरा भव मुजङ्गम धारयैनां त्वं कूर्मराज तदिदं द्वितयं द्यीथाः।

पुनलेहमण्यां वस्यम् । 1

B, C, D read here: ऋथ सीतामनसि खेद:। कमठग्रुष्ठकडोरः etc. (no. 37).

The reading of H, which places also no. 37 here, is already noted above p. 591, fn. r. This verse is the same as Dām. i, ii.

- । B, C, D read before this verse ततन्न ।
- 2 Dām. i, 20.
- 3 This heading is omitted in CS. B, C, D read only अथ लहमया:। A, E, F, G read लहमया: for लहमयावाक्यस.

ा श्राथ रामदेवे घतुर्गु हीतवति लङ्मण्वाक्यम् A,C,D,E (D,F reading रामे for रामदेवे )ः श्रथ रामे धतुर्गु हीते सीतावाक्यम् H.

दिक्कुजाराः कुरुत तत्तितये दिधीषी-मार्थः करोतु<sup>1</sup> हरकार्भुकमाततज्यम्।। ११ ॥<sup>3</sup>

ा करोति D.

2 A, C, and H read after this verse (H omitting the last verse given here below): फुन्नी याति स्थातमं (no. 41 of M).

पृथ्वा थाति रखातिल (no. 41 of M).
अथ सीतामनिस परितापः।
तव्चापमाकर्षित ताडकारावाकर्णमाकर्णविशालनेत्रा।
मुद्धः समैन्निष्ट विदेहकन्या कन्यां किमन्यां परियोध्यतीति॥
गृष्टीते हरकोद्ग् (no. 38 of M).

Of these, the first two verses are given here also by F; but the first verse is placed after no. 12 of our text, while the second is placed here. C and H read as heading ara uging: before the first of these verses. H's variants are na in L, 1, a fai a fai a fai in L, 3, and grena: (for a nage) of A and C) in L, 4.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda'S Ed.)

दिक्कुजाराः कुरुत तत्तिये दियीर्षा-मार्थः करोति १ हरकार्षकमाततज्यम् ॥ ४० ॥<sup>2</sup> पृथ्वो याति रसातले १ फणिषतिनंत्रं फणामण्डलं विश्वत् धुभ्यति ४ कूमराजसहिता १ दिक्कुजाराः कातराः । आतन्त्रनित च ख्रुंहितं ६ दिशि भटेः सार्थं धराधारिणः कम्पन्ते रघुपुङ्गवे पुरजितः सज्यं धतुः कुर्वति ॥ ४१ ॥ 7

करोतु B, C, D.

2 Dām. i, 21 = BR i, 48. A, E, F read after this verse no. 90 (कृशिकधतसप्यो॰), the variants being पाणि: for पार: in L, F स्प्रगति विपुत्तकमां कार्मुक in L, 4.

3 विनम्नतां A, E.

4 बिश्रति B, C, D.

5 J and RS also note a variant o祖籍前 which is given by A, E, KK,

6 टक्ट्रत A; चीत्कृतं E, F.

7 Dām. i, 22.

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तत्र¹ मपतीनां चेष्टा।

सारा ३कर्षणभन्नपर्वणि पुनः सिंहासने मूच्छितम् ॥ ४२ ॥ 🕯 शिजासज्जनतत्परे च हसितं दुन्वा मिथस्तालिकाम्। रामे रद्रशरासनं तुळयति स्मित्वा स्थितं पार्थिनैः आरोप्य प्रचळाङ्ग्लीकिसलयैम्लीनं गुणास्फालने

झन्येषामपि ।ऽ

भूषानां जनकस्य संशयधिया साकं समास्फालितम्। उत्सिमं सह कौशिकस्य पुलकैः सार्घं धुखैनािमतं

ा ततो B, C, D; अत्रावसरे CS.

2 This heading is omitted in A, E, F.

3 सर्वा KK, CS, RS. RS also notes the other reading सारा॰

4 BR iii, 75.

5 B, C, D read अन्येषामिष चेष्टा. This heading is altogether omitted in KK. A, E, F, H read way

6 साके A, E, F.

I Omitted in A, F, while F reads was for wall C and H, whose readings are noted above, omit the whole

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line.

भूषानां जनकस्य संशयधिया साकं समास्फालितम् ।

उत्सिन् सह कौशिकस्य पुरुकै: सार्थं मुखैर्नामिनं

श्रय धनुभंड़े 1 वैतालिकवाक्यम्।

# MAHINATAKAM

Madhusüdana's Text (Jivānanda's Ed.)

प्रौटाहङ्कतिकन्दलेन महता । तद्भमीशं धनुः ॥ ४३ ॥

वैदेहीमनसा समं च सहसा कुष्टं ततो भागंव-

#### OUR TEXT

वैदेहीमनसा समं च सहसाकृटं ततो भागंव-प्रौढाहक्कू तिकन्द्लेन महता¹:तद्रभ्रमैशं धनुः ॥ १२ ॥³ शम्भौ यद्गू णविक्तरिमुपनयत्याकृष्य कर्णान्तिकं भश्यिन्ति त्रिपुरावरोधसुदृशां कर्णोत्पल्यम्थयः । यचार्पालयित प्रकोष्टक्रिमामुन्सुच्य तासामहो भिद्यन्ते वल्यानि दाशारिथना तद्रभ्रमैशं धनुः ॥ १३ ॥³ शुट्यद्रीमधनुःकठोरिनिवद्सत्राकरोद्विस्मयं

- ा तरसा D; लहितं F.
- E reads after this verse the following:

# त्रैलोक्यं विस्मितं चक्रे सस्मितं जानकीमुखम् । घनुभेद्गरवः सर्वं सचेतनमचेतनम् ॥

F reads no. 19 of our text (with its heading) after this verse (no. 12 of our text), and then reads no. 41 of M ( क्यी वाति )

3 This verse is omitted in F.

#### सहितं G.

2 Dām. i, 23. The order of the following verses (nos. 44-48) is given differently in some of the Mss. A, E, F read thus: nos. 46, 44, 47, 45, 48. B, C, D, omit no. 44 but otherwise follow the order of the text. H omits no. 44 after 43 but places it after 46.

## MAHANATAKAM

## OUR TEXT

दिग्दन्तिस्थलनं कुलाद्रिचलनं मार्गाणंबोन्मीलनं <sup>1</sup> वैदेहीमदनं मदान्यद्मनं जैलोक्यसम्मोहनम् ॥ १४ ॥ <sup>3</sup> सन्यन्नष्ट विधेः श्रुतीमुंखरयन्नष्टो दिशः कामयन् <sup>3</sup> मृतीरष्ट महेश्वरस्य दल्यनष्टौ कुलक्ष्माभृतः । तान्यक्ष्णा <sup>4</sup> वधिराणि पन्नगकुलान्यष्टौ च सम्पाद्य-न्नुन्मीलत्ययमार्यं <sup>5</sup>दोर्बलद्लत्कोद्णहकोलाहलः <sup>6</sup> ॥ १५ ॥ <sup>7</sup> भिन्दत्रिद्रां मुरारे: सकल्युजयतां त्रोटयन धर्मोर्यदर्ष छिन्दन् १ दिग्दन्तिकर्णानथ बलित 10 करान् कम्पयन् कूर्मराजम् ।

- Dropped in H.
- 2 This verse is placed after no. 17 of our text by F.
  - 3 फोड्यन् B, C, H. 4 श्रात्युचै: A, B, H.
    - 5 उन्मीलत्यथ राम॰ A, C, H.
- 6 कोद्यडचयडध्वनिः D, E.
- This verse is omitted in F.
- 8 मोड्यम् B. 9 मिन्दम् B.
- 10 क्यांन चललित B, E; क्यांन चलबलित D, F; व्दन्तान

for owning in H.

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महन्यत्रष्ट विधेः श्रुतीर्मुखरयत्रष्टी दिशः कोडयन् मूर्तिरष्ट महेश्वरस्य दलयत्रष्टी कुलक्ष्माभतः। अस्युचे वर्वाधराणि पत्रगकुलान्यष्टी च सम्पादय-न्नुन्मीलत्ययमार्थबाहुविद्ल³त्कोदण्डकोलाहलः॥ ४४॥⁴ भिन्दत्रिद्रां मुरारे: सकल्युज्यसतां वीटयम् शौर्यदर्ष छिन्द्न् दिग्दन्तिकगांष्टलबलितफणं कम्पयन् सर्पराजम् ।

- I Hadds before this verse अपिच। 2 तान्यस्था G.
- दोर्बलदलत् E, F, H, KK.
- 4 Dām. i, 27 = AR, iii, 54. This verse is omitted altogether by B, C, D. A drops the last two lines.
- 5 Omitted in all Mss. 6 Basari A, E, F.
  - 7 मोहयन् B, C, D; क्रोडयन् E, F.
- 3 चलबितितम्मां A, E, F; चलवलनकलां B, C, D.
- कूमराजम् A, E, F.

ष्ट्रब्दैकार्णवमग्नमेतद्खिङं जातं त्रिलोकीतल्म् ॥ १८ ॥<sup>6</sup> ष्टङ्कारः क्रष्यमाणत्रिपुरहरथनुभेङ्गभूराविरासीत् ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीमद्रायवबाहुदण्डविद्छत्कोदण्डचण्डघ्वनि:॥ १७॥<sup>5</sup> न्यानात् सप्त निवारयन्मुनिवरान् सप्ताणेवान् क्षोभयन्। उन्मीळानि? रसातळानि जनयन् सप्ताभि ³सम्मूतवान् 4 यावत्कन्दुकलाच्छनात्त्र्वतकरः शोणाम्बुजन्मद्यु तिः लोकान् सप्त निनादयन् हरिहयानुद्र मयन् सप्त च किश्चिम्मचिति तावदेव हि दळमण्डीशचापोच्छल-कोशल्यापितमङ्गळप्रतिसरो रामस्य दो:कन्द्छः। उद्दामोद्दमी रप्रलयजलधरध्वान । धिक्षारधीर-

- 2 सम्आन्तानि F. ∘ध्मान A, C.
- सप्ताथ F; सप्तापि C.
- सञ्जालयन् भूघरान् A, D, E; सप्ताचलांश्रालयन् H.
- reads here सार्थ हरेया (no. 27 of M), with the heading अथ रामेया F reads after this verse no, 14 of our text. B धनुषि भग्ने रावण्विमाने रावण्ानुचरवाक्यम्।
- A,C,D,E. D, however, reads, after this verse, the verse This verse is omitted in B, F, H, but given by

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च्छब्दं कार्णव<sup>9</sup> मम्मेतद्खिं जातं त्रिलोकीतल्म् ॥ ४७ ॥<sup>10</sup> ष्टद्वारः कृष्यमाणित्रपुरह्रधनुमंद्वनभूताविरासीत् ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रीमद्राघवबाहुद्ण्डविद्छ⁴त्कोद्ण्डच्चा्च्ह्यानिः⁵ ॥ ४६् ॥ ध्यानात सप्त निवारयन् मुनिवरान् सप्ताणंवान् श्रोभयन् । यावत्कन्दुकलाञ्छनाश्चितकरः शोणाब्जनालाक्रतिः किभ्विम्भाति तावदेव विद्छ<sup>8</sup>मण्डीशाचापोच्छल-उन्मूळानि रसातळानि जनयन् सप्तापि ³ सम्भूतवान् कीशल्यापितमङ्गलप्रतिसरो रामस्य दो:कन्द्लः। लोकान् सप्त निनाद्यन् हरिह्यानुद्रामयन् सप्त च उहामोद्यद्गभीरप्रलयजलयरध्वानियक्कारवीर-1

- चिक्रास्थीर all Mss.
- 4 विलक्षत्र B, C, D. PR iii, 45. This verse is omitted in KK. सप्तादि E, F,
- ॰कोलाहलः A, E.
- ग्रोयाञ्ज्योयाकृतिः B, C, D; ग्रोयाम्बुजन्मय् तिः A, E.
  - हि चलत् A, B,C, E, F, G; हि दलत् H, CS, RS.
    - safa A, E, F.
- All Mss and the printed editions read शब्देकार्याच् । PR iii, 49. This verse is omitted in KK.

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आम्यत्पिणडतचिण्डमा कथमहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति ॥४६ ॥ वंद्हीमद्नं मदान्धद्मनं त्रैलोक्यसम्मोहनम् ॥ ४८ ॥<sup>5</sup> दिग्द्निस्खळनं कुळाद्रिचळनं असार्णवान्दोळनं 4 त्रस्यद्वाजिरवे विमार्गमनं शम्मोः शिरःकम्पनम् द्राक् ' पर्यस्तकपालसम्पुटमिलद्ब्रह्माण्डमाण्डोद्र-अस्यन्ति त्रिपुराबरोधसुदृशां कर्णोत्पत्यमन्थयः। दोद्णडाभ्वितचन्द्रशेखरथनुद्णडावभङ्गोद्रत-<sup>6</sup> ष्टङ्कारध्वनिरार्यबालचरितप्रस्तावनाडिण्डिमः। शम्मौ यहूणबह्यरीमुपनयसाकृष्य कणान्तिकं त्रुट्यद्गीमधनुःकठोरनिनदस्तत्राकरोडिस्मयं¹

oकरोदम्बरे E, F.

आसादेव स्वे: B, C, D, CS. 3 Dropped in A.

4 सप्तायांचास्फालनं A, E, F. 5 Dam. i, 26.

6 ॰भन्नोधत A, E, F, G, H, CS, RS. RS also notes the other reading. J notes both the readings. G reads before this verse: भ्रथ लद्मयाः।

8 Mahāvīra-carita i, 54. 7 邓乘 B, C, D.

लजा कीरिजनकतनया noted below. This is followed by अथ पीरजनवाषयम् and no. 19 of our text. E reads imme-(Footnotes continued)

स्रथ रामेण् धनुषि भग्ने राष्यापमाने तद्नुचरवाक्यम्। साध हरेया हरबहुभया (no. 27 of M). diately after the verse 18 of our text:

After this the order of our text is followed in E.

H reads no. 20 in place of no. 18 of our text.

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स्वश्वास्फाल्यति प्रकोष्टकमिमामुन्सुच्य तासामहो मिद्यन्ते वल्यानि दाशारिथना तद्रभ्रमेशं थनुः ॥ ५० ॥

तद्वं ह्रामानृवधपातिकमन्मथारि-क्षत्रान्तकारिकरसङ्गमपापमीत्या। ऐशं धनुर्निजपुरश्चरणाय नूनं देहं मुमोच रघुनन्द्रनपाणितीर्थं॥ ११॥² कोदण्डभङ्गान्मुखरीष्ठताशं वरं वरेण्यं जनकात्मजायाः। अनन्यसामान्यथनुर्विछासं नमामि तं छोकविसर्पिकीर्तिम्॥ १२॥

> श्रथ पौरववनम् ।¹ कोद्ण्डमङ्गान्मुखरीक्रताशं वरं वरेण्यं जनकात्मजायाः। अनन्यसामान्यथनुर्विनाशं² नमामि तं लोकविसर्पि³कीर्तिम् ॥ १६ ॥⁴

- 1 आथ पौरजनवाक्यम् D: omitted in H. 2 ं निलास F, C.
  - , लोकविशेष: A विश्वविसर्पि H.
- 4 This verse is placed by F after no. 12 of our text without the heading. D reads after this verse ष्ट्रथ रामेण धनुषि भन्ने रावणापमानग्रद्धया तद्नुचरवाक्यम्। साध होत्य हरवह्नभया (no. 27 of M).
- I This verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F, KK. Dām. i, 24 = AR iv, 21.
- 2 Dām, i, 25. This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions.

3

MAHĀNĀTAKAM

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

OUR TEXT

म्यथ लह्मण्वाक्यम्।

आस्यत्पिण्डतचण्डिमा कथमहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति ॥ २०॥ द्राक्पर्यस्तकपाल थसमुटमिलड्ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोद्र-ष्टक्कारध्वनिरार्थवालचरितप्रस्तावनाडिण्डिमः। दोद्णडाभ्वितचन्द्रशेखरधनुद्ण्डावभङ्गोदात-

मिथिलामागच्छतो दशस्थादीन् वीह्य पुनवैंतालिकवाक्यम्। अथ जनकेन शतानन्दं पुरोहितं प्रहित्याहृतान् \*

भूतरघुपतिशोर्थः कोशलेन्द्रोऽयमेति ॥ २१ ॥ सरभसमुषगृह्य श्रीशतानन्दवक्तत्। जनकनुपतिवाष्यं पुत्रसम्बन्धहुर्घं अपरमपि तनूजद्वन्डमादाय हृष्टः

ञ्चथः शतानन्देनानीते दशस्थे मिथिलां प्रविशति वैतालिकैः परितम् ।

श्रुतर्घुपतिशौर्यः कोशलेन्द्रोऽयमेति ॥ ५३ ॥ सरभसमुपगृह्य श्रीशतानन्दंबक्तात्। अपरमपि तनूजहन्द्रमादाय हृष्टः 4 जनकनृपतिवाक्यं पुत्रसम्बन्धह्दां

- 2 वैतालिकवाक्यम् B, C, D. गत्वा B, C,
- 3 जनकेन शतानन्द पुरोहितं प्रस्थाप्याहृतान् मिथिलां प्रीमागच्छतो दशारथादीत वीच्य युनवैतालिकवाक्यम् A, E, F, which read after this heading no. 49.

3 H reads this verse without any heading after

no. 19, which also is given without any heading.

प्रस्थाप्याहूताम् A.

4

2 पर्यस्तकपाट A, D, E, F.

युनः म.

4 弧路: A, E. F.

5 ouffiellu: A, E, F,

आतिध्यमानसहितं मिथिलाधिनाथः कृत्वातिर्धि दशारथं परमातिथेयः। स्वीये सुते अथ कुराध्वजकन्यके च प्रीत्या द्दौ विधिवदेव तदात्मजेभ्यः॥ २२॥

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

आतिथ्यमानसिहतं मिथिलिधिनाथः¹ कृत्वातिधि द्शारधं स्वय²मातिथेयः³। स्वीये सुतेऽप्यथ कुशध्वजकन्यके च प्रीत्या द्दौ विधिवदेव तदातमजेभ्यः ॥ १४॥ निःस्वान⁴मदंलरसाल्याभीरमेरी-टङ्कार⁵ताल्वरकाह्लनादजालैः। पूर्णं बभूव धरणीगगनान्तराले पाणिघहे रघुपतेर्जनकात्मजायाः॥ १५॥<sup>6</sup> वैवाहिकं कुशिकनन्दनजामदग्न्य-<sup>7</sup> वाहमीकिगौतमवशिष्ठपुरोहितादौः।

- विष्टितातिथेयः A, E, F.
- बर B, C, D, G, H, KK, CS.
- 3 मिथिलाधिनाथ: A, E, F.
- 4 निःसीम B, C, D; निःशाल KK.
- 5 2家17 KK; H家17 B, C, D,

6 Dām. i, 56.

भागीबाधे: B, C, D.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तेभ्यो द्रं वहुवसूनि तिलांध्र गास्र ॥ ५६ ॥ रामो विधि परिसमाप्य सहानुजैस्तु मभवद्पत्यविवाहमङ्गल थ्योः। रघुजनकमहीन्द्रयोस्तदानी-त्रिभुवनजनता ननतं यत्र³

स्तानादाय क्रतोत्सवो द्रशस्थः स्वीयां पुरीं प्रस्थितः ॥ १८ ॥ सीतां श्रीरघुनन्दनोऽथ भरतः कौशध्वजीं माण्डवीं सीमित्रिः शतपत्रशञ्जवद्नां सीतानुजामूर्मिलाम्। प्रमद् मनाष मनोरथन्यतीतम्॥ ५७॥ रात्रुन्नः अतकीतिमुत्तमगुणां कीशध्वजीमूढवां-बीरश्रीयुतरामचन्द्रचरिते पत्युद्धते विक्रमैः। एष श्रीछहनूमता विरचिते श्रीमन्महानाटके

> तत्र B; जनता च नूनमत्र H. C is corrupt here and reads नन्दमत्र

स्तानादाय क्रतोत्सवो दशरथः स्वीयां पुरीं प्रस्थितः ॥ २४॥

- प्रमोद॰ A, C, E, H contrary to metre, 8
  - A and C read here:

भूपैः सार्थ खबु गतवती मध्यमा दिगिद्गन्तम्॥ तिसः कन्या निरुपमतमा भेजिरे राघवेन्द्रम् अन्त्यापाणिग्रह्यासमये ज्यायसी जातरोषा लज्जा कीर्तिजनकतनया शैवकोद्गडभङ्गे

- Dām. i, 58. This verse is omitted in KK.
- अनतामनन्द्यत्सा A, E, F. प्रमोद A, E, F, contrary to metre ; पसुद KK.
  - 6 Dropped in A,

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सीतां श्रीरघुनन्द्नोऽथ भरतः कौशध्वजीं माण्डवीं

प्रमद्मवाप मनोरथव्यतीतम्॥ २३॥

मभवद्पत्यविवाहमङ्गलभाः। त्रिमुबनजनता ननन्द् यत्र 1

रघुजनकमहीन्द्रयोस्तदानी-

सौमित्रिः शतपत्रशत्रुवद्नां सीतानुजामूमिलाम्।

शत्रुप्तः श्रुतकीर्तिमुत्तमगुणां कौशध्वजीमूढवां-

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

मिश्र¹श्रीमधुसूदनेन कविना सन्दुभ्यं सज्जीकृते यातोऽङ्कः प्रथमो विदेहतनयालाभाभियानो महान्॥ १६॥

इति प्रथमोऽङ्गः समाप्तः॥

द्वितीतोऽङ्गः॥

जामदग्न्यस्त्रुट्यद्रै रवधनुःकोछाह्छामर्धभूच्छितः प्रख्य-मास्तोद्भूतकल्पान्तान्छबत्प्रदीप्तरोपानछः ।²

ज्ञथ पथि परगुरामेण सह संसर्गः।3

यद्वभञ्ज जनकात्मजाझते राघवः षष्ट्यषतेर्महद्भनुः। तद्ध्वनिश्रवणरोषितस्त्वरन्नाजगाम जमद्गिजो मुनिः॥ हे०॥\*

तत्स्वनअवण्रोषित म्स्वरत्राजगाम जमद्त्रिजो मुनिः ।।२५ ॥

यद्वभें जनकात्मजाकृते राघवः पशुपतेमेहद्रनुः

अथ वर्त्मनि परगुरामदर्शनम्।

- I sit A, E, F.
- 2 This passage is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but taken from Dām. i, 27.
- , अथ पथि परशुरामदर्शनम् B, C, D: the other Mss omit
- Dām. i, 28.

सह

- •रोषण् B; बांधित D: तदुःजनिश्रवण्याधितः F; तदुःजनि-
- 2 G places it after no. 26 of our text.

श्रव्या॰ H.

1

लहमग्रः श्रीरामं प्रति परगुरासं स्मारयति।।

गर्जन्मौवींकचाप हस्त्रमुवनविजयो जामदुग्न्योऽयमेति ॥६१॥ तीत्रे निश्वासवातैः पुनरपि भुवनोत्पातमासूचयन् इाग् रद्यापि क्षत्रक-ठच्युतक्षिरसिरित्सिक्यारं कुठारम्। कुर्वन् कोपादुद्चऱ्रविकिरणसटा थपाटलैह छिपातै-

ज्यपि च।

भस्मक्षिग्ध <sup>8</sup>षवित्रळाञ्छनमुरो धत्ते त्वचं रौरबीम्। च्डाचु रिवतकङ्कपत्रमभितरत्र्णी द्वयं पृष्टतो

ा श्रीरामं प्रति परशुरामदर्शनेन लङ्मण्वाक्यम् B, C, D. heading is omitted in A, E, F.

This

3 कुठारै: A. अंकरण्यासमी: A, E, F.

सुवनोत्पातमासूचयङ्गः A. E, F.

मार्जन्मौवींकलापं H, KK, CS : गर्जन्मौबींधरोऽयं A,E,F.

PR iv, 2. This verse is omitted in A, E, F. 9

Omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F.

भस्मच्छन B, C, D; भस्मारिलष्ट A, E, F.

त्योद्ध A, C,

ल्लारुष्ट्रम H,

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भस्मक्षिग्धपवित्रळाञ्छन भुरो धत्ते त्वचं रौरवीम्।

मूहाचुम्बितकङ्कपत्रमभितस्तूणद्वयं 1 पृष्ठतो

मौब्ज्या मेखल्या नियित्रमधोवासम्र माञ्जिष्टिकं पाणौ कार्मकमक्षसूत्रवल्यं दण्डं परं पैप्यल्या। २६॥¹ कुर्यन् कोषाढुद्ञ्चद्रविकिरणसटाषाटलैहिष्णितै-रद्यापि क्षत्रकण्ठच्युत्तर्धिरसरित्सिक्यारं कुठारम्। तींत्रै निधासवातैः पुनरिष भुवनोत्पातमासूचयद्धि?-

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (JIVānanda's Ed.)

मौब्ज्या मेखळ्या नियज्ञितमयोवासश्च माजिष्टिकं पाणौ कार्मुकमक्षसूत्रवळ्यं दण्डं परं पैप्पलम् ॥ ६२॥ आजन्मब्रह्मचारी पृथुळ्युजरिखास्तम्मविश्वाजमान-ज्याघातभ्रणिसंज्ञान्तरितवसुमतीचक्रजेत्रप्रशितः। बक्षःषीठे घनास्त्रब्रणिकण किठने संद्युवानः पृषत्कान् प्राप्तो राजन्यगोधी अनगजमग्याकौतुकी जामदग्न्यः ।। है३॥ सोऽयं सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमही येनार्जुनादुद्धता छित्चा भैरवसङ्गरेऽतिजरठं कण्ठं कुठाराभ्चेतः।

I Mahāvīra-carita i, 28; Dām. i, 29.

I This verse is omitted by F. After this verse

A, B, C and E read no. 90 (कृशिकधतसप्यों॰) of M (variants oftyहत A, C; बहुविध्धितक्सां E in the last line).

- अस्यास्य A, E, F. 3 अमेर्डी A, E, F.
- 4 This verse is omitted here in all mss. and printed editions; but it is given later by A, E, F. Dam, i, 32.

3 This verse is omitted by H.

श्रासूचयन् दाक् B, E, G.

खण्डं खण्डमखण्डयत् ै पितृवयामर्षेण वर्षीयसा ै।। ६४॥ राजन्योम्नांसकूटकथनपटुरटद्वोरधारः कुठारः ।। ६५॥ यस्य स्त्रीवालग्रद्धावधिनियनविधौ निदंयौ विश्वतोऽसौ प्राग्मारेऽकारि भूरिच्युतक्षिरसिरद्वारिपूरेऽभिषेकः त्कुच ध्रित्रज्ञिक्योरक ठरुषि रैनीरेणुका भूरभूत्। येन त्रिःसप्रकृत्वो नृपबह्ळवसामांसमस्तिष्कपङ्ग-रेवानीरनिरोध ग्हेतुगहनं बाहोः सहस्रं अवात् 2 यत्राकामति सङ्गराङ्गनभुवं दुवरिधारास्खळ-

ा रेवातोयविरोध A, E, F.

बलात् A. 3 काग्रं काग्रङमलग्डयत् A, B, C, D, E, F.

61 (क्रवंत कोपादुदखद्रवि॰), then no. 66 ( यत्राक्रामिति), then no. 4 Dam. i, 32. A, E, F read, after this verse, no. 63 ( आजन्मबह्मचारी ), then जामद्गन्य: क्रोघं नाटियत्वा etc.

5 This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but taken from Dām, i, 33.

6 हत्यत् B, D.

सङ्गराङ्गनभुषं D, E. नुप्प A, D.

2 0धाराञ्चल D.

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त्कुप्य गत्सत्रकिशोरकण्ठर्राधरैनीरेणुका भूरभूत्।

यत्राक्रामति दुर्गसङ्गर्भुवं । दुर्वारधारास्वल 2-

क्रीडापुष्करदामरेणुभिरभूद् चौरेव रेणूजिता ।।।२८।। ताहग्वीरवरस्वयंवरपरस्वलोककन्याकर-

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

सत्येवं सुवि ह रामनामनि मियि द्वैयोक्ततं दुश्यते है ॥ है ७ ॥ १ मिच्छता सग्नमजगवं नाम² धतुः । (साराङ्कं वारत्रयम्) 4 जामद्गन्यः। (क्रोधं नाटिथित्वा ) केनेदं कालदण्डान्तर-कीडापुष्करदामरेणुभिरभूट् हाँरिव रेणुत्कटा ।। हे है ॥ निमोंकेण च वासुकेर्निचुछितं यत्साद्रं नन्दिना भव्यं य 5 त्पिपुरेन्धनं धनुरिदं तन्मन्मथोन्माथिनः पार्वेद्या निजमतुरायुधमिति प्रेरणा यद्भ्यचितं ताहम्बोरवरस्वयंवरपरस्वलेंकिकन्याकर-

- PR iv, 29. This verse is omitted in A. E, F.
- 3 G, H add इति। Omitted in A.
- This prose passage is given वारत्रयं साग्राङ्गम् A. also in Dām.
- 5 भम बत् A, E, F, G (but G corrects the reading to भव्यं); यहहां B, C, D. 6 सिष B, C, D.
  - - BR iv, 53; Dām. i, 34.
- A, E, F read, after this verse, no. 74 (क ल दागरथी रामः), but without the headnote प्रभुरामः ), after which comes the prose passage ascribed to जामदग्नाः and no. 68 etc.

- रेषात्करा A, C; रषात्करा D.
- This verse is omitted by F and H,

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

कुमुद्रिनी 11 हरणिकरणमाछिनं मां न बेस्सि। येनोकः जामदग्न्यः। । ( ²पुरकारप्रफुल्लनासापुटकुहरो ³ द्रीर्णप्रमूत-पूरितं जग १ त्यं सकळवसुमतीमण्डलाखण्डलळ्थ्मी-10 मकाण्डप्रच-डकोद्ग्डखण्डन 8 दोद्णंडचणिडमाडम्बरेणा-रोपानठोच्छलित कालक्रुटयूमाच्छादित <sup>5</sup> दिङ्गण्डलम् <sup>6</sup> अरे रे निजकुलकमिलनी गालेयवर्ष दाशारथे कथ-

I Omitted in A, G, H. The whole of the prose passage is omitted in B, C, D. It is given in Dam.

3 कोटर for कुहर A, E, F.

स्फीतफुत्कार A, E, F, G. े ज्विरित A, E, F. A, E, F omit कालकृटयूमाच्छादित.

S

7 ०कुलकमल A. त्मग्रडल: A, E, F. oखएडखएडन CS; A, E, F omit कोद्राडखएडन

9 ०पूरितज्ञात E, H, CS, RS.

IO oसलह्मी omitted in A, E, F; CS reads कीर्ती for लहमी. G reads as in text but corrects it to इसुदिनी-लक्मी on the margin.

11 A, E, F read कुमुदिनीप्रस्थलहमी

कातंबीयं इति1

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

त्वं सैन्ययुक्तोऽस्य ३ हमेकवीरस्तथापि नौ पश्यतु तर्कमर्कः 4 ॥ हे 🗆 🗈 सहस्रवाहस्त्वमहं द्विबाहुस्त्यं चक्रवर्ती मुनि शनन्दनोऽहम्

## परशुरामवचनम् ।1

स्वाध्यायेन शपे शपे परधुना पत्मा पशूनां शपे॥ २६॥ श्रूये चाहमहंयुभिन् पतिभिस्तेऽत्रोभयोः साक्षिणः इस्वाकोरथवा भूगोर्भगवतो भावी स्वधा ³विच्छवः अत्यिर्धर्भव्धिराश्रमप्रस्यैः श्रूयते श्रोत्रियैः

I Omitted in B, E; also in D, F, H which omit the next verse also (no. 29 of our text). D reads here no. 34 of our text (स्त्रीषु प्रवीरजननी), omitting nos. 29 and 30, after which it reads no. 31 (बाह्नोबंल न).

०स्तत्रोभये E.

3 सुधा A, C, G.

This verse is omitted, as already noted, by D, F and H. A and C read (after no. 29 but before no. 30) no. 64 of M (सोडयं सप्तसमुद्रः ), its variants being अमिहतमहीन्द्र-स्यार्जुनस्योद्धतं in 1.1; भित्वा and कुठारेण् यः in 1.2; वर्धीयसा in in I, 4 (in A only ).

इदं H. A, E, F read इति कार्तवीयः।

3 **उयुक्तो**डच्य H.

This verse is omitted in B, C, D. Dām. i, 35, 4

त्रिर्वताभिषवस्य क्रतिशिरसः केशान् कुशान् कुर्वतः ।

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivananda's Ed.)

क्रोधाम्रो: कुर्वतो में न खळु न बिद्तिः सर्वभूतै: प्रभाव: 10॥६६ कुप्य 1 र त्संत्र किशोर 1 कण्ठिव गळडू की घधारासरि-1 3 दुहामानेक विंशात्ववधि विशासतः सर्वतो राजवंश्याम्। उत्क्रयोत्क्र्य गर्भानिष् शक्वयः क्षत्रसन्तानरोषा-पित्युं तद्रक्पूर्ण हद् 4 मविन 5 महानन्द्रमन्द्रायमान-6

शकलयतुं KK, Dām; सकलजगत् A, E, F.

3 ०विलसतः A, E, F. दुख्षानिक B, C, D.

oच्चांह्द KK, Dām.

्मजनि A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

оमान: A, E, F; оमानं B, C, D, G.

कोशामि B, C, D, G. 8 दुर्बलो A, E, F.

यस्य याहग् A, E, F.

Mahāvīra-carita ii, 48 : Dām. i, 36.

12 कठोर for कियोर C. त्रस्यत् A, E, F.

धाराश्वतैः B, C, D.

ा आस्यत् A, E.

I.H.Q., SEPTEMBER, 1931

त्रिर्वताभिषवस्य क्रत्ताशिरसः केशान् क्रशान् कुवेतः।

त्रस्य ग्त्सत्रकिशोरकण्ठविगल्द्रकौषधारासरि-

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MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

कि न प्राप्तः श्रुति 10 ते पुरमथनधनुभेङ्गपर्थेत्सुकस्य 11 ॥ ७१॥ सन्तोषेण जुगुप्सया करणया हासेन शोकेन 5 वा ।। ७०।। 7 अम्यप्रिं1 अमद्गिराश्रमपरो 13 यै: श्र्यते श्रोत्रियै:14 ताबद्रकज्ञालाञ्जलिः । पितृगणै थ्यंस्य क्षणं स्वीकृतः 8 आश्रयं कार्तवीयोर्जुनमुजविषिनच्छे दछीलास्व भिज्ञः केयूरमन्थिरबोत्करकषण भरणत्कारघोरः कुठारः। तेजोिभः क्षत्रगोत्रप्रत्यसमुदितद्वाद्शाकन्त्रिकारः श्रूये चाहमहंयुमिन् पतिमिस्तत्रोभये साक्षिणः

- ा ज्याहाजातीन् A, E, F.
- 3 स्वीकृता C. पितृवास्तो A, E, F.
- 5 श्रोकेन हास्येन A, E, F.

कृषण्या A, E, F.

- 7 PR iv, 33. This verse is omitted here by A, E, F, but placed earlier, as already noted above.
  - B,C, D, G, CS read 報停 = before this verse.
- 9 कम्पा dropped in C, D. 10 श्रतं A, E, F.
- 12 अत्यप्तिः B; अभ्यप्तिः G. Dām. i, 37.
- 14 श्रोत्रियः B, C, D, G. ०श्रमपरे: B, C, D, G.

श्रथ द्यारथवाक्यस्।<sup>1</sup> बाह्वोर्वेलं न विदितं न च कामुंकस्य रात्रो<sup>9</sup> विभेति मनुजो न च तमापले परधुराम मम क्षमस्व डिम्मस्य दोविलसितानि भुदे गुरूणाम् ॥ ३१ ॥<sup>3</sup>

दोष एषः।

Madiusüdana's Text (Jivānanda's Ed.)

इक्ष्वाकोरथवा भगोर्भगवतो भावी स्वधाविप्रवः स्वाध्यायेन शपे शपे परशुना पत्या पशूनां शपे ॥ ७२ ॥ श्रीरामः सानुनयम् ।\* बाह्वोर्वेऌं न विदितं न च कार्मुकस्य त्रैयस्वकस्य <sup>३</sup> सुतराम- <del>\*</del> तचापळे परग्रुराम मम क्षमस्व डिम्भस्य दोर्जिलसितानि<sup>5</sup> मुदे गुरूणाम् ॥७३॥<sup>६</sup> I This verse is omitted entirely in A, E, F. B, C, D omit it here but read it later after no. 78 (भो बहान्). C reads no. 74 immediately after this verse, i. e. after no. 78.

- 2 रामः सभवम् A, E, F; श्रीरामः सभवगाम्भीर्थम् B, C, D.
  - 3 यत्यूम्बकस्य B, C, D. 4 नित्ताम A, E, F.
- 5 J notes the reading दुर्घित्तसितानि, which is also noted by RS.
  - 6 BR iv, 60; Dām, i, 38. After this verse, B, C, D read here no. 77, and then no. 75 (with the heading grafutati,), omitting no, 74 altogether,

ा **उचनन** for **चाक्यम्** in A, C. This heading is omitted in D, H.

2 शास्मो D.

3 E and H omit this verse here but place it later as indicated below.

# पुनः परेथुरामवचनम् ।1

उत्फ्रत्योत्क्रत्य गर्मानिष शकलियतुः क्षत्रसन्तानरोषा-दुद्दामा<sup>3</sup>नेकविशत्यनविध शतशः <sup>4</sup> सर्वतो राजवश्यान्। पित्यं तद्रकपूर्णहदसवनमहानन्दमन्दायमानं कोथामि कुर्वतो मे न खळु न विदितः सर्वभूतैः प्रभावः <sup>6</sup>॥ ३२॥

- I पुनः omitted in F; oनान्यम् for वचनम् in B, E, F. This heading is omitted in C, H,
- 2 च कलियतुः A; सकलियतुः (doubtless for श्रकलियतुः)
- 3 aurituno A, C, D.

B, E, F; शक्लियितुः C, G; शमियितुः D.

- 4. oविशास्त्रिप समवधीशः (१) G. F reads oत्यवधि विशापतः
- सर्वलोकेः B, E.

(=विश्वासतः)

6 This verse is omitted in H. D reads after this verse several passages from PR as follows:

भ्रये क इह घनुभेन्नमकरोदिति परशुरामे वदित शतानन्दवाक्यम्— राघवेन शिशुनापि किलायं (PR iii, 41)॥ पुनः परशुरामवाक्यम्— दुर्धणाः स्टासिद्धकिन्नरमेटेः (PR iv, 13)॥ तसो रामवाक्यम्—मया स्पृष्ट्

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

परगुरामः ।1

पुरारे: कार्मके येन भग्नं तिष्ठति भागवे ॥ ७४॥ क स दाशरथी रामी मद्यशक्षन्द्रवारितः।

श्रीरामः सविनयम्।3

भगवन्नात्मनैवेद्मभज्यत करोमि किम् ॥ ७१ ॥ ४ स्त्रीणां नेत्राण्यधिवसतु नः कज्जलं वा जलं वा। स्पृष्टं वाषि न वा स्पृष्टं कार्मुकं पुरविरिणः। हार: कण्ठे प्रभवतुतरामत्र कि वा कुठार:

- I Omitted in H.
- omit it here but place it, with its headnote after no. 2 This verse is omitted entirely by B, D, A, E, F 66 (पाचत्यों निजमतुँ०). G reads it after no. 76, CS omits it here but places it after no. 72
- 3 Omitted in A, E, F; युनद्शिंगरियः B, C, D, which add before the verse following : मुने समस्व।
- 4 This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

iv, 20)॥ चयडीशकाम्कविमद् (PR iv, 19)॥ रामवचनम्-भो (AR iv, 48) ॥ रामघचनम्—जातः सोऽहं दिनकरकुले (no. 35 of our न मा स्यूष्ट (PR iv, 21)॥ परगुरामवचनम्-येनोपदिष्टमधापि (PR महान् भवता समं (PR iv, 25)॥ परग्रुरामवचनम्—राजन्येभ्यो जन्म० text=AR iv, 49) 11 MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

सम्पश्यामी निज्ञानमुखं । प्रेतमर्तुभूखं वा यहा तहा भवतु न वयं ब्राह्मणेषु प्रवीराः ॥ ७६ ॥ १

अपि च।

निहन्तुं हन्त गा विप्रान् न शूरा रघुवंशजाः । अयं कण्ठे 4 कुठारस्ते 5 कुरु राम यथोचितम् ।। ७७ ॥ ा निक्समझखं KK, CS, H; भ्रुचमपि छलं Dām. G reads as in text.

2 PR iv, 23; Dām. i, 44. The verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F.

सघवा वयम् G, H.
 मे for ते E, F.

4 Even A, B, C, D.

6 Dām. i, 39. A, B, C, D transpose the two lines of this verse, reading the last line first.

अथ युद्धोद्यते परग्रुरामे दाशरथिः।1

मुने क्षमस्व।2

भो बहान् भवता समं न घटते संप्रामवातिष नः

पुनः सानुनयमाह दश्रास्थः ।1

सर्वे हीनबला वयं बलवतां यूयं स्थिता मूर्यति।

युस्मादेकगुणं शरासनमिदं राजन्यकानां बलं²

युष्माकं व्रिजजन्मनां<sup>4</sup> नवगुणं यज्ञोपबीतं बरुम् ।। ७८ ॥<sup>6</sup> भो ब्रह्म भवता समं न घटते संप्रामवातािष नः संबें हीनबला वयं बलबतां यूपं स्थिता मूर्यनि। यस्मादेक्गुणं शरासनमिदं राजन्यकानां बलं<sup>3</sup>

The line is ा दशस्थः A, G, H; दशस्य आह E, F. omitted entirely in B, C, D.

3 सञ्चत्तमुर्वीभुजां A, E, F. Omitted in B, C, D. 4 अस्माकं भवतः पुनः A; अस्माकं भवतां पुनः E; युष्माकं भवतां युनः F.

5 PR iv, 25: Dām. i, 40.

6 В, С, D read here, after this verse, жи цецтин: followed by no. 72.

ग आथ द्यारथवाक्यम् F; पुनः सानुनयं द्यारथस्त्वाह G; आथ तं

3 Dropped in H.

2 सब्यक्तमुर्वीभुजां B.

हष्ट्रा द्यारथवाक्यम् H.

युष्माकं द्विज्ञजन्मनां नवगुणं यज्ञोपनीतं ३ बल्म् ।। ३३॥

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

# परशुरामः साभ्यसूयम् ।1

येन स्वां विनिहत्य मातरमिष क्षत्रास्त्रमध्यासव-स्वादाभिज्ञपरश्रयेन विद्धे निःक्षित्रया मेदिनी । यद्वाणत्रणवर्तमंना शिखरिणः कौश्वस्य हंसच्छळा-द्याप्यस्थिकणाः पतन्ति स पुनः कृद्धो मुनिभागवः² ॥ ७६ ॥

## रामः सविनयम् ।3

स्रोषु प्रवीरजननी जननी तवैव देवी स्वयं भगवती गिरिजापि यस्यै<sup>4</sup>। त्वहोगंशीकृतविशास्त्रमुखावलोक-ब्रीडाविद्गणहृद्या स्पृह्याम्बभूव<sup>5</sup>॥ ८०॥<sup>6</sup> I This as well as the following verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions: but probably borrowed by J from Dām. i, 42.

- AR iv, 52,
- Omitted in all Mss and printed editions,
- हम्ये A, E, F.

4 This verse is omitted by H; while D places it

after no. 28, and not here.

2 यस्मे A, G.

सबैच B, D, F.

3 ०विदीण्हद्या F.

- AR iv, 33; Dām. i, 43.
- 6 B,C,D omit this verse and read instead and dragating.

स्रोषु प्रवीरजननी जननी त्वद्या<sup>1</sup> देवी स्वयं भगवती गिरिजापि यस्यै।<sup>2</sup> त्वद्दोर्वशीक्रतविशाखमुखावलोक-ब्रीडाविनम्रवद्ना<sup>3</sup> स्<u>य</u>ह्याम्बभूव ॥ ३४॥<sup>4</sup> MAHANATAKAM

OUR TEXT

MADHUSTDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

अथ परशुरामं प्रति लक्मग्यः सकोपस् ।'

पुरोजन्मा नाद्यप्रभृति मम रामः स्वयमहं न पुत्रः पौत्रो वा रघुक्रळमुवां च क्षितिभुजाम्। अधोरं धीरं वा कळ्यतु जना मामयमयं मया बद्घो दुष्टद्विजदमनदीक्षापरिकरः ।। ८१॥ ।। । भूमात्रं कियदेतदर्णविमितं तिन्निजितं हार्यते यद्वीरेण भवादृशेन दृदता त्रिःसप्रकृत्वो जयम्। followed by no. 72, as already noted. This verse is also omitted by KK.

- ा सकोपम् omitted by G, H. The line is entirely omitted by A, E, F. B, C, D read instead: गुरुनिन्दां श्रुत्वा सकोध लहमयाबाक्यम।
- 2 AR iv, 46. A, E, F omit this verse here but place it after no. 85 (तज्जापमीशामुजा).
  - 3 After this verse, B, C, D read : श्रीरामः सामगे लह्मणं प्रति । कार्यांकायं न जानासि वन्तुं शिज्ञा कुतः शिथोः । प्रमथाधिप्-शिष्यस्ते रामो न गण्नास्पद्म् ॥ Then परशुरामं प्रति रामः, followed by no. 84 (जातः सोऽहं).

# MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

तत्कोयाहिरम प्रसीद भगवन् जात्यैव पूज्योऽसि नः ।। । । । हिदंदाति न चार्थिम्यो रामो हिनीभिभाषते ॥ ८३॥ हिः शारं नाभिसन्यते हिः स्थापयति नाश्रितान्। हिम्मोऽहं नवबाहुरीहशमिदं वीरं च वीरवतं

## अथ राम 3वाक्यम्।

साटोपं सानुनयं रामः।'

जातः सोऽहं दिनकर ⁴कुठे स्त्रियश्रोत्रियेभ्यो 5 विश्वामित्राद्षि भगवतो दृष्टदिन्यास्त्रपारः ।

- I AR iv, 35: Dām. i, 47. This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions, but probably borrowed by J from Dām.
- 2 Dām. i, 48. Omitted in all Mss and printed editions.
- रामचन्द्र A, श्रीरामचन्द्र E, श्रीराम G.
- दिवाकर A, contrary to metre. 4
  - 5 श्रोतियाभ्यां B, C, D.
- The pages of KK's edition in my copy are missing from here to the end of Act II.

जातः सोऽहं दिनकरकुले क्षत्रियत्रोत्रियेभ्यो विश्वामित्राद्षि भगवतो दृष्टदिन्यास्त्रपारः।

E adds आह before F and H omit this heading. राम: D reads रामवचनम् only.

अस्मिम् वंशे कल्यतु¹ जनो दुर्यशो वा यशो वा विप्रे शस्त्रप्रहणगुरुणः साहसिक्याद्विभेमि ॥ ३५ ॥² ³यद्भ⁴जन्मनामभे न शूरा राघवा वयम्। अयं क्षत्र⁵कुठारस्ते कुरु राम यथोचितम्॥ ३६ ॥<sup>6</sup>

1, जनयतु E; कलयति B.

'2 This verse is omitted in F and H. B reads after this verse: पुनः साटोपं सानुनयं रामः। मया स्पृष्टं न चाकृष्टं कार्मुकं (no. 75 of M), variant being भगवन् भृगुमायङ्ग्याभज्यत in the second line,

3 A and C read before this verse: आथ श्रीराम-

4 मूराम D, F. 5 कपडे D, F, H : बहा G.

6 A and C read after this verse: भूमात्रं कियदेतद्ध्विमये
AR, iv, 35), the variants being तित्रिंतं हायंते (A), यश: (for जय: A). F reads here some of the verses which it omitted before and arranges the verses as follows: अय रामवाययम्—वाह्रोबंतं न विद्तिं (no. 31 of our text)॥ जातः सोऽहं दिनकरङ्खे (no. 35)॥ पुरोजन्मा नाद्यप्रसुति (no. 81 of M=AR iv, 46)॥ तत्त्वापमाकवृति (no. 38 of our text)॥ ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य (no. 41 of our text)॥ इधिकस्तप्रयो० (no. 90 of M).

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivananda's Ed.)

अस्मिन् वंशे कलयतु जनो दुर्यशो वा यशो वा विप्रे शस्त्रमहणगुरुणः साहसिक्याद्विभेमि ।। ८४॥

I AR iv, 49; Dām. i, 41.

ततः परशुरामः।1

तचापमीशभुजपीडनपीत²सारं प्रागण्यभज्यत भवांस्तु निमित्तमात्रम्। राजन्थकप्रधनसाधनमस्मदीय-माकर्ष कार्मुकमिदं गरुडध्वजस्य ॥ ३७ ॥³ and places here some of the verses which it has omitted before, arranging the verses thus: उत्करपोत्कर्स्य (no. 32 of our text, reading सकलियतः in 1.1, वर्गायामेकविश्वात्यविधि भाम्यतः in 1.2)॥ अथ द्यारथस्य भाषपाम्—वाह्नोवेलं न (no. 31, reading श्राम्मोविभेति in 1.2)॥ अथ रामवाक्यम्—भूमात्रं कियदे-सद्याविमितं AR iv, 35)॥ आथ सुनयः—कृशिकसतस्पर्यां० (no. 35, reading कथयतु in 1.3)॥ अथ भुनयः—कृशिकसतस्पर्यां० (no. 90 of M, reading स्थुपतिमिपं जित्वा लब्धवीरेन्द्रथाब्दः)॥ यथौ सामं परिस्वज्य (no. 41).

- 2 ०पीडनिपीत B.
- 3 A and C read here no. 86 of M (रामस्तदादाय) and no. 88 of M (यः कार्तमीयंस्य).

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda'S Ed.)

तथाषि¹ श्रीरामं प्रति² परग्रुरामः ।³ तच्चापमीशभुजपीडनपीतसारं प्रांगप्यभज्यत भवांस्तु निमित्तमात्रम् । राजन्यकप्रधनसाधनमस्मदीय-माकषं कार्मकमिदं गरूडध्वजस्य⁴ ॥ ८४ ॥⁵ I Omitted in A, E, F. 2 Omitted in E. 3 B, C, D read for this line: विनीतं रामचन्द्रं

出

- परधुरामः। 4 AR iv, 55; Dām. i. 45.
- B, C, D, read here:

रामः सतोषं सद्पं सवाण्ं ( सग्नरासनं C) च तदाचकषं। तेजोऽविग्नद् भागवतोऽभिरामे प्रदीनतेजाश्र बभूव चेषः। तत्प्रार्थितास्तीर्थगतीर्विरस्य स्वगंप्रयाण्ं विशिखेन बद्धम् ॥

ततः परं परश्रामवचनम्।

याते काम्केतिद्यया परिभवं सार्धं गयानां गयाैः षड्वक्) समयं विलङ्घय जयिनोसुहिश्य शक्ति स्थिते हस्तोदास्तपरश्चयः स्वश्ययेथेः स्तिम्भतः शम्भुना विश्वे पश्चत कौतुकं स्त्रुपतेस्तस्यापि रामोऽङ्कुयः ॥ परिणेष्यतीति<sup>8</sup> ॥ ८७

OUR TEXT

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

रामस्तदादाय धतुः सहेळे वाणं च संयोज्या तदाचकषं। भाति स्म साक्षान्मकरध्वजोऽयं गतिं प्रचिच्छेद च भागवस्य ।। ८६॥ तम्वापमाकर्षति ताङकारावाकारगुप्रापि 5 विशालनेत्रा सासूयमें क्षिष्ट विदेहकन्या कन्यां किमन्यां

परिणेष्यतीति ॥ ३८॥]

1[ तचापमाकर्षति ताङकारावाकर्णमाकर्णविशास्त्रेत्रा ।

मुहुः समीक्षिष्ट विदेहकन्या कन्यां किमन्यां

हराझाशान्तं नितान्तं निगदितमपि तं नैव शान्तं विदित्वा सन्यायाथ शरश्च भार्गवरातिच्छेदादमोषीकृतः ।। ३६ ॥ कन्या काचिदिहापि कर्मणि पणः स्यादित्यसूयावशात् सीतापा क्रमयूखमां सल्मुखज्यो ह्याविलिप्तां दिवम् <sup>३</sup>। क्यं दोर्वहिलीलाजितसकल मगद्वीरवर्गप्रमावम्। कुर्वाणिन रघूडहेन 4 चहुषे नारायणीयं धनुः

- B supplies a heading : सतः सीसामनसि परिभवः।
  - This verse is given only by B, C, G here.
    - This verse is from AR iv, 57.
- A and C supply a heading पुनरिष सादोर्प रामः।

- 2 विभाति A, E, F. लंयुज्य G, H.
- अन्नजः स्वर्गति A, E, F, G.
- 4 Dām. i, 49, This verse is omitted in B, C, D.
- तातवाक्यक्टोरह्यापि A, E, F; B, C, D read oकारत्धापि; G reads oकारतृष्टापि।
  - 6 विदेहकन्या A, E, F; विदेहपुत्री B, C, D.
- 7 विशालनेत्रा A, B, C, D, E, F.
- Dām. i, 50.

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

## OUR TEXT

आदायास्मादकस्माद् थतुरमरपुरप्राप्तिमार्गं मुद्दित्वा रामो रामं निकामं वरपरशुकरं खर्वगर्वं वितेने ॥ ४० ॥

## भागंवः सानुनयम्।

यः कातंबीर्थस्य भुजान्¹ सहस्रं चिच्छेद् वीरो युधि जामदंग्न्यः।
स सायके² रामकराधिरूढे ब्राह्मण्य एव प्रणयी बमूव ॥ ८८ ॥³
यावद् धूर्जेटिथर्मपुत्रपरशुक्षण्णास्विळश्चत्रियश्रेणीश्रोणितिपिच्छिला वसुमती कोऽस्यामधास्यत् पदम्।
श्रेलोक्यामयदानदक्षिण्भुजावष्टम्भिद्वयोद्यो⁴
देवोऽयं दिनछ्रदक्ष्णैकतिलको न प्राभविष्यद् यदि ॥ ८६ ॥⁵
कुशिकसुतसपर्यादृष्टव्यास्त्रपारो
धृगुपतिसह्युध्वा वीरभोगीनबाहुः।

- I J notes the alternative reading भुजा, which is accepted by Dām, A, G, H; RS also notes both the readings.
- 2 शरासने B, C, D. 3 Dām. i, 51.
- 4 दिन्यायुधी B, C, D; दानीसत A, E, F.
- Dām. i, 52.

This verse is omitted by D, F, H.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

बहुमतरिपुकर्मा कार्मुकी रामभद्रः॥ ६०॥1 दिनकरकुलकेतुः कौतुकोहामबाहुः

जामदग्न्यचर्गो निपतितो2 रामः।

ज्ञात्वा प्रभावं <sup>3</sup> रघुनन्द्रनस्य तद्गन्नमाळिग्य ततोऽपि <sup>9</sup> गाढम्। सत्यत्रहातपोनिधर्मगवतः कि कि न छोकोत्तरम् ॥ ६१॥ग वींय यत्तु न तद्गिरां पथि नतु भ व्यक्तं हि जत्कर्मिताः। उत्पत्तिर्जमद्मितः स भगवान् देवः पिनाकी गुरु-

AR vi, 50. This verse is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, F. Dām, reads this as xiv, 36.

2 ंचरण्यातितो A, E, E; ंचरण्यं पतितो B, D: ंगचने पतितो C. यन्त A, E, F; यस्य B, C, D.

पदमन् for पथि नन् A, E, F; गुरो: पदं न नु गिरां B, C, D. च A, E, F. 6 योग: A, D, E, F.

8 ज्ञालेव भावं B, C, D: ज्ञात्वावतारं A, E, F, Dām; G accepts the reading of the text but also notes 7 Mahavira-carita ii, 36; Dam. i, 53.

o ततोऽपि all Mss, except H.

ज्ञात्वाबतारं।

हर्षात् पपात सिलेले चरमस्य सिन्धोः ॥ ६५ ॥

गत्वास्तरौलशिखाः खररशिममाली

नेत्वा मूध्रांखिलगुरुजनान् सीतया लक्ष्मणेन ।

प्राप्यायोध्यां स्वजनपरमोत्साहसम्भावनाभि-

राजापि सह रामाद्यैः पुत्रैरुत्तरकोशलाम् ॥ ४१ ॥ ययौ रामं परिष्वज्य भागंवः स्वीयमात्रमम्। श्रथ रामपराक्रमं हच्द्रा परशुरामापसपंश्यम् ।

विन्यस्य तस्मिन् जमद्गिस्नुस्तेजो महा ।क्षत्रवथात्रिद्वतः ॥६२॥ 🔋 MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.) राजापि सह रामाद्यैः पुत्रैरुत्तरकोशाळाम्।। ६३॥ ययो रामं परिष्वज्य भागेवः स्वीयमाश्रमम्। पित्रा समं निजयुरीं प्रजगाम रामः ॥ ६४ ॥ मामन्त्यू सर्वसुजनान् पितृमातृबंश्यान् रुद्धा गति परशुराममुनेः स नाकी-सम्मान्य मान्यतमित्रगुरुखजातीन् हष्ट्रा चिरात्मद्नवाणनिषीडिताङ्गी अत्रान्तरे जनकजार्घुनन्द्नी च

3 J notes the alternative reading परित्यन्य which is accepted by A, B, C, D, E, F; RS notes both the 2 Dām. i, 55. महत् B, C, D, E, F, G.

नाकादानन्य सर्वजनकान्). Calso gives this verse here but reads after it no. 94 of M (स्ब्रूर गित परग्रुरामसुने: स reads the heading after this verse and before no. 41 This heading is omitted by A, D, F, H. A of our text. MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.) सामो यामत्रयमिष कथं मास्नाराचिभन्नो नीत्वा सद्यः स्वरथतुरगान् ताङ्यामास दण्डैः ॥ ६६ ॥¹ अस्तं याते सपिदि² निल्नीबान्यवे सिन्धुपुत्रे प्राचीभागे सरसमुदिते³ पक्तारङ्गन्नस्ये । सामः कामं गुरुजनिगरा मन्दिरे सङ्गलोऽभू-हामोरूस्तं जनकतनया नन्द्यन्ती जगाम ॥ ६७॥⁵ r This verse is omitted in all Mss and printed editions. J notes in the commentary that it is taken from the Western recension: it occurs as Dām. ii, r.

स्वकुल A, E, F; मुकुल B, C, D,

3 रमसमुदिते E, F; सरागे नमसि समुदिते B, C, D, contrary to metre. A's reading is corrupt: सरभपद्भिलानद्भ-कस्मे।

4 पिक्कलानक्षकल्पे E, F, which E explains in a gloss as चन्द्रनविधिष्टकन्दर्गक्ष्पे।

5 Dām. ii, 2.

S. K. DE

(To be continued)

#### MISCELLANY

#### Vyosa

Quotations from Vyosa in illustration of grammatical rules occur fairly frequently in commentaries on grammar and lexicons. Some scholars led away by a mere similarity of sound, have suggested that Vyosa is merely a scribe's error of Ghosa which stands for Aśvaghosa, but no serious attempt has ever been made to establish the identity. In the index to the *Durghatavrtti*, Vyosa and Aśvaghosa have been regarded as the same author and the editor has gone out of his way to class a genuine verse of Aśvaghosa like

द्रदं पुरं तेन विसर्जितं वनं वनं च तत्ते न समन्वितं पुरम् । प्रशोभते तेन हि नो विना पुरं मक्तवता व्यवधे यथा दिवम् ॥

after which the name of Aśvaghoṣa is distinctly mentioned, with verses from Vyoṣa. The late Prof. Srish Chandra Chakravarti in his Introduction to the Bhāṣāvṛtti admitted that the quotations from Vyoṣa could not be found in the Buddhacarita edited by Cowell but hoped that when the complete manuscript of the Buddhacarita would be discovered, "Vyoṣa and Ghoṣa might turn up to be the same work."

A mere glance at the passages quoted from the Vyoṣa Kāvya is sufficient to show that it must have been a work illustrating rules of grammar like the Bhatti Kāvya. The Rāvaṇārjunīya is such a work, and practically all the passages quoted from Vyoṣa are found in the Rāvaṇārjunīya. It is difficult to say with the materials at our command how the Rāvaṇārjunīya came to acquire this peculiar designation, but one may hazard the suggestion that since it illustrates the rules of grammar, it was as unpalatable as the three bitters fatz which is the meaning of the word and in Sanskrit.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

## Date of the Mudraraksasa

Having read with great interest the paper of Mr. S. Śrikantha Sastri on this topic in the I.H.Q., VII, 163 sq., I should like to point out to the author an article which I published several years ago (IRAS., 1923, 585 sq.) on the date of Viśākhadatta and his drama. There I deduced from various arguments that the Mudrārākṣasa belongs to the latest period of the great Guptas, the reign of Skandagupta. This article apparently has escaped the notice of Mr. Śrīkantha Śāstrī; nor does he seem to be aware that not only Speyer and Hillebrandt but also Professor Konow and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (see IA., xlii, 265 sq.) tried to make Viśākhadatta a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Neither the criticism of Professor Keith (cf. Sanskrit Drama, p. 204) nor the attempt of Mr. Śrikantha Śāstrī to fix upon the year 397 A.D. as that of the composition of the Mudrārākṣasa are strong enough to shake my belief in the date fixed by me years ago. To single out a definite year-or even a day-as that of the composition of the drama is scarcely possible and presents no real interest; but there can be slight doubt that Viśākhadatta wrote his admirable play only short time before the catastrophal inroad of the Huns in the late 5th century A.D.

JARL CHARPENTIER

# Surastra under the Mauryas

In his article, On some points relating to the Maurya Administrative System, appearing in the September issue of the I.H.Q. (1930), Dr. U. N. Ghoshal assails certain views about the position of Surāṣṭra in Maurya India expressed in Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 1927. Dr. Ghoshal does not agree with the view held by Dr. Raychaudhuri that the Surāṣṭras were an autonomous people under the suzerainty of the Maurya empire.

With regard to the argument of Dr. Raychaudhuri—that the title of of  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$  borne by Tuṣāspha, the ruler of Surāṣṭra, in the days of Aśoka Maurya, probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy,—Dr. Ghoshal observes that "Dr. Raychaudhuri himself disposes of it by pointing to the analogy of Rājā Mānsingh's appointment as Subadar of Bengal under Akbar". Dr. Ghoshal it seems, has missed the true

'import of the analogy. It is far from the intention of the author of the Political History' of Ancient India to hold up Tuṣāspha as a bureaucratic governor. What he intends to suggest is that Tuṣāspha resembled Mānsingh in having the significant title of  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ , though holding the position of a provincial ruler through the favour of a superior authority to which he owned allegiance. This is apparent from the immediately following sentence in the Political History (p. 180): "His (Tuṣāspha's) relations with Aśoka remind us of the relationship subsisting between the Rājā of the Śākya state and l'asenadi." The relationship suggested here is not what is expected between a bureaucratic governor and the paramount power.

Dr. Ghoshal further observes that Dr. Raychaudhuri's "whole case for the alleged exceptional position held by Pusyagupta and Tusaspha rests upon the authority of a passage in the Arthasastra referring to the Kāmboja, the Surāstra, the kṣatriya (?) and other corporations (samghas)". With this assertion he couples the following interrogation: "Can the reference in the Arthaśāstra be safely taken, apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period?" A perusal of the Political History of Ancient India, pp. 180, 194 and 197 leads us to the conclusion that Dr. Ghoshal has not done justice to the author even on this point. The second footnote appended to p. 435 of the I.H.Q. by Dr. Ghoshal himself (misleading as it is in some respects) ought to have convinced him that Dr. Raychaudhuri has not relied on the uncorroborated evidence of the Arthasastra (vide Dr. Ghoshal's paper, I.H.Q., p. 435, fn. 2). He has accepted the testimony of the work only when it is borne out by independent sources of information. The Arthasastra couples the Surāṣṭras with the Kāmbojas who are mentioned in R. E. XIII in a list of "various autonomous tribes" to quote the words of Dr. Ghoshal himself. The status enjoyed by the Kāmbojas raises a strong presumption that the Surastras held a position of equal importance. That they actually did so is rendered probable by two pieces of evidence noted by Dr. Raychaudhuri on pp. 180 and 197 of his book. The first is that of the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradaman, and the second is that of the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka himself. In the Junagadh epigraph Tuşaspha, the ruler of Surāṣṭra in the days of Aśoka, is represented as bearing the title of raja. The significance of this designation becomes apparent when it is contrasted with the title amatya used in reference to Suvisākha, the governor of Surāṣṭra in the time cf Rudradāman himself.

In the fifth Rock edict of Aśoka, the list of 'various autonomous tribes' includes the Ristika Petenikas and the other Aparantas, and a student of ancient Indian geography need not be told that other Aparantas (i.e. Aparantas in the widest sense of the term) included the Surastras.

Dr. Ghoshal suggests that the samghas mentioned in the relevant Arthasastra passage refer merely to industrial and martial corporations. But he forgets that one of these "merely fighting and industrial" corporations, viz., the Kāmbojas find explicit mention in the list of "various autonomous tribes included within the limits of the Maurya Empire". The name of the Surāṣṭras, is indeed, not clearly given in the list. But such is also the case with the Gandhāras, in R. E. XIII, and, with the Andhras, Pulindas, Bhojas, etc. in R. E. V. It should not, however, be overlooked that in the last mentioned edict, after mentioning the Peteṇikas, Aśoka makes the significant addition amñe aparātā, "with other nations on my western frontier, (Smith), "and others on the western coast" (Bhandarkar). In view of these words of Aśoka himself one is not justified in saying that the edicts do not make 'the slightest reference to the Surāṣṭras".

We now come to the most astonishing of Dr. Ghoshal's assertions. "The Arthasastra", says he, "mentions the Licchivikas, the Vrjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kikuras (sic.), the Kurus and the Pancalas as examples of sanghas. These, however, are not mentioned by Dr. R. in his description of Asoka's Empire (Political History, pp. 19297), while other tribes like the Kāmbojas and the Surāstras are mentinned in this connection." Dr. Ghoshal would have done well if he had left the Vrjikas out of the list, for they are actually mentioned on p. 194. He complains in I.H.Q. (June, 1931, p. 387) that Dr. Barnett "has done scant justice to" him, But does he not lay himself open to the same charge by making a statement which does not accord with fact? As to the Mallakas etc. and the Arthasastra statement relating to a plurality of samgha-mukhyas how can he, of all persons, expect the author of the Political History "to take a reference in Arthasastra (sic.) apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period'?

Dr. Ghoshal has not contented himself with mere destructive criticism. He offers his own solution of the problem presented by Pusyagupta and Tuṣāspha. He says that "the rāṣṭriya Puṣyagupta and the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha after his time held charge of small jurisdictions falling within the limits of the neighbouring Viceroyalty

at Ujjaini." Dr. Ghoshal is a careful writer on ancient Indian history and we hope that he will produce his evidence for making such a weighty statement. Meanwhile we may be permitted to point out that in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (pp. 98-99) the name of the province under the sway of the *Kumāra* at Ujjeni is given as Avantiraṭṭha and we know of no Sanskrit or Pāli geographical composition which includes Surāṣṭra within Avantiraṭṭha. Further, according to the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 85, 12) the king in Council has direct relations with the Rāṣṭrīya. There is no reference to a Viceregal intermediary. Regarding the suggestion in the *Political History* that Puṣyagupta was a sort of Imperial High Commissioner, attention may be invited to the analogous case of the Imperial Calukya officials sent to territories of subordinate chiefs who "ruled in a dual capacity, that of customs officer and of a political agent" (Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 265).

BANKIM CH. RAY CHAUDHURI

# A Note on Suresvaracarya and Mandana Misra

The tradition about the identity of Mandana Miśra and Sureśvarācarva was introduced into the field of controversy when Professor Hiriyanna contributed his paper on the subject to the J.R.A.S., 1923, (pp. 259-63). The professor has been amply corroborated by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, in his article on 'Mandana, Suresvara and Bhavabhūti', (I.H.Q., VII, 2). In a little book, named the 'Maṇimañjarī',1 written by Nārāyaṇa Paṇdit, son of Trivikrama Paṇdit, a disciple of Madhvācārya, Viśvarūpa and Mandana are described as different persons. The writer says that Sankara had a dialectical contest with Visvarūpa, in which Viśvarūpa's wife, who is not named, acted as judge and gave her verdict against her husband, who turned a Sannyāsin, according to the terms of the contest; that after this, Mandana met Sankara, and was, in his turn, vanquished. The writer also names, in a different connection, one Umbaka (Umbeka?) as a disciple of Kumārila, but does not say whether he was the same person as Visvarupa. Much of the history narrated by this writer, Nārāyaṇa, is vitiated by sectarian bias, but he treads upon sure ground in differentiating the husband of Ubhayabhāratī from Mandana.

AMARNATH ROY

I It is an earlier work than the "Sankaravijaya" of Mādhava, which identifies Sure vara with Mandana, CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

## Notes on the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions

I

#### Nāgārjunikoņņa and Nāgārjuna

The discovery of the Prakrt Inscriptions at Nagarjunikonda recently edited and published by Dr. Vogel in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX, pt. i, is of great importance to the history of Buddhism.

## Importance of the site of Nagarjunikonda

In my note on the "Discovery of a Bone-relic at an Ancient Centre of Mahāyāna" published in the I.H.Q., (1929), vol. V, pp. 794-796, I dwelt on the importance of the site, Nāgārjunikonda, as a famous resort of the Buddhists of the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably also, as an early centre of Mahāyāna. Just as Bodh-Gaya grew up on the bank of the Neranjara as a very early centre of Hinayana and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists so also did Amaravatī (extending to Jaggayapeta) and Nāgārjunikonda on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including its tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists. On the basis of the style of sculptures and the palæographic data, Burgess, agreeing with Fergusson, holds that the construction of the Amaravati Stupa was commenced in the 2nd century B.C., and enlarged later and decorated with new sculptures, the latest of which was the great railing erected a little before 200 A.D.1 It was some time after the completion of this Amarāvatī Stūpa, that the stūpas at Jaggayyapeta and Nāgārjunikonda came into existence, their dates being, according to Burgess and Vogel respectively, the 3rd or 4th century A.D.2 This estimate of date is based on palæographic evidences and the mention of the king called Mādharīputa Siri Virapurisadata (= Mātharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta) of the Ikhāku dynasty.3 The inscriptions on the

I Burgess, Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta (Arch, Survey of Southern India), p. 112-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XX, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler assigns 3rd century A.D. to the reign of king Purisadata, Ep. Ind., XX, p. 2, quoting Ind. Ant., XI (1882), pp. 256ff.

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āyaka-pillars at Nāgārjunikoņḍa contain not only the name of this king, but also that of his father Vāseṭhīputa Siri Cāṃtamūla and his son and successor Vāseṭhīputa Siri Ehuvuļa Cāṃtamūla.¹ It appears from the inscriptions that the principal donor of the subsidiary structures of the stūpa, was Cāṃtasiri, the sister of the king Siri Cāṃtamūla, and the paternal aunt (pituchā), later on, probably mother-in-law, of the king Siri Vīrapurisadata.² Hence, the time of the inscriptions, mentioning the names of the kings Cāṃtasiri and Vīrapurisadata, is the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. It should be remembered that the period mentioned here relates to the subsidiary structures of the main stūpa, and not to the stūpa itself—the Mahācetiya, which must be assigned to an earlier period.

## Yuan Chwang's testimony about Nagarjuna's place of residence

The Buddhistic remains at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa of Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District and the Tibetan tradition about the residence of Nāgārjuna at Śrī-parvata near Dhānyakaṭaka tempt us to trace some connection of Nāgārjuna, the expounder of Mādhyamika philosophy, with this locality, and have, in fact, led scholars to enter into speculations about the identification of Po-lo-mo-lo ki-li of Yuan Chwang, with Śrīparvata.

Yuan Chwang states that from Kalinga he travelled northwest about 1800 li (=300 miles roughly) through hills and forests and reached southern Kośala, where he found—'an old monastery with an Aśokan tope' said to be the residence of Nāgārjuna. He further states that while residing here Nāgārjuna met Āryadeva who hailed from Sengkala (Simhala). About 300 li (=50 miles) to the south-west of the 'old' monastery of Nāgārjuna stands the mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (rendered into Chinese by 'Hei-feng' meaning 'Black Peak' and 'Hei-feng-teng' signifying 'Black Bee mountain'). On the authority of Beal and Burgess, and

I Ep. Ind., XX, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, Yuan Chwnng, II, p. 200; Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus (Schiefner), p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Watters, op. cit., II, p. 207; Cunningham, Ancient Geography, new ed., pp. 598f. Varamula giri = Varula = Elura,

Fa-hien's Parvata-giri, Watters with some hesitation restores it as Bhramara-giri, and identifies it with Śrīparvata,¹ where, according to the testimony of Tibetan writers, Nāgārjuna spent the latter part of his life.² Yuan Chwang, however, does not state clearly that Nāgārjuna lived at Po-lo mo-lo-ki-li, which may have been a Buddhist establishment built at his instance within the province of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. To identify this mountain with Śrīparvata, which, if identified with a mountain near Dhanakaṭaka, must have been more than 50 miles distant from any part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, seems to me to be wide of the mark.

#### Tibetan and Sanskrit Traditions

Yuan Chwang's mention of Nāgārjuna in connection with Dakṣiṇa Kośala and the identification of this country, as suggested by Cunningham, with "the ancient province of Vidarbha or Berar, of which the present capital is Nagpur" reminds us of the Tibetan tradition which says that Nāgārjuna was born of a brahmin family of Vidarbha.

The Lankāvatāra could have been pointed out as the source of this tradition if the "Vedalyām" of the undermentioned verse could have been shown to be a locality in Vidarbha or if the word had been a variant for Vaidarbha."

दिचिणापयवेदल्यां भिचः यीमान् महायणाः। नागाह्यः स नामा तु सदसत्पचदारकः॥

lho-phyogs Vedahi yul du ni / dge-slon dpal-idan ches grags-pa // etc.

See Walleser, Life of Nagarjuna (Hirth Anniversary volume), p. 19.

I Watters, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Tāranātha, op. cit., pp. 71, 81, 303; dPag. bsam. ljon. bzan, p. 86: dPal. gyi. ri=Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, op. cit., p. 595.

<sup>4</sup> Tāranātha, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 301, 303; dPag. bsam. bjon. bsan, p. 85: lho-phyogs-Vaidarbhar-bram. zehi. rigs. su. hkhruns.

<sup>5</sup> Lankāvatārā, Sagāthakam, p. 286:

<sup>[</sup>At Vedali in the south, there will be the renowned monk known by the name of Nāga, supporter of the doctrine of both existence and and non-existence].

<sup>6</sup> The reading 'Vedalyām' of Nanjio, followed by H. P. Šāstrī, (Buddhistic Studies, ed. by B. C. Law, p. 853) is not warranted by the Tibetan version of the verse, which is as follows:

The Mañjuśrimūlakalpa furnishes us with a few particulars about Nāgārjuna corroborating the Lankūvatūra but does not mention his birth-place or the chief centre of his activities. It says,—

चतुर्यं वर्षभते प्राप्ते निर्वते मिथ तथागते ॥
नागाह्नयो नामामौ भिद्धः शासनेऽिक्षं हिते रतः ।
सुदितां भूभिलन्धस्त जीवेत् वर्षभतानि षट्॥
मायूरी नामतो विद्या सिद्धा तस्य महात्मनः ।
नानाशास्त्रार्थभात्वणे निःस्तभावार्थतत्त्वित् ॥
सुखावत्यां चीपपद्येत यदासौ त्यक्तकलेवरः ।
सोऽनुपूर्वेण बुद्धलं नियतं सम्प्राप्स्रते ॥

[In the fourth century after my parinirvāṇa,¹ there will be a monk known by the name of Nāga engaged in doing good to the Faith. By attaining the Muditā stage (i.e. the first of the ten bhūmis) he will live for 600 years. He will attain perfection in Māyurīvidyā.² That master of the knowledge of the various śāstras and dhātus, and of the non-reality of all things, will after demise be reborn in the Sukhāvatī, and will in due course attain Buddhahood].

The Madhyamik-Nagarjuna confused with the Tantrik-Nagarjuna

The Mañjusrīmūlakalpa, belonging to a date prior to the 11th century A. D.,<sup>3</sup> has very probably mixed up the traditions relating to more than one person bearing the name Nāgārjuna, It corroborates the Lankāvatāra<sup>4</sup> when it states that Nāgārjuna will be the master of the

In the Appendix to Tāranātha, op. cit., pp. 301, 303, Wassiljew writes that according to Sumbum of Toguan chutuktu, Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha in the south,400 years after Buddha's parinirvāņa. See also dPag. sam. ljon. bzaņ, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio speaks of six Mahāmayūrī-Vidyārājñīs (nos. 306-311). The earliest translation, dated 317-420 A.D., is attributed to Poh Srīmitra, the next in order being that of Kumārajīva. See also As. Researches, XX, p. 516; R. L. Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist Literature, pp. 173, 292.

<sup>3</sup> Its Tibetan translation was made in the 11th century. See Csoma Körösi, Asiatic Researches, vol. XX.

<sup>4</sup> As the passage occurs in the last chapter (Sagāthakam) of the Lankāvatāra, the date of the tradition may be taken to be as old as

doctrine of existence and non-existence and that he will after attaining the Mudita stage (i.e. Pramudita, the first of the ten bhumis), be reborn in Sukhāvatī, but it omits the prophecy that Nāgārjuna will propagate the Mahāyāna1 doctrine of Buddhism. On the other hand, it says that he will attain perfection in the Mayuri-vidya and will live for 600 years. To attribute mastery of the Mayuri Tantra2 to the expounder of Madhyamika philosophy looks absurd on the face of it, hence, it may be unhesitatingly stated that the Manjusri-mulakalpa makes a confusion between the traditions about the Mādhyamik-Nāgārjuna and the Tantrik-Nagarjuna. That there was a Tantrik Nagarjuna is proved by the tradition preserved in the dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan (p. 86), in which it is recorded that, according to the account of the 84 mahasiddhas (grub-chen-gya-bshi), one Nāgārjuna was born at Kahora, a part of Kañci, was educated at Nalanda, where he learned the Śāstras, practised the Siddhis and visualized the goddess Tārā. He lived for some time at Ghantasaila and thence came to Śriparvata.

Of the two traditions mixed up in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, I think, one originated in the Lankāvatūra and the other in the Mahāsiddhi-Vṛttūnta. Taking Nāgārjuna to be a single person, his span of life has been supposed to be of 600 years. Tāranātha³ obtained much of his information from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and gave currency to the view that Nāgārjuna lived for 600 years, or more correctly, 529 or 571 years. Though the author of the dPag. bsam. ljon. bzan⁴ has recorded the traditions separately he was not sure about the fact that there were two Nāgārjunas, as he described the first Nāgārjuna as successful in the sādhana connected with the goddesses Mahāmāyūrī and Kurukullā.⁵ In the Tibetan tradition, how-

the 5th century A. D., because the Chinese translations of this chapter were made by Bodhiruci (513 A. D.) and Śikṣānanda (704 A. D.). See also J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 835; Walleser, Life of Nāgārjuna (Hirth Anniversary volume), pp. 20, 21.

I Lankā., p, 286: प्रकाश्य लोकी मद्यानं महायानमनुत्तरम्।

This has been pointed out by Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his Intro. to the Sādhanāmālā, vol, II, p. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 730.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 85, 86

<sup>5</sup> For particulars about these Tantrik goddesses, see Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Preface to the Sādhanamālā, vol. II.

ever, one Nāgārjuna is counted as a Tāntrik guru, being the disciple of Saraha¹; hence it is quite possible that the incidents of the life of the second Nāgārjuna have been mixed up with those of the first. Confusion was further helped by the fact that this Tāntrik Nāgārjuna had as his disciple one Kaṇaripa, who was also called Āryadeva.²

## Taranatha's statements utilised for dentangling the traditions

For disentangling these traditions, we may utilise Tāranātha's division of Nāgārjuna's life of 600 years into three periods, viz., 200 years in the Madhyadeśa, 200 years in the south, and 129 or 171 years on Śrīparvata.³ Tāranātha linked up the life-span of the first Nāgārjuna with that of the last, and as the belief in the capacity to prolong life through Tāntrik methods was then current, he did not think it absurd in any way that a person should live for about 600 years. Nāgārjuna of Madhyadeśa was very probably the student of the *Prajñā-pāramitās* and the expounder of the Śūnyatā philosophy, while the Nāgārjuna of Śrīparvata was born in the south probably 400 or 500 years after the first Nāgārjuna and spent the latter part of his life on

I dPag. sam. ljon. bzan, p. 124, based on the account of the 84 Mahāsiddhis. See also Sādhanamālā, II, intro., p. xli. Tāranātha (p. 105) also mentions him.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 124. It is not unlikely that this is also a confusion made by the Tibetan writers with Āryadeva of the Mādhyamika school.

<sup>3</sup> Tāranātha, op. cit., p. 73.

that the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna lived in or about the first century A. D. The second Nāgārjuna, whose disciple met Yuan Chwang, may be placed in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. If the total length of time from the birth of the first Nāgārjuna to the death of the second Nāgārjuna be taken as 529 or 571 years, as Tāranātha states, then the date of the first Nāgārjuna is to be taken back to just tht beginning of the Christian era or a few decades earlier. The latter alternative fits in with the prophecy as recorded in the Lankāvatāra and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa that Nāgārjuna will come into existence in the fourth century after Buddha's death. Some may say that Nāgārjuna, the Mādhyamika expounder, lived in the first century B. C. In another paper, this point will be dealt with,

#### NOTES ON THE NAGARJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTIONS

Śrīparvata, converting it into a centre of Tārā worship.¹ In all probability it was the Tāntrik Nāgārjuna, who was regarded as the great alchemist.² Yuan Chwang says that he met a disciple of Nāgārjuna³ and that the first Nāgārjuna lived somewhere in Dakṣiṇakośala at a place consecrated by an Aśokan tope, which perhaps will come to light at some future date. In his Geographical Dictionary,⁴ Mr. De writes that there is near Nāgpur a place called Rāmagiri (mod. Rāmtek) where a temple is said to have been dedicated to Nāgārjuna. Taking into account all these evidences, it may be stated that the first Nāgārjuna had nothing to do with the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Śrīparvata, or Dhānyakaṭaka, and that his activities were confined to Dakṣiṇa-kośala. The Sanskrit inscription at Jaggayyapeta recording the establisment of a Buddhapratimā by the donor and his aspiration to Buddhatva⁵ cannot but be a record of a comparatively late date and hence its reference to Nāgārjunācārya is evidently to the Tāntrik Nāgārjuna.

The Gandavyūha, a work of about the 2nd or the 3rd century A. D., speaks of Dhānyakara as a great city of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a seat of Mañjuśrī, who lived in an extensive forest at Māla-dhvajavyūhacaitya and converted a large number of Nāgas and other inhabitants of that place, but refers neither to Nāgārjuna nor to Śrīparvata. It is in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa that Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka find mention as important centres of Buddhism, and hence these should be associated with the second Nāgārjuna rather than with the first.

or Pārvatī is not uncommon. There is now a Sivadurgā temple at Srīparvata (See De, Geog. Dict., p. 193). This fact has led Beal to identify Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with Śrīparvata.

<sup>2.</sup> This raises the questions, as to the contemporaneity of Nāgārjuna with Sātavāhana; the authorship of the Suhrillekha (JPTS, 1886); the discoverer of the so-called elixir of life, and the identity of Nāgārjuna about whom fresh information has been supplied by Prof. Sylvain Lévi in his article "Sur le Buddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde" in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vi, pt. 2. As these topics fall beyond the scope of this paper, I wish to deal with them in a subsequent issue of the Quarterly.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, op. cit., I, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Sv. Rāmagiri.

<sup>5</sup> Burgess, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> A, S. B, Ms., leaf 21b.

<sup>7</sup> Mañjusrīmūlakalpa, pp. 88, 628,

II

#### PAMCA-MATUKAS

The occurrence of the terms 'Pacanekayika,' 'Sutantika,' Trepitaka, Sutātikinī,' 'Petakin', Vinayamdhara' in Barhut, Sānci and other inscriptions, has been generally accepted to imply that the Buddhists of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. had a Tripitaka, one of which was the Sutta Pitaka, divided into 5 Nikāyas, just as we have it today. Until the discovery of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikonda we had not come across any epigraphic record specially naming the Nikāyas.

# Vinayadharas and Samyuktabhānakas of Mahāvanasaila

On the pillar of an outer railing of the Amarāvatī Stūpa there is an inscription which describes some nuns as Vinayadharas<sup>2</sup>, and another inscription which speaks of the monks of Mahāvanaseliya as Mahāvinayadharas.<sup>3</sup> These two inscriptions distinctly prove the existence of a Vinayapiṭaka at that time.

An inscription on one of the slabs found near the central stūpa of Amarāvatī refers to a monk of Mahavanasāla (Mahāvanasalavathavasa), who was a pupil of the Saṃyutabhātuka mahātheras [Saṃyutabhātukāṇaṃ mahāth(e)rānaṃ]⁴. Burgess translated the word "Saṃyutabhātuka" as "the brother of Saṃyutaka," The letter "ta" of "bhātuka" in the plate is distinctly "na." Burgess probably was not aware of the use of the word 'bhāṇaka', a term not rare in the inscriptions of, and read it as 'bhātuka.' It is only in the works of Buddhaghosa, we find that monks were used to be grouped as "Dīghabhāṇakas", "Majjhimabhāṇakas", "Saṃyuttabhāṇakas" or "Aṅguttarabhāṇakas".

Now, the Samyuttabhāṇakas of the above mentioned inscription

I Vogel, Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 173, 196; Bloch, J, A. S.: B., 1898, pp. 274, 280; Stede, Pāli Dict., sv. Piṭaka; Lüders' List.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, op cit., p. 37. 3 Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess, op. cit., p. 91 (Plate xlviii, no. 35), see also p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> See Index to Lüders' List.

<sup>6</sup> Sum. Vil., p. 15; Visuddhimagga, pp. 74, 76, 77: Anguttara-bhāṇakā; pp. 36, 266, 275, 286: Dīghabhāṇakā; pp. 275, 286, 431: Majjhimabhāṇakā; pp. 275, 431: Saṃyuttabhāṇakā.

are associated with the Mahāvanasala<sup>1</sup>. Burgess adopts the reading 'sālā' for 'sala', and I think, he would have no objection if one adopted the reading 'sela.' From the Gandavyūha<sup>2</sup> we learn that on the east of the great city Dhanyākara, there was a great forest called Vicitramūladhvajavyūha. So it is very likely that there was a series of forest-covered hills which went by the name of Pūrvašaila or Pūrvamahāvanašaila and Aparašaila or Aparamahāvanašaila, and these are referred to in Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions as Aparamahāvinasela.<sup>3</sup>

From what has been said above as also from the Amarāvatī inscriptions it may be inferred that there were, on the forest-covered hills near Dhanyākara, a few Buddhist establishments with a large number of monks and nuns, the latter being much in evidence as donors and donees of gifts. The establishments belonged to a Buddhist sect which had a Piṭaka divided into Sūtra and Vinaya, the former having sub-divisions, one of which was the Samyukta.

#### Dīgha-Majhima-Nikāya-dhara

It is for the first time in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa that we get the use of the words, Digha, Majjhima and  $Matrk\bar{u}$ , in passages like Digha-Majhima-pa[m]ca- $m\bar{u}tuka$ -osaka- $v\bar{u}cak\bar{u}nam$  and Digha-Majhima- $nik\bar{u}ya$ -dharena' in the Ayaka-pillar  $C_1$  and "Digha-Majhima-pamda- $m[\bar{u}]tukadesa[ka-v\bar{u}][ca-k\bar{u}nam]$ " and "Digha-Ma-nigaya-dharena" in the Ayaka pillar  $C_2$ .

Any comment on the expressions "Dīgha-Majhima" or "Dīgha Majhima-Nikāya-dhara" is hardly necessary except this that the use of such appellations is not usual in the Pāli literature, where the appellations "dhammakathika", "dhammadhara" are very

I See Burgess, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. B. ms., leaf 21a: धन्याकरस्य महानगरस्य पूर्वेण विचिवनालध्वजवाहरनान महावनप्रस्थं पूर्व्वतुद्वाधाषित चैत्यं तथागताधिष्ठितं।

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., XX, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See infra, for Dīgha and Majjhima.

<sup>5</sup> Dhammakathikas, according to Buddhaghosa, are really Abhidhammikas, but he further says that ordinary Dhamma preachers are also called Dhammakathikas. Attha., p. 29.

Samyutta, III, pp. 162ff: See the answer given to the question, "kittavatā nu kho bhante Dhammakathiko hotī'ti "?

Its use is found also in the Amaravatī and other inscriptions. See Burgess, op. cit., p. 24 and Index to Lüders' List.

commonly found. The Pāli expressions which repeatedly occur in every Nikāya for referring to the masters of the various branches of the Buddhist literature are, "bahussuta ūgatāgama dhammadhara vinayadhara mātikādhara", and not Nikāyadhara. The slight difference noticed in the sets of such appellations in the Nāgārjnikoṇḍa inscriptions and the Pāli texts tends to show that the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect which was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pāli School) but had a literature and tradition very similar to those of the Theravāda School.

We now pass on to the next expression 'Pamca-mītukā' which also points to the inference that the inscriptional records are concerned with a sect other than the Theravada, The word 'matuka' is evidently a corrupt form of Sanskrit mātṛkā or Pāli mātikā. The common explanation of mātikā as given in the Pāli texts is Abhidhamma. By the term mātikādhara, the Pāli texts refer to a master of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The interpretation has its origin in the tradition that Buddha preached Abhidhamma to his mother in Tavatimsa heaven and gave its matika (= substance or main themes) to Sāriputta among his disciples, and that Sāriputta later on expanded the mātikās and developed them into the Abhidhamma pitaka; hence the Abhidhamma has become synonymous with mātikā. The older of the Sarvāstivāda traditions, as preserved in the A-yu-wang king (Asokarāja sūtra) and A-yu:wang-tchouan (Asokarājāvadāna sūtra),2 while giving an account of the First Council, says, that Mahākāśyapa, after completing the recitation of the Vinaya with the help of Upāli, proceeded to recite the Mātṛkā or Mātṛkāpiṭaka. Kāsyapa said to the bhiksus that by the mātṛkā or mātṛkāpiṭaka one is to understand the following topics: 4 smṛtyupasthānas, 4 samyakpradhānas, 4 ! ddhipādas, 5 indriyas, 5 balas, 7 bodhyangas, aṣṭāngikamarga, (i.e. the 37 Bodhipakkhiyadhammas) as also the 4 Pratisamvits, the Samādhis; in short, the exposition of the precepts and the dharmas constitutes the mātṛkā. In the Pāli texts also, these 37 Bodhipakkhiya-

<sup>1</sup> Majjhima, I, p. 223; CV. i 11; Anguttara, III, p. 78: dullabho bahussuto, dullabho dhammakathiko, dullabho vinayadharo; Attha., p. 15: Ānandatthero hi bahussuto tipiṭakadharo. For further references, see P.T.S. Pāli Dictionary, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> J. Przyluski, Le Concile de Rajagrha, pp. 45, 334; cf. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 160: mDo (Sūtra), Dulva (Vinaya) and Ma-mo (Mātrkā).

dhammas1 are often pointed out as the essentials of Buddhism. Though mātikā came to mean the Abhidhammapitaka in the Pāli texts, its use in its original sense is not excluded. While discussing whether the Kathāvatthu can be regarded as 'Buddhabhāsita', it is contended by Buddhaghosa that Moggaliputta Tissa did not compose the work from his own knowledge but from the matika given by the Teacher (satthā dinnanayena thapitamātikāya deseti).2 In support of this contention Buddhaghosa adds that the Madhupindikasuttanta is regarded as Buddhavacana though it was Mahākaccāna's composition on the ground that it was only an exposition of the matika given (thapitamatikāya) to him by Buddha. It is also in this sense that we find its use in the Vinaya texts, but there are a few passages3 in which 'mātikā' means the Pātimokkha-Sutta. Later on, however, Mātikā more properly Dvemātikā, became a technical name for the Bhikkhupātimokkha and Bhikkhunīpātimokkha. Without multiplying

Khandhake Vinaye c'eva Parivāre ca Mātike | Yathatthakārī kusalo paṭipajjati yoniso ||

See also Vidhusekhara Sāstrī, Pātimokkhasutta, p. 12-13: Naiva mātikāya na padabhājane vuttam (Kankhā-Vitaranī Pāc. 19), in which mātikā means pada, i.e. of the Pātimokkhasutta.

Samantapāsādikā, p. 18; Attha., p.19: Pañcavidha-pātimokkuddesapārājikādisatta āpattikkhandha-mātikā.

4 See Mabel Bode, Pāli Literature of Burma, p. 6. She says in the footnote that her attention was drawn by Dr. Barnett to a book reedited in Burma as Dve-mātikā, which included Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha, Kammākammavinichaya, extracts from the Parivāra and other Vinaya texts, and a Pātimokkhuddesa.

I Dīgha, II, p. 119-120: (Mahāparinibbānasutta): Katame ca te bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desitā.....? Seyyathīdam cattāro satipaṭṭḥānā, cattāro sammāppadhānā, cattāro iddhipādā, pañc' indriyāni, pañca balāni, satta bojjhaṅgā, ariyo aṭṭḥaṅgiko maggo. In the Majjhima Nikāya (II, p. 245), Buddha just after enumerating these asked Ānanda if there were any two monks who held different opinions about them (imesu dhammesu dve pi bhikkhū nānavāde ti?), to which Ānanda answered in the negative. This conversation was concluded by the remark that there might in future be difference in opinion relating to minor rules of discipline (ajjhājīve adhipatimokkhe) but not to these essentials.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Vinaya, Mv., I, p. 98:

instances, it may be stated that even in Pāli literature, Mātikā means not only the Abhidhamma-piṭaka but also the Pātimokkhasutta, and for the matter of that, the Vinaya Piṭaka. Childers in his Pāli Dictionary (s.v. Mātikā), writes on the authority of Burnous's translation of the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, that it means "the list of the Vinaya precepts, omitting all the explanations and other details". The "mātuka" of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions may therefore be taken to mean both Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

## Pañca of Pamcamātuka

Now let us turn to the significance of the numerical adjective pamea in the expression 'pamea-mātuka.' The Pāli Vinaya-Piṭaka is usually regarded as consisting either of 4 parts or of 5 parts thus:

(i) Pātimokkha, (ii) Vibhanga, (iii) Khandhakas, and (iv) Parivāra, or, (i) Pārājikā; (ii) Pācittivā, (iii) Mahāvagga; (iv) Cullavagga and (v) Parivāra.¹ The latter division is more common, and hence pamea-mātuka may be taken to refer to the Pāli Vinaya or a version very similar to the same.

Much information is now available from the Chinese sources about the Vinaya texts of the different schools, and a flood of light has been thrown on them by Mons. Przyluski in his Le Concile de Rājagrha."

Among the Vinaya texts in Chinese, catalogued by Nanjio, we notice that four works have 'mātṛka' as a part of their names, viz., Sarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya-mātṛkā, (1132); Mūlasarvastivāda-nikāya-

r The corresponding Sarvāstivāda titles are,—(i) Vinaya-vastu, (ii) Prātimokṣa-sutra; (iii) Vinaya-vibhāga; (iv) Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu, and (v) Vinaya-uttara-grantha, see my Early History etc. pp. 283ff.

<sup>2</sup> For Dharmagupta Vinaya, see Journal Asiatique, 1916; and for the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, see Ibid., 1914; also Csoma Körösi in the Asiatic Researches, XX summarised in my Early History etc., pp. 282 ff.; see also my introduction to the Bodhisattva Prūtimokṣa Sūtra (I. H. Q., June, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> A work though published in 1926-28 is not widely known even among scholars writing on the first two Buddhist Councils, the main source of which are the Vinaya texts of different schools. They depend for their information on the paper by Prof. La Vallee Poussin published two decades ago. See Buddhistic Studies (1931), Ch. II: Buddhist Councils, pr. 26.

mātṛkā (1134); Vinaya-mātṛkā-sāstra (1138) of the Dharmaguptas,1 Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya-vinaya-nidāna-mātrkā-gāthā (1140). Of these, the Vinaya-mātrkā-śāstra furnishes us with the information that the Vinaya Pitaka (i.e. of the Dharmaguptas) consisted of five parts, viz. Khanda (kathina, etc.), Mātrkā, Ekottara, Bhiksu-Prātimoksa and Bhiksunī-Prātimoksa.2 Likewise, we are told that the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahāsanghikas was also divided into five parts and that the Mahasanghikas had a particular fancy for the number 'five', specially in connection with the Vinaya, for they have repeatedly mentioned this number while speaking of the divisions of the Vinaya rules.3 We have seen that the matrka has been used to denote the Vinaya Pitaka as much as the Abhidhamma; hence, the Pamca-mātuka of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions may be taken to mean either a Vinaya Pitaka or an Abhidharma Pitaka, in five divisions, Now, let us see if any school had the Abhidhamma Pitaka in five divisions. The Abhidhamma Piţaka, so far as is known to us, consists of seven texts whether in Pālis or in Sanskrit, and the Mahāsanghikas, so far as the traditions go, did not recognise the seven texts of the Theravadins as Buddhabhasita, but had an Abhidharma Pitaka of their own according to the testimony of Yuan Chuang, who further supplies us with the information that he himself studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahasanghika

I Przyluski, op. cit., pp. 169, 316. "The title P'i-ni-mou (Vinay matrkā) indicates that this work is a mātrkā of a Vinaya, and at the end of the fragment translated, it is written that the Vinaya appertains to the Haimavata school.

<sup>2</sup> Przyluski, op. cit., pp. 177, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp 212: "Il y a cinq régles de la pureté"; p. 215: "Dans le Vinaya cinq choses sont relatées; p. 216: "Il ya a cinq Vinaya"

<sup>4</sup> Pāli (Theravāda): (i) Dhammasangani, (ii) Vibhanga, (iii) Kathāvatthu, (iv) Puggala Pañnatti, (v) Dhātukathā, (vi) Yamaka and (vii) Paṭṭhāna.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit (Sarvastivāda): (i) Jūāna-prasthāna-sūtra with its six supplements, viz., (ii) Sangīti Paryāya, (iii) Dhātukāya; (iv) Prajūaptisāra (v) Dharmaskandha, (vi) Vijūānakāya and (vii) Prakaraṇapāda. See my Early History etc., pp. 288 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Dipavamsa, ch. v. 32-38.

<sup>7</sup> Watters, op. cit., II, pp. 161, 217.

I.H.Q., SEPTEMBERIJIO Smain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

school with two monks at Dhanakaṭaka. If it could have been ascertained that their Abhidharma had five divisions, we would have no hesitation in stating that the Pamca mātuka referred to the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The only Abhidharma Piṭaka existing in five parts, as far as we know, is that of the Dharmaguptas, whose Vinaya-Piṭaka was in four parts, but as the inscriptional and literary evidences do not point to the existence of that school in this locality, they may be left out of account.

Coming to the Vinaya Piṭaka, we find that five of the principal schools, viz., Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṅghika had their Vinaya Piṭakas in five divisions,<sup>2</sup> and in view of the fact that the appropriate place of the Vinaya Piṭaka is after the Nikāyas, the term 'paṃca-mātuka' refers, I think, to the Vinaya-Piṭaka and to the one belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas, because the inscriptional and literary evidences, as we shall see presently,<sup>2</sup> suggest it.

#### III

#### SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM CONNECTED WITH NAGARJUNIKONDA

The testimony of Yuan Chwang about the schools of Buddhism prevalent in Dhanakaṭaka and its neighbourhood is our best guide in this enquiry. He says that in the twenty monasteries existing at the time, there were the monks of the Mahāsaṅghika School, and that on a hill to the east of Dhanakaṭaka stood the Pūrvaśaila monastery, and on a hill to the west, the Aparaśaila monastery. The inscriptions so far discovered in this locality nowhere mention the name of the Mahāsaṅghikas, as we find in the Karle Caves (Mahāsāghiyas). The names of schools, rather local schools, that are mentioned in these inscriptions are:

- (i) Hamghi (Burgess, op. cit., p. 105). Ayira-haghāna (Ep. lnd., XX, pp. 17, 20).
- (ii) Caityikas (Burgess, op. cit., pp. 100, 102). Cetiavadakasa (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

I Przyluski, op. cit., pp. 353, 357, 359.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 3 See infra, p. 649.

<sup>4</sup> Watters, op. cit., II, pp. 214, 217.

<sup>5</sup> For references, see my Early History etc., p. 243.

- (iii) Aparamahāvinaseliya (Ep. Ind., XX, p. 41). Mahāvanaseliyāna (Burgess, op. cit., p. 105).
- (iv) Puvasele (used not as a sect but a place name, see Ep. Ind., XX. p. 22).
- (v) Rājagiri-nivāsika (Burgess, op. cit., p. 53). Rājasaila (*Ibid.*, p. 104).
- (vi) Sidhathikanam (Ibid., p. 110).
- (vii) Bahusutīya, (Ep. Ind., XX, p. 24).
- (viii) Mahisāsaka (Ibid.).

Drs. Burgess and Vogel have drawn our attention to five of the above-mentioned schools, viz., (1) the Caityikas, comprising (2) the Aparaseli-yas and (3) Puvaseliyas, and (4) Bahusutīyas and (5) Mahīśāsakas. Of these the Mahīśāsakas need not be taken into account, first because, the donor who makes the gift to this sect hails from the distant province of Vanavāsa, and secondly because it is a branch of the Sthaviravādins and not of the Mahāsanghikas. All the other sects mentioned in these inscriptions are branches or sub-branches of the Mahāsanghikas.

# Āryasamgha = Mahāsamgha

My first object is to show that the Mahāsaṅghikas have been here referred to as Ayira-haṃgha or simply, Haṃgha, for reasons stated below. Whenever a sect is named in the inscriptions it is preceded by the expression 'Ācariyānaṃ,' e.g., Ācariyānaṃ Aparamahāvina-seliyānaṃ; Ācariyānaṃ Bahusutīyānaṃ; Ācariyānaṃ Mahīsāsakānaṃ, hence Ācariyānaṃ Ayira-haṃghānaṃ refers to the sect of Ayira-haṃghas or simply Haṃghas. In the Chinese titles of the Vinaya texts, the Mahāsaṅghikas is sometimes shortened to Saṅghika,¹ and it is quite natural. The use of the term 'Haṃghi' before "gaha-patiputasa Dusakasa"² is significant. Burgess takes Haṃghi as a proper name, whereas, I think, it means 'one belonging to the Haṃgha (Saṅgha) sect.' It is still more significant that a householder (gahapati) is pointed out as belonging to the sect, a thing rather unusual in

I See Nanjio, 1159 [Prātimokṣa-saṅghika(saṅ-khi)-vinayamūla), an extract from the text no. 1119 Mahāsaṅghika (Mo-ho-saṅ-khi) vinaya].

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, op. cit., p. 105. See also pp. 72, 78, 90, 91.

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Buddhism, but it should be remembered that the Mahāsanghikas, as the forerunners of the Mahāyānists, were the first Hīnayānists to give a place to the laity in the Buddhist dharma. The derivation of the term 'Mahāsangha', as offered by Yuan Chwang is as follows,—"And because in the assembly, both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the great congregation". Hence, we should take 'Haṃgha' or 'Saṃgha' as a proper name and a shortened form of Mahāsangha. Then the use of "ārya" for "mahā" is not uncommon in Sanskrit or Pāli; hence "Āryasangha" may well be taken to mean the 'Mahāsangha'.

# All the Andhakas (= Pubbaseliyā, Aparaseliyā, Rājagiriyā, Siddhatthikā) are specifically named in the inscriptions

The Caityikas were a branch of the Mahāsaughikas. Probably a section of the Mahāsanghikas attached great importance to the worship of the stupa or caitya as is to be found in the Mahavastu,2 and got the appellation of Caityika. But it is doubtful whether the Aparaseliyas or Pubbaseliyas were independent sects, though the commentary on the Kathavatthu attributes to them some differences of view in regard to doctrine, and psychological analysis. In the Mahāvamsa3 it is stated that in later times, some (local) schools came into existence in India, viz., Hemavatā, Rājagiriyā, Siddhatthikā, Pubbaseliyā, Aparaseliyā and Vājiriyā.3 Four of these sects, viz., Rājagirikas, Siddhatthikas, Aparaseliyas and Pubbaseliyas are collectively called the Andhakas.4 The members of the Mahāsanghika sect, it seems, came to be known after the names of the hills, on which they had their monasteries, without probably vital differences in doctrinal and disciplinary matters. Yuan Chwang remarks that he saw only the Mahāsanghikas in the existing monasteries of Dhanakataka, and specifically refers to two monasteries, one on the Aparasila and the other on the Pūrvasila, without pointing out that they were two independent sects. Mrs. Rhys Davids infers from the statements of Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu

<sup>1</sup> Beal, Records of the Western Countries, II, p. 164,

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvastu, II, pp. 362ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mahavamsa, p. 29. 4 Points of the Controversy, Intro.

that the Mahāsaṅghikas were not actually existing at Buddhaghosa's time. Buddhaghosa, however, speaks of the Andhakas as existing in his time.¹ The inference that can be drawn from these statements is that either the Mahāsaṅghikas came to be called by their prolonged residence in the Andhra country as the Andhakas or the four sects that issued out of the Mahāsaṅghikas were, by their residence on the hills of the Andhra country, called the Andhakas. To reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang and Buddhaghosa, we may say that the Mahāsaṅghikas residing within the Andhra country were known as the Andhakas.

Dr. Burgess overlooked the fact that the terms, Rājagiri or Rājaśaila and Sidhathika,<sup>2</sup> so often mentioned in the Amarāvatī inscriptions, refer in some cases to the local sects as much as the Puvaseliya and Avaraseliya do. Sidhathika is not in all instances the name of a person as Dr. Burgess supposes it to be. Except the Mahīśāsakas, all the sects named in the inscriptions are branches or sub branches of the Mahāsaṅghikas, hence it may be concluded that the whole Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas though visitors came there from far off countries<sup>3</sup> for the great sanctity of the Stūpa, containing as it did, the bone-relic of Buddha.<sup>4</sup> It follows therefore that 'Dīgha-Majhima-Nikāyadhara' or 'Paṃcamātukadesakavācaka,' mentioned in the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas or the Andhakas as they were later on called.

## Doctrinal Evidences point to the Andhakas

A remarkable aspect of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the mention of a few points relating to the Buddhist doctrine. Buddha is described as jita-rāga-dosa-moha (one who has conquered attachment, ill-will and delusion) and dhātuvaraparigahita (possessed of the excellent dhātu), and the donor expects as a result of his or her gifts merits which he or she can transfer (pariṇāmetuṃ) to his or her relatives and friends—an article of faith not recognised in the Pāli works

I Points of the Controversy, p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, op., cit., pp. 101, 103, 104, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, p. 214; Manjuśrimulakalpa, p. 88, and infra, pp. 652-3.

<sup>4</sup> I.H.Q., vol. IV, pp. 794-6, Discovery of a Bone-relic,

where attadīpa attasaraņa is the maxim. The fruits expected are (i) religious merits, for himself, his relatives and friends resulting in their happiness in this world and the next (ubhaya-loka hita-sukhāva-hananāya),—a merit which reminds us of the Asokan inscriptions: esa bāḍha dekhiye iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti and (ii) Nivāṇa-sampati (nirvāṇadom) for himself or herself.¹

The recording of the view that gifts may bring happiness to all, but nirvāṇa only to oneself, deserves our careful consideration. The distinction drawn in this way is rather uncommon and is not made even in the inscriptions recording the gifts of the Queen of Vanavāsi to the Mahīśāsakas² or in the long inscription of the Sinhalese donor.³ This may well serve as an evidence to prove that all the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa except the two mentioned above belong to one sect, viz., the Mahāsanghikas or their sub-sects, or in other words, the Andhakas.

Then the expresions 'dhatuvara-parigahita' or 'nivana-sampati-sampadaka' raise the presumption that the Andhaka-conception of Nirvana was different from that of the Theravadins or their sub-sect the Mahīśasakas. In the Kathāvatthu, there are two controversies (ix, 2; xix, 6), relating to the conception of Nirvana as prevailing among the Andhakas, The one attributed to the Puvaseliyas is that the Amatapada (= Nirvāṇa), is "an object of thought of a person not yet free from bondage",4 and the other attributed to the Andhakas is that "the Nibbanadhatu is kuśala (good)" in the sense in which mental states are spoken as kuśala (good) and it is a faultless state. Both these statements bear the implication that the Mahāsanghikas or the Andhakas conceived of Nirvana as a 'positive faultless state'—a conception which can hardly be accepted by the Theravadins, who speak of realizing the Nibbana within one's own self (paccattam veditabbo viññūhi) and not of grasping the same as some object producing pure happiness.6 Hence, the expression nivāna-sampati-sampādaka (the obtainment of the wealth of Nirvana) cannot be the utterance of an adherent of a sect other than the Andhakas.

I Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 16, 18, 19, 20, 21: "atano" or "apano."

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., XX, p. 24. 3 Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Rhys Davids, Points of the Controversy, pp. 231-3.

<sup>5 1</sup>bid., p. 339.

<sup>6</sup> See Majihima Nikāya, Mūlapariyāyasutta.

#### IV

#### PASADAKANAM

In the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, the following words occur at the end of l. 1:

ācariyānam Kasmīra-Gamdhāra-Cīna-Cilāta-Tosali-Avaramta-Vamga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na] Da[mila- Pa]lura- Tambapamni- dīpa-pas[ā]dakānam theriyānam Tambapa[m]nakānam suparigahe, etc.

It has been translated by Dr. Vogel thus: "For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapamna (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra Cīna, Cilāta (Skt, Kirāta), Avaramta (Sk. Aparānta), Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?) Palura (?) and the isle of Tamba-pamni (Ceylon)".1

The gift has been made by an upāsikā Bodhisiri for the benefit of her husband Budhamnikā, and of her father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma, as also for many others.

Our object is to see how far Dr. Vogel is justified in making such an assertion, unknown in the history of Buddhism, as that "the fraternities of Ceylonese monks had converted Kasmir"2 and other places named in the inscription. His sole authority for this statement is the word "pasadakanam" in the line quoted above. Childers explains "pasadaka" by 'causing serenity and happiness' and then refers to its use as a apappasadako thero (Mahavamsa, XX, 8) which literally means that "the priest who brought peace or pleasure to the island," from which Childers gives the secondary meaning "the priest who converted the island," Childers made himself quite clear in his notes sub voce pasado, but probably Dr. Vogel did not care to go through them, having in his mind a meaning which satisfied his new theory. The Pāli word for initiation into Buddhism is "pabbajanam" (becoming a Buddhist monk) or periphrastically, "saranasīlesu patițțhapanam" (Mah., XII. p. 19). The distinction made between pasadanam and pabbajanam is made clear in the verses 42 and 43 of the Mahāvamsa (ch. XII) relating to the mission of Majjhima to Himavanta:

Visum te pañca rațihāni pañca therā pasādayum, purisā satasahassāni ekekasseva santike pabbajimsu pasādena, sammāsambuddhasāsane.

I See Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 22, 23.

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[The five (i. e. Majjhima and his four companions) gladdened the five kingdoms separately, each of them ordained (lit. brought out from the world) 100,000 persons, believing (as they did) in the doctrine of Buddha].

In the Mahāvaṃsa, it is said in connection with Mahinda that he was waiting for a suitable time for "pasādetuṃ Laṇkādīpaṃ" (XIII, vs. 2). This passage may admit of the secondary meaning for converting the island of Laṅkā" but in verse 64 (of ch. XIV), "pasīdiṃsu nāgarā" clearly means "the city people became faithful."

Without further multiplying the instances of the use of the word Pasādaka'a (for which see P. T. S. Pāli Dictionary) I may make myself clearer by pointing out that in Hīnayāna (specially Pāli) Buddhism, 'conversion' has no sense unless a person is admitted into the Order. Anyone, even an animal or a spirit or a Naga may develop faith (pasada) in Buddha, his Dhamma aud his Sangha, but that does not make the being a Buddhist; so also any non-Buddhist may be believers (pasadaka) in Buddhism, but unless and until he is either established in the Trisaranas and Pañca-sīlas or admitted into the Order as a Samana, he cannot be called a person 'converted'. Hence, strictly speaking, "pasadakam" can never mean "conversion" The entry of any saint into a country gladdens the hearts of the people of the country. It is in this sense that the word "Pasadakanam" in the inscriptions should be understood, and the passage: Kasmīra . Tambapanni-dipapasadakanam theriyanam should be translated thus: Those nuns (not monks, as Dr. Vogel writes, for the word is theriyanam) who gladdened the hearts of the people of Kasmīra... Tambapannidīpa. The inscription, I think, refers in a general way to the nuns of all countries who by their saintly lives bring joy and peace to the people of the countries visited by them. The reason for glorifying the nuns only is probably due to the fact that the donor is an upāsikā, and as such she wanted to eulogize the bhiksunis alone.

Dr. Vogel takes the theris to whom the gift is made as all belonging to Tambapaṇṇi, following the grammatical construction of the sentence, Kasmīra...Tambapaṇnidīpapasādakānaṃ theriyānam Tambapaṇnakām suparigahe, etc. He shows no hesitation in remarking in the introduction (p. 7) that "the fraternities of Ceylonese

Not 'converted' as Prof. Geiger translates.

<sup>2</sup> Every chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa is ended by the line "Sujanap-pasādasaṃvegatthāya etc."

monks who had converted Kashmir... the isle of Tambapanni (Ceylon). But as this statement is not supported by any data, not even by the Ceylonese Chronicles, one should think twice before coming to any conclusion. In Sanskrit, the genitive is sometimes used for specifying (nirdharane) one out of many, and therefore, the passage may very well be translated as "Among the nuns who have brought joy and peace to the people of Kasmira... Tambapamnidīpa, the gift is made for acceptance by the nuns of Tambapanni alone." It has been already pointed out that Dhanyakataka, Sriparvata and other places in the neighbourhood became very important as holy centres of Buddhism, and as such they were visited every year by a large number of pilgrims which fact is borne out by Yuan Chwang's records. Hence it may safely be stated that nuns congregated there from various countries, and rich devotees hailing from a particular country quite naturally erected establishments for the residence of monks and nuns of their own country; in this particular case, an upāsikā of Ceylon2 provides a Caitya hall for the nuns only of her own country.

Another reason why Dr. Vogel's interpretation that Ceylonese monks (theriyā?) converted the Indian provinces cannot be accepted is the significant silence of the Mahāvaṃsa about such a fact of momentous importance to Ceylon. The Mahāvaṃsa, on the other hand, speaks of the conversion of Ceylon and the Indian provinces by Indian monks and even refers to various centres of Buddhism in India,3 wherefrom went monks in large number to attend the ceremony of consecretion of the Mahāthūpa of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Hence, Dr. Vogel's rendering of the passage in question cannot be accepted as correct unless more evidences are forthcoming regarding the activity of the Ceylonese monks in the conversion of places in India as far north as Kashmir.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

I Watters, op. cit., II, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> As Dr. Vogel admits that this is a donation of a Ceylonese devotee, cannot Govagāma, the home of the donor's father, be identified with Gonagāma of the Mahāvaṃsa (ch. VIII, 24), according to which it was a port of Ceylon where landed Bhaddakaccānā, grand-daughter of Amitodana Sākya?

<sup>3</sup> Mahāvamsa, ch. XXIX, pp. 29ff. Rājagaha, Isīpatana, Jetavana vihāra, Vesālī, Kosambi, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Kasmīra, Pallavabhogga, Alasanda, Bodhimandavihāra, Vanavāsa, Kelāsavihāra.

## The "Webbed Fingers" of Buddha

Dr. Coomaraswamy, writing "on the Webbed-Fingers of Buddha" (in I.H.Q., June, 1931 pp. 365-66), refers to an article on 'Le jālalakṣaṇa in Acta Orientalia (vol. VII, 232ff.) in which the writer, Dr. Stutterheim seeks to prove that the "jālalakṣaṇa" means 'the thin lines of rosy light which may be seen between the fingers when they are in contact, and the hand is held up against the light.' For this interpretation Stutterheim relies on the well-known verse of the Abhijāāna-ŝakuntala

प्रलोभ्यवसुप्रणयप्रसारितो विभाति जालग्रथिताङ्गुलिः करः । प्रलच्यपवान्तरिमद्वरागया नवीषसा भिन्नमिवैकपङ्गजम् ॥

laying much stress on the words vibhāti and iddharāga, and the simile of the fingers with the petals of a half opened lotus. Dr. Coomaraswamy disagreeing with my view and that of Mons. Foucher about the original significance of jālalakṣaṇa preferred the interpretation of Stutterheim. I am afraid I cannot accept the interpretation.

In explaining the word Jālagrathitānguli, the force of the word grathita should not be overlooked and the whole expression should be interpreted in relation to the poetical comparison of the boy's fingers with the petals of a partially opened lotus-flower in the early dawn. Drs. Böhtlink and Roth correctly take note of these points in their respective translations of this verse and refer to the fingers as joined. When the poet purposely makes this comparison, we are to understand that he has in his mind the idea about the jointure of the fingers, especially at their lower ends. The expression iddharāga refers to another of the Cakravarti-lakṣaṇas. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, while commenting on this verse of Kālidāsa, quotes this from the Puruṣalakṣaṇa in the Sāmudra:—

अतिरत्तः करो यस यथिताङ्गुलिको सृदुः। चापाङ्ग्याङ्कितः सोऽपि चक्रवर्त्तौ भवेद प्रवम ॥

In this verse, as many as four auspicious signs, viz., raktakara, grathitāngulikara, mṛdukara and cāpānkuśānkitakara, are mentioned; king
Duṣyanta sees only two of these—and these, the first and the second
are the only two that are visible from a distance—and Kālidāsa
naturally refers to these very same in a manner particularly befitting
one of the foremost poets of India.

Again, the early Buddhist texts refer to this sign as Jālahatthapādo (Mahāpadāna- and Lakkhanasuttāntas), jālāngulihastapādo (Lalita-

vistara), and as jūla (Mahāvastu—this work does not give us the full names of all these 32 lakṣaṇas and simply refer to them in a curt manner); the Mahābhārata also describes this lakṣaṇa as Jūlapūdabhujau (xii, 143, 36; this term most likely connotes the same thing as Jūlahastapūda) while enumerating the characteristic signs of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the two gods and Mahāpuruṣas at the same time. The Jūlalakṣaṇa of the toes can certainly not be explained in a manner in which Stutterheim interprets the same in the case of the fingers. 'The feet held up against the light' and thin lines of rosy light infiltrating through the interstices of the toes in contact with one another', would indeed be a curious explanation of the term jūlūngulipūda or jūlapūda! I need hardly point out that it would be quite unjustifiable to explain the lakṣaṇa in different ways—once in its relation to the fingers and secondly in connection with the toes.

It appears that in Kālidāsa's time, the adventitious sense of this sign as 'webbing of the fingeres' (to the poet this was partial) has already been introduced. So I modify my previous statement that the misinterpretation of the term did not take place till a period much later than the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa and Dharmapala refer to the original interpretation of the term in the sense of regular parallel lines on the fingers and toes of the palms and soles, whereas the poet refers to the other meaning (the poet is naturally silent about the toes, for king Dusyanta sees the extended hand of Sarvadamana and does not look at his feet). That the sense of 'webbing' had made its appearance as early as the closing years of the 4th century A.D. is proved by the Madhyamagama text (Taisho ed.; vol. I, p. 393) translated into Chinese by the Kashmerian Gautama Sanghadeva in 397-8 A.D.; here, this sign was rendered into Chinese in the following manner-the feet and the hands of the Mahāpuruşa are netted like those of the hamsarāja—the golden mallard.' (I am indebted to Dr. P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University. for this reference).

Dr. Coomarawamy is definitely of opinion that Buddhaghosa in his explanatory note on this lakṣaṇa means the same thing as was according to Stutterheim meant by the poet Kālidāsa. But, in the comment of Buddhaghosa, which was quoted by me in full in my first article, there is nothing that could justify us in drawing the above conclusion. The commentator begins with the statement that this lakṣaṇa does not mean that the fingers were joined by a

web, and that this kind of webbing between the fingers will define a peculiar kind of inauspicious hand, in shape like that of the hood of a snake (phaṇahatthako), which will be a fault in the figure of the man (purisadosa). Then he refers to the four (not five, evidently leaving out the thumb which being in a much lower plane than the other four fingers cannot have its lines touching those of the others) fingers of the hand and five toes of the feet which are of uniform or regular size (ekappamāṇa), their uniformity or regularity being indicated by the auspicious sign of the jālas which remain touching each other (aññamaññaṃ paṭivijjhitvā tiṭthanti). Lastly, he uses the simile of the lattice of a window. All this, if it means anything, can only mean 'the fingers and toes are marked with jālas or uniform and parallel lines as are to be found in the lattice of a window'.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's other objection against this interpretation of the laksana 'that the palms and soles of the Buddha, as Mahāpurusa, being marked with a cakka and so represented in very many sculptures of an early date, there can be no reference to another lakkṣaṇa in the same places' can be met by saying that the palms of the hand and especially the soles of the feet are marked by more than one auspicious characteristic; that those of many of the Buddha images (specially of the Mathura ones belonging to the Saka-Kuṣaṇa period, and the mediæval ones) bear not only the cakka, but also nandipāda trišūla, svastika (and some mediæval ones, dhvaja, yugmamīna, padma and such others in addition; cf. the inscribed Buddha image set up by Dattagalla, now in the Indian Museum) on them; that these symbols are carved on the palms (rarely) and soles, and not on the fingers and toes; that the reference in the case of this laksana is to the lines on the fingers and toes (in some texts, cf. Lalitavistara); that these could not be shown there by the artist 'in plastic or pictorial representations without marring their beauty'; that a good many of the 32 major signs as well as most of the 80 minor ones could not be plastically or pictorially represented in Buddha figures.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

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# Notes on Asoka Rescripts

ETADATHĀ\*—We have seen that although there is a close rapprochement of form between etadathā of P. E. VII and etadatthā at Ang. i. 198, the construction of the P. E. passage becomes rather clumsy with etadathā as adjective. A better use of the word is at Mil. 31, in an adverbial sense, which also appears to be the sense expressed by etadathā of the inscription. In the Pāli passage the word occurs as a correlative, or rather, complement of kinti ('how', 'in order that') and necessarily means 'to that end', being, therefore, equivalent to etadatthāya, as the following quotation from the Milinda will show:—

"Rājā āha: 'Kimatthiyā bhante Nāgasena tumhākam pabbajjā, ko ca tumhākam paramattho' ti. Thera āha: 'Kinti mahārāja idam dukkham nirujjheyya aññañ ca dukkham na uppajjeyyā ti etadatthā mahārāja amhākam pabbajjā, anupādā' parinibbānam kho pana amhākam paramattho' ti.——'Kim pana bhante Nāgasena sabbe etadatthāya pabbajantī, ti' etc. etc. [pp. 31 (=65-'6)—32].

[For the correlation of the terms, cf. also R. E. XIII. l. 11: etaye ca athaye ayo dhramadipi nipista kiti putra papotra me......(Shahbazgarhi)].

The theme of P. E. VII is 'anulupā dhamma-vaḍhi'. When Aśoka says etadathā me esa kaţe ('to this end has it been done by me'), the end or intent is 'that men may conform to this befitting pursuit of Dhamma' (Imam ca dhammānupaṭīpati anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti. Cf. the concluding portion: se etāye aṭhāye iyam kaṭe.....tathā ca anupaṭīpajaṃtu ti. Cf. also P. E. II). And this conforming to the befitting pursuit of Dhamma is, as the context in P.E. VII shows, calculated to ensure 'anulupā dhamma-vaḍhi'. The idea of 'vaḍhi' or spiritual thriving also runs through etadatthā of the Pāli passage quoted above (cf. also Pāli pitu-atthā, J. iii, 518, which the scholiast explains as 'pitu vaḍḍhi-atthāya').

Thus it appears that etadatthā at Mil. 31 is a better parallel than etadatthā at Ang. i. 198; and it is infinitely better than Hultzsch's bhojanatthā, for the simple reason that besides being strikingly similar in form, it agrees with the P.E. term in inner meaning, namely, 'vaḍhi', 'furtherance', 'increase of merit'.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from the March number, 1931.

# Some Notes on Ownership of the Soil in Ancient India

While reviewing my Agrarian System in Ancient India (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930) in the current number of the JRAS, Dr. L. D. Barnett has raised afresh the controversy about the king's title to the soil in Ancient India. His views on this important question which differ materially from mine are particularly welcome as they enable me to test the validity of my conclusions. In the present paper I shall consider the arguments advanced by him in support of his contention.

Dr. Barnett mentions "two distinct lines of theory and practice" bearing upon the present problem, one tending to establish, and the other to disprove, the ownership of the crown. It is important to remember that even in the January number of the JRAS, (p. 166) Dr. Barnett recorded without any qualification whatever his longcherished opinion that "in Ancient India the crown owned the land." If the array of arguments advanced in my work under notice has led him now to modify his earlier opinion to the extent just indicated, it has not been given in vain. Now what are the "two distinct lines" of evidence which Dr. Barnett claims to bring before us in his present article? They may best be stated in his own words as follows. "In favour of the theory of Crown ownership of the soil we have :- (a) the express statements of Kātyāyana, Gautama, Manu (with Medhātithi) and Bhattasvāmin, (b) the evidence of Megasthenes and the Chinese travellers, (c) the cases where kings actually resumed grants of land made to Brahmins (the Bahur grant SII, ii, p. 513 ff.) or reserved to themselves the right to do so in the event of misconduct (as in the Chammak grant CII, iii, p. 235) and (d) the fact that the British found no private ownership of land and practically had to invent it. Against this we have (e) the dictum of Jaimini, VI, vii, 2, that the land is 'unreserved for all', sarvan pratyavisistatvat, which a series of later writers-Sabara, Mādhava and Khandadeva in loco as well as Nīlakantha in his Vyavahāra-mayūkha—explain to mean that the king is not the owner of the soil, but only its guardian; (f) the references of the Smrtis and Kautalya to alienations of land, and (g) the records of such alienations in inscriptions,"1

In the above extract there are two 'very unfortunate' slips, caess for cases and CII ii for CII iii. These have been corrected in my quotation,

With regard to the above I may first mention that I have treated all of them (except c and d) in my work, though my interpretation of the same is different from that of Dr. Barnett. I shall now consider these items anew in the light of Dr. Barnett's observations.

As to (a) the "express statements" of Kātyāyana and other authorities are not connected with any specific rights of ownership belonging to the king, but are used (as I indicated in my Agrarian System) solely to explain or justify the king's right to levy certain revenues from land.1 Another proof of the inconclusive character of these "statements," as I further mentioned, is that Manu, e.g., in the same context advances for the Brahmanas the still more sweeping claim to be the owners of everything (sarvasyādhipatih-a claim which indeed may be traced back to the later Vedic Samhitas). But then, argues Dr. Barnett, doubtless with an eye to (t), these authorities introduce the doctrine of royal ownership "cheek by jowl beside the alienation of real ownership by private persons." Does not this very fact corroborate our view of the inconsequential character of the statements of royal ownership of the soil mentioned above? On the whole it seems that Dr. Barnett has been misled by the supposed analogy of similar statements of an extreme school of jurists in the feudal ages of Western Europe.

As to (b) Dr. Barnett quotes a passage from my work (Ibid., p. 78) to show, as he thinks, that I have "explained away Megasthenes by a not very probable supposition." This criticism, I may justly complain, is extremely unfair to me. For the passage to which Dr. Barnett takes exception occurs in an altogether different context (Lecture IV) where I attempted a historical retrospect of the various aspects of the Ancient Indian land-revenue system. On the other hand, while discussing the question of ownership of the soil in the last lecture (Lecture V), I admitted in full the evidence of Megasthenes and I brought forward2 the apparently corroborative evidence of the Chinese pilgrims which I believe, was explained for the first time in my Hindu Revenue System. Nevertheless I was unable to accept this evidence as a valid statement of facts. "Megasthenes's statement," I wrote,3 "has not obtained much credence even from those who believe in the State-ownership of the soil in Ancient India, while the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims is only implicit in its character," As Dr. Barnett has not challenged

I Agrarian System, pp. 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

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these arguments, they may properly be regarded for the present as holding the field.

As to (c) it is difficult to understand the relevancy of Dr. Barnett's argument. Cases of actual or potential resumption of endowments of land made by the kings in favour of Brāhmaṇas, as Dr. Barnett well knows, are altogether exceptional in character. But even if they were very much more numerous, the conditions of their tenure would apply only to the fiscal or other rights emanating from the Crown.

As regards (d) it would have little relevancy, even if it were a fact. For, admitting that the British in the late 18th and early 19th centuries "found no private owership of land," it would prove nothing regarding the absence of this right in the ancient times extending back to the 4th century B. C. and further. As a matter of fact, however, Dr. Barnett's statement is altogether disproved by the evidence of some eminent British administrators who had unrivalled opportunities of studying the problem during their long and distinguished service in this country in the early part of the 19th century. Beginning with the territories comparatively untouched by the Muslim invaders I refer in the first instance to Col. Wilks whose well-known History of Mysore contains an extremely valuable chapter (vol. I, ch. v) with the title Landed Property in India. In the course of this chapter which, as the author tells us in his Preface, he wrote very early so as to subject it to "the most rigorous test," he examines the state of the question in his own time in the wide extent of the country between the Ghats and the sea extending from 13 1/2 lat, on the east coast round Cape Comorin to 15° lat. on the western coast. The result of this luminous survey is stated by him in the following emphatic words. "We have now passed over the tract which I had proposed to trace, and, as I hope, have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial mind the positive and unquestionable existence of private landed property in India. After proving its distinct recognition in the ancient Sasters (sic) or sacred laws of the Hindoos, we have clearly deduced its derivation from that source, and its present existence in a perfect form in the provinces of Canada and Malabar and the principalities of Coorg and Travancore which have longest evaded the sword of the northern barbarians; we have found it preserved in considerable purity under Hindoo dynasties and comparatively few revolutions in Tanjore until the present day; we have traced its existence entire but its value diminished in Madura and Tinnevelly which had experience of numerous revolutions and had long groaned under the Muhammadan yoke. In the provinces adjacent and west

of Madras which had sustained the close and immediate grip of these invaders, we have shown by ancient documents its immemorial existence in former times, and even at the present day the right is generally clear and distinct, but in value approaching to extinction." From Southern India we turn to Rajputana which like it has remained largely untouched by the Muslim invasions. In his classical Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Col. Tod whose thorough acquaintance with his subject few have equalled, writes, "The ryot is the proprietor of the soil in Mewar. He compares his right therein to the aksay duba which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his bapota,1 the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished and the most significant phrase his language commands for patrimonial inheritance." And again, "Besides the ability to alienate, all the overt symbols which mark the proprietory right in other countries are to be found in Mewar, that of entire conveyance by sale or temporary alienation by mortgage."2

Turning to the parts of country which were more or less thoroughly subdued by the arms of Islam, we find on equally unimpeachable evidence abundant traces of private ownership at the begin ing of British rule. Thus Forbes in his valuable Annals of Gujerat called Rūsmālā by the author, writes with reference to a particular class of land-holders in the province. "It is difficult to make out a better title to land than that which was possessed by the Grassias of Gujerat," Malcolm in his valuable Memoir of Central India (1880 vol. II) writes, "The settled and more respectable hereditary cultivators of Central India have still many privileges, and enjoy much considera-

I Similarly Wilks writes in course of his survey of South Indian tenures above-mentioned, "Private property in Malabar and Travancore is distinguished by the emphatical word junnum a term having the express significance of birth-right." Even with regard to Madras and the adjoining districts he noted how the Muslim rulers could not but adopt the vernacular term 'Cawney Atchey' (sic) meaning 'independent hereditary landed property".

These rights have survived down to our own times. Thus we find in the Gazetteers of the Mewar Presidency (Rajputana Gazetteers Vol. II, A, Ajmer, 1908) that the bapoti tenure "gives the occupant rights of mortgage and sale and an indestructible title to the land so long as he pays the assessments upon it."

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tion, their title to the fields their forefathers cultivated is never disputed while they pay the Government share. In general a fixed known rent and established and understood dues or fees are taken from such persons, beyond which all demands are deemed violence and injustice." Even with regard to Bengal we find Verelst at the beginning of the Company's administration writing with reference to the district of Chittagong that the people possessed the right of transmitting and alienating their landed property by inheritance, mortgage, sale or gift. We also find the magistrate of the district in 1801 mentioning "a numerous body of land-holders unknown elsewhere who consider themselves as actual proprietors of the soil." 1

From the above authoritative list of opinions it follows that the conditions of land-tenures in India at the beginning of British rule, so far from proving "the Crown-ownership of the soil" in ancient times, furnish a strikingly corroborative body of evidence in favour of the former prevalence of private ownership on an extensive scale.

Coming to the group of points (e), (f) and (g) it appears that while Dr. Barnett admits the validity of the first in its entirety, he thinks himself justified in whittling down the force of the other two practically to nothing. He explains the cases of (f) and (g) to refer to "alienations of usufruct" only. At most he is prepared to allow that (f) "was derived in principle from an early age when the Crown was not yet universally recognised as the land-owner." These suppositions are open to exception on the following grounds:—

- (1) To admit the validity of the Mīmāmsā rule expressly denying to the king the ownership of the soil and in the same breath to interpret the Smṛti law as referring to alienation of usufruct only on the supposed ground of royal ownership is to overlook the important place which the Mīmāmsā occupies as the acknowledged basis of interpretation on the Sacred Law.
- (2) Dr. Barnett's whole case for referring the Smrti rules and the inscriptional evidence to cases of alienation of usufruct alone evidently rests upon his assumption of the validity of his arguments under (a), (b), (c) and (d). As these last have been shown above to be untenable, the conclusion drawn by him naturally falls to the ground.
- (3) By confining the data of the Smrtis and Kautīlya to cases of alienations of land alone Dr. Barnett has altogether excluded other

I For references, see Wilks Vol. I, ch, X.

and equally relevant branches of the evidence which are absolutely necessary to consider in forming a proper estimate of their significance. Such are the ideas of these authorities regarding ownership in general as well as the essential qualities and attributes of private ownership of land, which have been duly dealt with in my work. When Dr. Barnett imagines that (f) "was derived in principle from an early age when the Crown was not yet recognised as the land-owner" he overlooks the fact that the authors of the great mediæval Digests of the Sacred Law, like Jīmūtavāhana, Nīlakantha and Mitramiśra have, next to the Mīmānsā authorities, the clearest notion of the concept of ownership.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up the results of the above discussion, Dr. Barnett has failed to prove out of his first group of points that the Crown was the owner of the soil while his attempt to whittle down the evidence of the last two points has met with no better success. From this it follows that his belief in an "irreconcileable antagonism" between two groups of evidences is without foundation. Thus there remains in the field the view which I advocated in my work, namely, that of the private ownership of land.

A word may be said finally about the reconstruction of the history of land tenures in Ancient India that is attempted by Dr. Barnett in the concluding part of his review. In so far as the Vedic evidence is concerned I agree with Dr. Barnett that originally the land was held in private ownership.3 But I emphatically dispute his assertion that thereafter the Crown began to claim the ownership of all lands and that it remained "the real owner of the soil" until the beginning of "baronial feudalism". For as I have shown in my work from an exhaustive and detailed survey of the literary as well as North Indian epigraphic evidence that while the prerogatives of the Crown developed side by side with private ownership, this never amounted to the king's becoming the owner (in theory or in practice) of the land. In particular a specific group of rights claimed for the king in the Arthasastra and Smrtis and referred to in the inscriptions formed, as I showed for the first time, the true counterpart of the regalian rights of the Crown in Mediæval Europe and like the latter served to restrict, but not to supersede, the private rights of ownership.

U. N. GHOSHAL

I Agrarian System, pp. 84-89. 2 For references see Ibid., pp. 85-86.

<sup>3</sup> For the present I ignore the question whether and how far the land was held in individual or collective ownership.

<sup>4</sup> Agrarianc Sylveyplic Dogain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

#### Nalanda Stone Inscription of Yasovarmadeva

In the last number of *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. xx, part I, p. 37) Paṇḍit Hīrānanda Śāstrī has published, with a facsimile, the Nālandā Stone Inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva. He has identified this king with Yaśodharmadeva of the Mandasor Inscription on the ground that the record mentions a temple built by Bālāditya at Nālandā. This Bālāditya, argues Mr. Śāstrī, "must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hiuen Tsang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā". As Mr. Śāstrī infers from the record that "it was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśovarmandeva was holding the reins of soverignty", he feels no difficulty in identifying Yaśovarmadeva of this inscription with Yaśodharmadeva who was a contemporary of Mihirakula, and, therefore, also of Bālāditya.

Mr. Śāstrī's argument is vitiated by the fact that the record simply refers to a temple built by Bālāditya, and there is no warrant for the assumption that Bālāditya was ruling at the time the record was set up.

The palæography of the record, however, is quite decisive on this point. Any one who even cursorily glances at the facsimile of the inscription will be satisfied that it cannot possibly belong to the age of Yasodharman. As this point is not likely to be disputed, I do not enter into a minute and detailed discussion of the subject. Mr. Sastri himself admits that the characters of the inscription resemble largely those of the Aphsad Inscr. of Adityasena. As a matter of fact, any one who compares the letters n, bh, y, h, and  $\hat{s}$  of the inscription will regard it as perhaps even somewhat later than the Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena. The reasonable inference is, therefore, to identify Yasovarman of the inscription with the emperor of Kanauj who flourished towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century AD. And there is nothing in the inscription which would induce us to give up this natural inference in favour of Mr. Śāstrī's theory, which is not only in conflict with the plain epigraphical data, but also forces us to equate Yasovarman with Yasodharman for which there is no apparent justification. The present record should, therefore, be regarded as the first inscription of the emperor Yasovarman who was hitherto known only from literary sources such as the Rajatarangini and the Gaudovaho.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

#### Sailodbhava Rulers of Kongada

It is seen from the appended table that the geographical places in the Kongada-mandala mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Sailodbhava rulers, and of Subhākaradeva and Dandīmahādevī of the Kara family are now identified in the Ganjam district or in the neighbourhood of its border. From the identification of the Sālimā of the Grant no. 2 with Sāliā in Banpur in the Puri district, we can determine the northern boundary of the Kongada. The hill-ranges running from Kaluparāghāṭa towards west seem to have demarked its northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the south-west frontier of the Nayagarah State.

The Mahendra hill which runs towards west from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the east, probably formed the southern boundary line of Kongada. Again the hills, now demarcating the eastern boundary of the Kalahandi State, may be supposed to be the natural western limit of the same Kongada.

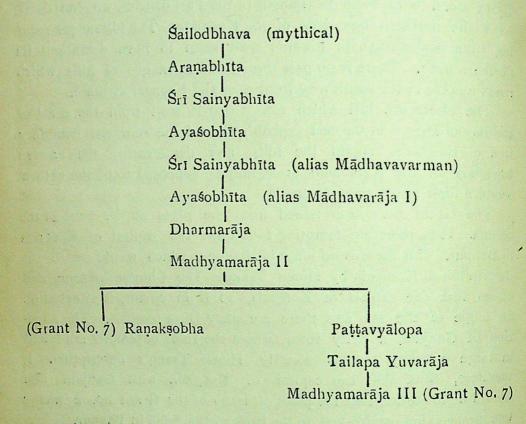
The Grant no. 2 was issued from the place on the bank of the Sālimā. It is, therefore, tempting to localise the capital of Kongada in Banpur. But there is no place in Banpur, which would recall the description of Kongada by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim describes that the capital of Kongada, 20 li in circuit, is situated on an angle of the sea and there are many Deva temples. The situation of Ganjam, a petty town, where the ruins of temples are found in large quantity, recalls exactly Hiuen Tsang's description. I, therefore, think that the capital of Kongada with Ganjam and should be identified that the place of issue of the Grant no. 2 was a temporary camp established on the bank of the Sāliā in Barpur.

The panegyrical text of the Grant no. 4 is a copy of that of the Grant no. 3 and it contains an additional eulogy of a further generation. The donor of the Grant no. 4, appears to my mind, was the son of the donor of the Grant no. 3.

The scholars would no doubt accept my view that the donor of the Grant no. 5 was the son of the donor of the Grant no. 4, if they compare the texts of these Grants. The text of the former Grant has been reproduced in the latter Grant and again an eulogy of a further generation has been added.

The text of the Grant no. 5 is a replica of that of the Grant no. 6. and it, therefore, appears that the donor of the latter Grant is not different from that of the former Grant.

The complete set of plates of the Grant no. 7 have not been found. But the eulogical text of Madhyamarāja of this plate is an exact copy of that of the king of the same name of the Grant no. 6. Evidently Dharmarāja son of the Madhyamarāja of Grant no. 7 is not different from the donor of the Grant no. 6. We may, therefore, put the Sailodbhava rulers mentioned in the Grants nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 in the following chronological order.



The Grant no. 2 was issued in 619-20 A.D. But the dates of other Grants are not known. It is stated in the Grants nos. 5 and 6 that after the accession of Dharmarāja to the throne, Mādhava, probably Dharmarāja's younger brother, raised the standard of revolt to wrest the regal power from his elder brother and was defeated at Fāsikā. Thereafter Mādhava sought the aid of Tivaradeva and again fought. He was also defeated with his ally this time whereupon he passed his days at the foot of the Vindhyas. This Tivaradeva was no doubt the same Tivaradeva of Ratnapura in the southern Kośala.

Candragupta succeeded his elder brother Tivaradeva to the throne and he was the contemporary ruler of Govinda III. We know that Govinda III, the elder brother of Govinda III's father, was ruling in

Saka 705 or A.D. 783. Hence the initial year of Govinda III's reign cannot be supposed to be earlier than 784 A.D. It is recorded in the inscription that Candragupta was defeated by Govinda III before the birth of his son Amoghavarşa who ascended the throne in 815-16 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore probable that Candragupta suffered defeat by Govinda III before 800 A.D. In that case, Tivaradeva may be supposed to have ruled some time between 760-90 A.D.

Dharmarāja was 6th in descent from his ancestor Araṇabhīta. If we now allot 25 years of reign to each of the rulers, who preceded him, we get altogether  $(5 \times 25 =)$  125 years, covered by their reign. Now calculating from the date of the Grant no. 2 we get 745 A.D. (620+125) as the initial year of Dharmarāja's reign. There is now a margin of 15 years between the result of the calculation of the preceding para and that of present calculation (i.e. 760 A.D. and 745 A.D.) which can be alloted to the donor of the Grant no. 2. In that case Mādhavarāja II of the above Grant can be taken as Araṇabhīta of our foregoing chronological table. If it be untenable, we may hold that another generation ruled between Mādhavarāja II of the Grant no. 2 and Araṇabhīta of the chronological table given before. The supposed ruler must have assumed the Viruda Ayasobhīta.

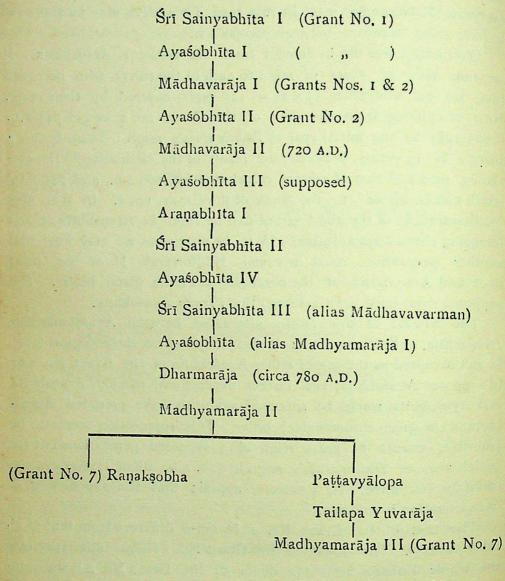
The viru las of this family alternated between Ayasobhīta and Araṇabhīta, or Śrī-Sainyabhīta. If Araṇabhīta of the chronological table be not accepted as the son of either Ayasobhīta of the Grant No. 2 or of supposed Ayasobhīta, two further generations, namely Araṇabhīta and Ayasobhīta, would be supposed again to have preceded Araṇabhīta of the given chronological order. This supposition seems to be plausible, because 75 years reign of 3 supposed generations put the initial year of Dharmarāja's reign in 820 A.D. when Tivaradeva was certainly not alive. It, therefore, appears that the supposition of one generation is sufficient.

The text of the Grant No. 1 is quite different from that of all other Grants. The donor of the Grant No. 1 claims supremacy over the whole Kalinga while the donor of the Grant No. 2 is indicated to be a feudatory of Śaśānkarāja. I, therefore, hold that the former

I History of Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See E. I., vol. XIII, p. 253 for Candragupta's defeat and Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 216 for the initial year of Amoghavarsa's reign. His 52nd year reign falls on Saka 788 or A.D. 816.

Grant is earlier than the latter. This assertion can also be corroborated by the palæography. Mādhavarāja I of the Grant No. 2 is identical with Mādhavarāja of the Grant No. 1. We may reconstruct the complete chronological table of the Sailodhbhava rulers:



VINAYAK MISRA

			REMARKS	Rajaguru that from line 22 of Grant as such we set nipatir—Anasobhita and and Aranabhita as correct virudas. They also seem to be fitting titles for titlers. After disjoining the	Ayasobhita and Yasobhita Builarly bhita. But in the above line we can also get Aranabhita and Ranaget Yasobhita. I, therefore accannot	Adjaguru's suggestion,	i.	The editor misread rājjam pituh prāptavān in line 27. Correct reading rājjepi tat-prāptavān is found in Grant no. 6 in which the text of this grant has been reproduced. Evidently Madhyamarāja was not a son of Avasobhīta as the edit.	hesitation. The latter was a surname of the donor. Professor Kielhorn similarly held that Mādhavavarman of Grant no. 3 was a son of Sainyabhita II (E. I., vol. III p. 42). But Dr. Hul.	a viruda of Madhavavarman (E. I., vol. VI, p. 144).	ized by Arya S			nnai and eGa	angotri	ma- rāja				pa	111	to Ty.	em .						
	ADA-MANDALA	Genealogy as given in the Grant	Śrī Sainyabhita	Ayaśobhīta Mādhavarāja Mādhavarāja I Ayaśobhīta	Mādhavarāja II Sailodbhava (mythical)	Araņabhīta Ŝrī Sainyabhīta I Ayašobhīta Wādhavavarman (alia)	Srī Sainyabhita II (mythical)		ta II ja (alias) Ayaso. bhita II	ıava (mythical) lita	Srī Sainyabhīta I Ayasobhīta I	Ayasobhīta II (alias) Madhyama-	Dharmarāja Sailedhuana	Araṇabhīta   Srī Sainyabhīta I	Ayasobhīta I	Śrī Sainyabhīta II   Ayasobhīta II (alias) Madhyama- rāja		Madhyamarāja 1     Dharmarāja	Madhyamarāja II	Ranakşobha Vavarāja Tailana	Madhyamarāja	These plates have been referred to for defining the different dynasty.	They belong to contained in the Hence the geneology contained in the	are not mentioned,					
IDENTIFICATION OF VILLAGES GRANTED'IN RO	Identification	(1) Thora-bongs	84°-25" east (3) Kumaragān, 19°-18" north,	(4) Salia—a rivulet in Banpur (5) Chailu, 84°.57" east, 19° north in Khallikota estate (6) A hill under the same name	east, near Mahendra hill (8) Koirzani	north' "a'patty 84'-53" east 19°-37" (9) In the Ganjam many placenames have 'Guḍā' as final member,	(10) The region lying to the east of Aska called Purvakhaṇḍa		in Navagar, 20° north	(13) A hilly tract of Banpur, dering the Nayagrah state, is	(14) Soonpur 84-47" east 19-8"	(15) Fasi 19°-36 north 84°-57" east in Athagarh	(16) Duk kavellu 19°-34" north 85°-8	Dongi 84°-55" east 20°-3" agr <mark>a</mark> h	(18) Boirani 85°.56" east 19°.35" north	(19) Chandraputu 19°-41" north 85°- 11" east in Banpur	(20) Same as 15					(21) Belgam 19°-26" north 84°-85"	Athagarh Banada 8,8,1,1" east 50° north		(24) Hoondalu 18°-30" north 84°-52" east	(25) Same as 8	(26) Rambha 19°-34" north 85°-8" east	(27) Kamasor 20°.2" north 84°.44" east in Ghoomsur	(28) Same as 13
IDENTIFI	Geographical places mentioned in the Grants		ot (1) Thora (2) Aharaṇa (3) Kumbhāracheda	<b>3 3 9 9</b>	ar- (7) Puipuņi (8) Khadirapāṭaka		ı. (10) Pürvakhanda (11) Katakabhukti			/a iss	(15) Fasikā (battle-field)		(16) Dukka	(17) Dongi (18) Varttani-Vișaya		(20) Fasikā (battle-field)	-	1.051				(21) Villagrāma	(22) Barāḍa	(23) Arttani	(24) Hondala	(25) Khairapāţaka		(27) Kaṇṭāsara-nagarī ; (28) Khiḍiṅgahāra-Viṣayal	
	No Reference		Mādhavarāja,  J. A. S. B., vol, LXXIII (1004),	pp. 282-88,  2 Ganjam plate of Ŝasāṅkarāja's time,  E. I., vol. VI, pp. 143-46.	3 Buguda plates of Mādhavavar- man,		4 Parikud plates of Madhyama-	E. I., vol. IX, pp. 281-287.	5 Koṇḍendā Grant of Dharma-		. In Public Do		os 699 Puri plates of Dharmarāja,		aridwar		7 Tekkali plates of Madhum	O. R. S.,				8 Ganjam plates of Dandīmahā.	E, I, vol, VI, pp. 133-142.				dٍımalıā- 	., vol. V, pp.	Lil, Q., SEPTEMBER, 1931

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

#### The hair and the Usnisa on the head of the Buddhas and the Jinas

The disposition of hair and the representation of the so-called Uṣṇāṣa, 'turban', on the head of the image of the Buddhas and the Jinas (Tirthankaras) are the most puzzling questions of Indian iconography. In an article entitled "The Buddha's cūdā, hair, uṣṇāṣa, and Crown" Dr. Coomarswamy has dealt with the questions in detail (J. R. A. S., 1928, pp. 815-840). Without going over the whole ground covered by that essay I shall venture to suggest other solutions of the puzzles.

The literary evidence for the hair on the Buddha's head relied on by modern scholars is a passage in the introduction to the commentary on the Pāli Jātakas known as the Nidānakathā which is thus translated by Rhys Davids:—

"Then he thought, 'These locks of mine are not suited for a mendicant. Now it is right for any one else to cut the hair of a future Buddha, so I will cut them off myself with sword.' Then, taking his sword in his right hand, and holding the plaited tresses, together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. So his heir was thus reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, it lay close to his head. It remained that length as long as he lived, and the beard the same. There was no need at all to shave either hair or beard any more."

The Bodhisattva (future Budha) Guatama then threw the hair and diadem together towards the sky. Sakka received them into a jewel casket, and enshrined them for worship in a caitya (temple) in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods.

This narrative reads like an expansion of the legend briefly told in the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu, and illustrated in a bas-relief on one of the pillars of the southern gateway (c. 50 B. C.) of the great stūpa of Sāncī,<sup>2</sup> and in a panel on a corner pillar of the great rail of the stūpa of Bharhut<sup>3</sup> (c. 125 B. C.). The term cūdāmaha, "worship of hair", not only occurs in the inscription on the Bharhut

I Buddhist Birth Stories translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, London, 1880, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Marshall, A Guide to Sāñcī, Calcutta, 1918, p. 51, pl. vi b.

<sup>3</sup> Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927, pl. xii, fig. 44; Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Paris, 1929, pl. 24.

rail pillar, but also in the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu. But this legend is unknown to the Pāli Nikāyas and must have originated after their compilation. In the life of Vipassi in the Mahāpadāna-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya, the framework of which is the common factor of the biographies of all the Buddhas including Gautama, it is narrated that when the future Buddha (Bodhisattva) was driving in a chariot towards the park he saw a shaven-headed (bhaṇḍu) man, a pravrajita (wanderer) wearing yellow robe. When the Bodhisattva was told by the charioteer who the shaven-headed man was and had a talk with the latter, he said:—

"Come then good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it hence back to my rooms. But I will here cut off my hair and beard (kesamassum otāretvā), and don the yellow robe, and go forth from home to homelessness."

A somewhat different story is told of the renunciation of the Bodhisattva Gautama in four of the Suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya (Nos. 16, 36, 85 and 100). The charioteer and the shaven-headed monk in yellow robe have no place in the narrative. We are simply told:—

"There came a time when I, being quite young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of my early prime—despite the wishes of my parents, who wept and lamented—cut off my hair and beard, donned the yellow robes and went forth from home to homelessness."

In the Subha-sutta (99) of the Majjhima Nikāya a Brahman Sangārava calls Gautama Buddha a mundaka samana, "shaven-headed monk." So by the time when the sculptors of Mathurā began to carve images of Gautama Buddha there were two rival traditions relating to hair on the Buddha's head: an older one now preserved in the Pāli Nikāyas represented Gautama as mundaka or shaven-headed monk; and another tradition preserved in the Mahāvastu, the Lalitavistara and the Nidānakathā represented him as having cut his hair with his sword leaving part of it intact on the head. The

I Dīgha Nikāya (P. T. S.), vol. II, p. 28; Dialogues of the Buddha translated by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, pt. ii, London, 1910, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Majjhima-Nikāya (Pali Text Society), Vol. I, pp. 163, 240; Vol. II, pp. 93, 212; Further Dialogues of the Buddha translated by Lord Chalmers, Vol. II, London, 1926, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 210.

shaven-headed images of the Buddha found at Mathura, Mankuar and Sarnath represent the older tradition, and the images of the Buddha with hair on the head arranged in ringlets represent the other and more popular tradition, because it is found both in Sanskrit and Pāli texts.

Gautama Buddha was not an ordinary monk. He was born with the thirty-two marks of a Mahāpuruṣa (superman). These marks distinguished the Bodhisattva Gautama from the ordinary Arhats, These marks are fully described in two of the Suttas of the Digha Nikāya (Mahāpadāna-suttanta and Lakkhana-suttanta) and the Lalitavistara. Two of these marks that relate to the head are usnīsaśirsa, "having a head like a royal turban," and pradaksinavarta kesah, "having hair (arranged) in ringlets turning to the right." The commentator Buddhaghosa in his Sumangala-vilāsinī (Mahāpadīna-suttavannana) says that the term unhisasīsa (uṣṇīṣaśirṣa) may be explained in two different ways either denoting the fullness of the forehead or the fullness of the head. The fullness of the forehead may be caused by a strip of muscle (mamsapatala) rising from the root of the right ear, covering the entire forehead, and terminating in the root of the left ear. As a head with such a strip of muscle on the forehead looks like a head wearing a turban, it is therefore called a turban-like head or turban-head. The other explanation defines the turban-head as a fully round head symmetrical in shape like a water bubble.1

The smooth head without any mark of hair like the head of the well-known colossal Bodhisattva dedicated by the Friar Bala in the third year of Kaniska at Sarnath, the head of the Bodhisattva image from Katra in the Mathura Museum, the head on the fragment of the Buddha-Bodhisattva image from Mathura in the Museum of Ethnology at Munich, and of other images of the same type, shows slight elevation above the forehead. This elevated part reaching from the root of the right ear to that of the left appears to me to be the plastic representation of the mamsapatala, the strip of muscle on the forehead of the turban-head, spoken of by Buddhaghosa.

I Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, no. 4, Supplement, p. 77.

Vogel, Catalogue, plate VII; Coomarswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Fig. 84; Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, plate 81.

<sup>3</sup> Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, plate 82.

The thick lock of curled hair on the top of the head of the Katra and the Munich images is curled like the snail shell (kaparda). Coomarswamy observes, "That the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved, but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over scalp into the single tress."1 This single curled tress is marked by parallel lines indicating individual hairs of which it consists. If the sculptor had intended to represent hair on the rest of the head, he would certainly have adopted the same convention instead of leaving the area smooth. Smoothness therefore indicates that the rest of the head is clean-shaven. One standing image of the Buddha with smooth head in the Mathura Museum has a smooth bump.2 The tress of hair curling like a snail shell on the top of the head of the images of the Buddha referred to above evidently represents sikhā or top-knot. Gautama prescribes in his Dharmasūtra (iii, 14,22) that an ascetic "may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of the head."3

The artists of Mathura in the Kushan period produced another type of the Buddha head with short hair arranged in ringlets turning to the right and a bump or fleshy protuberance on the top covered by hair arranged in the same way. All the Buddha images of the post-Kushan period with the exception of the Mankuar image have a head of this type. The term uṣṇīṣa is usually applied to this bump. Is it correct? As we have stated above, uṣṇīṣa-śīrṣa, turban-head, is a head which is either round in form like a turban, or has the appearance of a head wearing a turban even when bare on account of a strip of muscle covering the upper part of the forehead. Head of either type is turban-like in outline only. A very important part of the royal turban is the crest. A head, turban-like in outline, but without crest, cannot be recognised as a turban-head in the strict sense. Therefore the addition of a bump or fleshy protuberance on the top was evidently thought necessary to turn the head of a Mahapurusa to a perfect turban head. The so called usnīsa on the Buddha's head is the crest of the uṣṇīṣa and not the uṣṇīṣa itself. So it should be termed crest instead of uṣṇīṣa to avoid misunderstanding.

The early Jaina literature, so far avail able, does not render us much help in solving the puzzles relating to the head of the images of the

I J.R.A.S., 1928, p. 827. 2 Vogel, Catalogue, plate XV (a).

Jinas. In the Acaranga-sutra it is said that when the Jina Mahavira turned an ascetic—

"Mahāvīra then plucked out with his right and left (hands) on the right and left (sides of his head) his hair in five handfuls. But Sakra, the leader and king of the gods, falling down before the feet of the Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, caught up the hair in a cup of diamond, and requesting his permission, brought them to the milk ocean."

In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Mahāvīra as well as his twenty-three predecessors did the same—plucked hair in five handfuls and turned shaven-headed monks. Only the image of one of the Jinas, Rṣabha, the first in the series, is shown as wearing matted locks like the Brahman Jaṭila monks carved on the Śunga monuments. The images of the other twenty-three Jinas mostly show heads with bump covered by hair arranged in ringlets becoming the Mahāpuruṣa. But images of the Jinas with shaven head are not unknown. Coomarswamy has published a seated image of the Jina Pārśva with smooth head from Mathura<sup>2</sup> where the different types of the images of the Jinas were carved for the first time.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

I Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Coomarswamy, The Origin of the Buddha Image, fig. 43.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, vol. XII, pt. iii

Durgacharan Chatterji.—The Problem of Knowledge and the Four Schools of later Buddhism. Mr. Chatterji introduces his paper by a paragraph on pramātr, prameya, pramiti and pramāņa and then presents an exposition within a short compass of the views of the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas, Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas. He concludes his article by saying that "the first two (schools) admit the reality of an external objective world which enters into our cognition, but the last two do not admit such a reality".

R. GANGULI.—Cattle and Cattle-rearing in Ancient India. He deals with this topic under the following heads:—Cattle as objects of great care and religious veneration—keeping and employing cattle—diseases and their treatment—feeding and stock breeding.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA.—Some Notes on the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjinga-Kotta, Earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Mandala, Bhañjas of Bauda and Later Bhañjas of Khiñjali. According to the writer there were four different Bhañja dynasties. He deals with the tables of genealogy furnished by the various inscriptions so far discovered and edited, concluding his paper by a few paragraphs on the chronological position of the four Bhañja dynasties.

K. B. Pathak.—Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyata and Haradatta. The object of this paper is to show the relative positions of the three commentators mentioned above. By profuse quotations from the Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā, Bhāravi, Padamañjarī and other works Dr. Pathak fixes the date of Jinendrabuddhi at 700 A.D., and that of Jayāditya at circa 661 A.D. He assigns Kaiyaṭa to the close of the 11th century and Haradatta to the 13th century.

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI.—Vidyānanda and Śankara Mata. The writer is of opinion that Vidyānanda uses the term 'Śankara' in his Āptaparīkṣā as an epithet of Śiva, Śambhu, Maheśvara, etc., and not for referring to Śankarācārya. He says that "Vidyānanda criticises not the Advaita of Śankara but a theistic creed of the Māheśvaras, partly based on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy". He then proceeds to ascertain the time, identity and the contemporaries of Vidyānanda,

- N. B. DIVATIA.—Certain Fractional Numerals in Gujarātī. The writer shows "Dodha (G), didha (M) is derivable from adhyardha, diyadha, and adhī (G) adīca (M) from ardhatītīya.
- D. R. Mankad.—The Arctic Regions in the Rgveda. Mr. Mankad is neither a supporter of Tilak's theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans nor an opponent of Das's view that 'Sapta-Sindhu' was their original home. The object of his present paper is mainly to refute the arguments advanced by Dr. Das in support of his opinion that in the Rgveda there is no reference to the Arctic Regions.
- A. N. UPADHYE.—Kanarese words in Desi Lexicons. The writer gives a short list of such words with their meanings and philological notes.
- N. B. DIVATIA. The Khazars: Were they Mongols?
- P. K. Gode.—Notes on Indian Chronology: Date of Vicārasudhā-kara of Ranga Jyotirvid—śaka 1687 (= A.D. 1765)—Date of "Kankāli Grantha" attributed to "Nāsīrsāha", A.D. 1500-1510—Dates of the Commentaries on the Tarkabhāṣā or Tarkaparibhāṣā of Keśavamiśra by Govardhana, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, Balabhadra, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and Murāribhaṭṭa—Date of Jvaratimirabhāskara of Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa and Identification of Rājamalla, his patron.

#### Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VI, pt.2

- H. W. BAILEY.—The Word "But" in Iranian. The words But, vXs and Bodāsaf occurring in a passage of the Iranian text of the Bundahiśn have been interpreted here as signifying Buddha, spirit and Bodhisattva respectively, and their corresponding forms have been traced in languages like Sogdian, Manichæan; Middle Iranian, and Pahlavi.
- L. D. BARNETT.—Pramnai. The identification of the Pramnai (mentioned by Strabo as philosophers 'addicted to wrangling and refutation') as distinguished from the Brāhmaṇas has been attempted in this note. The view that the word represents the prāmāṇikas, the followers of the various philosophical systems, each having a distinctive view as to what constitutes pramāṇa, has been opposed, while the position that the word is a corruption of Sramnai (Śramaṇas) has been rejected by Dr. Barnett. He thinks that pramnai signifies the prājāas, who, for their exclusive adherence to

- prajūā ('an intellectual and moral attitude') were disliked by the Brāhmaņas.
- JULES BLOCH.—Aŝoka et la Magadhi. The author has tried to show the relation between the Aśokan dialects and the Māgadhī Prākṛt by taking up the use of final 'e' nom. sing. as distinguished from final o.
- W. CALAND.—Corrections of Eggeling's Translation of the Satapathabrāhmaṇa. It contains a list of corrections of Eggeling's English translation of the Satapathabrāhmaṇa in the Sacred Books of the East Series.
- JARL CHARPENTIER.—Antiochus, King of the Yavanas. It is contended that Amtiyoka mentioned in the Asokan Rock Edict XIII as the king of the Yavanas is Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.) and can be neither Antiochus III nor Antiochus II as suggested by previous scholars. The other four kings named in the same Edict are identified as follows:

Turamāya = Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.)

Amtikini = Antigonus Gonatas (276-239 B.C.)

Maka = Magas of Cyrene (C. 300-J. 250 B.C.)

Alikasundara = Alexander of Epirus (272-C. 25; B.C.)

The assumption of Prof. Charpentier that Antiochus I is the Yonarāja mentioned in the Edict has influenced his inference as to the date of Aśoka's coronation. He follows Senart in thinking that all the edicts in their present shape were issued at one and the same date. As two of the edicts, viz., the third and the fourth, record that they were promulgated when Aśoka had already been anointed twelve years, the date of the Rock Edict mentioning Antiochus falls in the year 12/13 after the abhiseka of Aśoka. The death of Antiochus occurring, as it did, between October, 262 and April, 261 B.C., the latest date possible for the issue of the edict will not be far removed from the date of the demise of Antiochus. The year of the coronation, therefore, would be calculated by adding 12/13 years to this date pointing to 273 B.C. as the latest possible date of the abhiseka.

G. CŒDE'S.—A propos de l'origine des chiffres arabes. There are two theories regarding the "Arabic" figures and place value of zero. Some affirm its Indian origin while others have tried to find in it a Western invention. Mr. G. R. Kaye is the supporter of the second theory, but he has been refuted by many scholars, notably

by Mr. W. E. Clark. The presence of these figures in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China and Insulindia has Mr. Kaye to suppose that they were introduced into India from the Extreme Orient. This has been criticised by Mr. Clark, but none of the scholars have cared to ascertain at which epoch and at what condition the figures with the place-value of zero appeared in the inscriptions of Indo-China and Insulindia. It is this desideratum that the present writer removes by collecting the inscriptions with their dates, and he is inclined to the view that the figures were in use in India before they were introduced in the Extreme Orient.

GABRIEL FERRAND. - Les grands rois du monde. Mons. Pelliot has recently published in the T'oung-pao (xxii, 1923, pp. 97-125) an article entitled "the theory of the four sons of the heavens". in which he has collected information from the Chinese sources and some Arabic texts. The present note is only an addition to the article of Mons. Pelliot. The following information is given in this paper from the Chinese and Arabic texts:

- (1) 245-250, K'ang T'ai knew China, Ta-ts'in = Orient méditerranean and Yue-tche = Indoscythes.
- (2) 3rd or 4th century, Che-eul-yeou-king mentions China, India, Ta-ts'in and the home of Yue-tche.
- (3) 646, Hiuen-tsang cites 4 sovereigns of India, home of the Iranians, Tokharians, the land of the Turks and China.
- (4) 645-67: Tao-siuan cites 4 kings of China, Persia, India, and home of the Turks.
- (5) 851, the merchant Sulayman knew four kings of Arabia, China, Byzance and India.
- (6) Circa 872-5, Ibn Wahab reports that there are 5 kings, viz., of Irak, China, Turks, India and Rum.
- (7) 11th century (1029-70) Abū'l-Kāsim knew five kings, viz., of China, India, Turks, Persians, and Rum.
- (8) The author of the book of 101 nights announces 5 great kings but names the following six: the king of the Arabs, Persians, Turks, India, Egypt and Rum.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.—Conjunct Consonants in Dardic.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—Hindu Salutations.

HERMANN JACOBI.—Sind nach dem Sänkhya-Lehrer Pañcasikha die Purusas von Atomgrösse,?

A. Berriedale Keith.—The Doctrine of the Buddha. The writer I.H,Q., SEPTEMBER, 1931

thinks that the doctrine of the denial of Ātman presented in the Pāli texts was not propounded by Buddha himself. The doctrines of retribution and transmigration accepted by Buddha are Brāhminical, conflicting with the Buddhist doctrine of "Nirvāṇa as the end of striving, and not as the foundation of existence, the Absolute." Buddha taught neither annihilation nor self-lessness which were the products of later scholasticism.

- STEN KONOW.—Note on a Kharosthī Akṣara. The note deals with the interpretation of a sign found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered in Chinese Turkestan. The sign has been differently deciphered to be a compound letter standing for tsa or tŝa. Prof. Konow inclines to the view that the shape of the letter represents tŝ rather than ts as understood by Prof. Rapson.
- L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN.—A propos du Cittavisuddhiprakarana d'Āryadeva. Prof. Poussin discusses in this paper some important doctrinal matters mentioned in the work Cittavisuddhi of Āryadeva published by Mr. H. P. Sāstrī in the J.A.S.B., lxvii, pt. i, pp. 175-84 (1898).
- Sylvain Levi.—Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde. Prof. Lévi secured a fragmentary ms. containing an account of the rituals of the Tantrik cult of the Vajrayogini. The ms. furnishes us with some information about the teachers and their disciples through whom the cult has been transmitted. This serves as a source of information to Tāranātha's history of Buddhism. The fragment reproduced in this paper with its translation gives important information about Nāgārjuna.
- G. MORGENSTIERNE.—The Name Munjan and Some Other Names of Places and Peoples in the Hindu Kush.
- PETER S. NOBLE.—A Kharosthī Inscription from Endere. Notes and comments are made on the words of the inscription no. 661 in the second volume of the Kharosthī Inscriptions.
- C. M. RIDDING .- Professor Cowell and his Pupils.
- KASTEN RÖNNOW.—Viśvarūpa. This is an attempt at ascertaining the character of Viśvarūpa Tvāṣṭra on the strength of the Vedic passages containing his name. The writer concludes: "The name Viśvarūpa, an appellative of Tvaṣṭar and of certain serpent demons alike, must allude to their power over the cattle and its procreative activities."

AUREL STEIN.—On the Ephedra, the Hum Plant, and the Soma. The view is expressed that although the broken twigs found as

burial deposits in the various graves of the Lop desert in Central Asia have been identified to be the fragments of the twigs of Ephedra known by the name of Hūma in the border tracts of Persia and Afghanistan, and although the same plant is now used as the sacred Homa in the rituals of the Parsis of India, Ephedra cannot be the Soma of the Veda and Haoma of the Avesta, because of its bitter taste with no exhilerating effects mentioned in those ancient texts. It is conjectured that the wild rhubarb growing on the highest portions of the ranges stretching along the border of Northern Baluchistan and the Afghan provinces of Kandahar and Ghazni may have yielded the Soma drink of the ancient Āryas.

- E. J. THOMAS.—Gandhayukti in the Lalitavistara. The item gandhayukti in the list of arts found in the Lalitavistara and some other works is, according to the present writer, a 'half-Sanskritised Prākṛt form' of granthayukti meaning book-making. The expression should not be taken to signify 'odour-mixing' as generally done.
- R. L. TURNER .- The Future Stem in Asoka.
- J. PH. VOGEL.—The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture. That the sacrifice of one's own head to a goddess was a well-known motif both in Sanskrit literature and Pallava sculpture is shown from stories in works like the Kathāsaritsāgara, and also from the figures found in temples like those of Māmallapuram. A figure kneeling at the feet of a goddess grasping a tust of hair with its left hand and holding a sword with the right is interpreted to be in the attitude of offering its own head to the goddess.
- M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE.—On the Etymology and Interpretation of certain Words and Phrases in the Asoka Edicts.
- A. C. WOOLNER.—The Rgveda and the Punjab. The view that the principal settlements of the Aryans were in the country of the Sarasvatī south of the modern Ambala and that the bulk of the hymns of the Rgveda was composed there is controverted here on the grounds that the phenomena described in the Rgvedic hymns are equally visible in the other parts of the Punjab. That the Aryans knew the whole of the Punjab and occupied its best parts is regarded possible by the writer of the note.

#### Indian Antiquary, September, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—Notes on Indian Maunds.

BIREN BONNERJEA.—Prāyaścitta, or Hindu Ideas on the Expiation of

Sin. In this article, which is continued from the preceding number of the Journal, various forms of prāyaścittas are described with the remark that the Hindu modes of expiation of sins reveal their magical character having nothing to do with true repentance.

A. VENKATASUBBIA.—Athabhāgiye. This is the first instalment of a paper attempting at an explanation of the word athabhāigye occurring in Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Asoka.

PRAN NATH.—Was the Kautaliya Arthasastra in Prose or Verse?

According to the writer the original text of the Arthasastra was in verse.

#### Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVII, 1931

- G. RAMADAS.—Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva, Śaka 913. These form a set of copper-plates of the time of Anantavarmadeva (which, according to the writer, is not the name of a king but an imperial title), of the family of the Gangas. The gift is made by Dharmakhedi of a village called Madhipatharakhanda in Mahendrabhoga to an individual called Erukulajādan. The characters of the inscriptions present a mixture of Nagari, Grantha, Telugu and Oriya. The part of the inscription is given with an English translation.
- N. TRIPATHI.—The Jaypura Copper-plate Grant of Dhruvānanda Deva. The writer gives only a list of corrections of the reading of the text of the above grant published in the JBORS, XVI, pp. 457-72.
- J. C. DE.—A few Observations on the Hindol Plate of Subhākaradeva.—Mr. De suggests some improvement on the reading and translation of the above inscription published in the JBORS, March, 1930, pp. 69-83.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—Dravidic Names for 'Palms'. Mr. Aiyar has shown "how far one set of Dravidian forms for 'palmyra' and 'palm-like trees' may be regarded as native" and "the connection between Indo-Aryan tāla (palmyra) and the Dravidian forms with the same meaning."
- UMESA MISRA: Mīmāmsāśāstrasarvasva of Halāyudha. This issue contains an edition of the text up to the 3rd adhikaraņa of 2nd pāda of the 2nd chapter.

#### Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, .

vol. VII, nos. 1 and 2

SIR CHARLES FAUCETTE.—Gerald Aungier's Report on Bombay. This is a report of the earliest British administration in India in the form of a letter addressed by Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, in 1673 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England. It presents a statistical and descriptive account of the Island of Bombay, and its inhabitants, fortifications, systems of government, trade resource etc.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA.—Pañcamahāśabda in Rājataranginī. In support of Sir A. Stein's view that the expression "pañcamahāśabda" in the Rājataranginī means five offices distinguished by the term "great," this note supplies evidences from the work itself and opposes Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who, on the strength of the evidences of the Southern usage of the expression, has taken it to mean five great sounds, i. e., a band playing on five musical instruments, accompanying a high official.

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AND

ITS RELATION TO HINAYANA

By

NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), D. LIT. (LOND.)

#### ADDENDA

Dr. Coomaraswamy's additional note to his article, The "Webbed finger" of Buddha (vol. VII, no. 2, p. 366)

There is even a probability that "having webbed fingers" represents the exact opposite of the meaning of the original lakkhaṇa; for in Vin. 1, 71 (ed. 1, 91) a person who is phaṇahatthaka "with a hand like a snake's hood," interpreted by Buddhaghosa as "whose fingers are grown together," is one of those who are unfit even to be admitted to the Saṃgha.

In p. 365, l. 18 after "hand is held up against the light" the following line should be added: "Cf. jālapada- karāḥ presented for cakravartins, Viṣṇudharmottara, 111, 37, 5"

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# Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VII

DECEMBER, 1931

No. 4

# The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the Sixteenth Century

Modern researches have shown that Mahayana Buddhism continued to exist in India up to quite recent times. Mr. N. N. Vasu, Mm. Haraprasada Sastrī and others have pointed out the existence of Buddhist schools in Orissa and Bengal up to the XVIIIth century; the dharmaworship in some parts of Bengal and Behar betrays even now its Buddhist origin. The Bengali literature of the XVth and XVIth centuries contains a large number of texts which testify to the existence at that time of various, more or less degenerated, Buddhist centres in Bengali countries. Caitanya himself is said to have converted large communities of Buddhists. If the authenticity of the Karca of Govinda Dās was beyond any doubt, we could prove the existence of Buddhist schools and pandits in South India at the time of the great Bengali Vaisnava mystic. His discussion with the Buddhist pandit Rāmagiri and the latter's conversion is in fact reported there.1 It will not appear out of place to have recourse to a Tibetan source of the XVIth century which brings in some new information about these later periods of Mahāyāna Buddhism and at the same time gives us an idea of the geographical knowledge of Indian and extra-

I Cf. Karcā ed. by D. C. Sen (new edition), p. 27. In the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy ending March 1927 an inscription of 1580 mentions the erection of a Buddhist temple by the Nāyaks of Tanjore.

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#### 684 THE SEA AND LAND TRAVELS OF A BUDDHIST SADHU

Indian countries as it circulated among the Tibetan monks. I refer here to the biography of Buddhagupta (Sans rgyas sbas pa) the guru of Tāranātha. Tāranātha himself collected the materials for his book from his master during the latter's travels to Tibet, and embodied them in a short biographical note called: Grub c'en bu-ddha-gu-ptahi rnam t'ar rje brtsun ñid žal nas gžan du ran rtog gi dri mas ma spags pahi yi ge yan dag pa, the importance of which is chiefly geographical.

Buddhagupta was, as many of the Indian sādhus always have been, a great traveller. He visited many places in India and even outside India in far away countries in order to find traces of Buddhism and of Buddhist remains. We cannot say that his information is always exact; in this kind of writings we cannot expect to find everywhere that historical preciseness of detail which we demand from modern authors. These Indian and Tibetan saints lived in a kind of mythical atmosphere which gives a peculiar colour to all their experiences; the truth for them is not about external facts but rather about the meaning that they have for them or the ideal significance that they attach to them. Anyhow this biography is the first Tibetan document that we came across up to now in which information is found about a large number of countries outside India proper, and in a certain way it sheds some side-light upon the geographical knowledge and the trade routes of India in the XVIth century.

The importance of our text for the history of the geographical notions of the Tibetans seems therefore to be of no little moment. It is perhaps the only Tibetan treatise, at least to our knowledge, in which we find a great deal of direct information about some places in India and chiefly outside India proper which are not usually connected with Buddhist canonical tradition. This explains why Blo bzan dpal ldan ye ses, while writing his Sam-bha-lahi lam yig, practically copies from our text when he mentions countries as a rule not registered in the canonical literature, proving indirectly that he considered the little book of Tāranātha as the most complete and reliable treatise on the subject. I must also add that the readings of our text are generally more correct than those of the Sam-bha-lahi lam yig, which are therefore to be accordingly modified. Our source moreover shows

I The geographical literature of Tibet concerned with India and foreign countries has not, yet been studied chiefly on account of the scarce materials available in European libraries. Many of the gsun

that at the time of Buddhagupta India had not yet forgotten those great links of cultural relations which Buddhism had established between her and far away countries from Africa to Java.

The Buddhist culture of Buddhagupta was exclusively Tantric; no mention of a śāstra whatever is to be found in his biography. We must reasonably expect that at a later date, as that of Buddhagupta, the inter-connection between the Buddhist and Saiva sects was even greater than it had been before. It must have been very difficult to draw a line of distinction between the followers of the two schools. The Siddha-sampradāya is common to the Buddhists as well as to the Saivas, and Gorakṣa is even now a great saint for both the communities. Characteristically Hindu gods and ideas were creeping into declining Buddhism. This fact is worthy of notice because it will help us very much when we want to ascertain the peculiarities of the system of Tāranātha, inasmuch as there is no doubt that, whatever might have been the further developments of

I must add to the list the grographical dictionary in six languages printed in China by order of K'ien lung called K'in-ting si yu t'ung wen chi upon which see Von Zach, Lexicographische Beiträge, I, p. 83 and III, p. 108 and Lauser, Loan words in Tibetan, p. 434.

hbum or collected writings of the Tibetan polygraphs contain some sections geographically very interesting, e.g., the very important chapters on China included in the writings of the fifth Dalai Lama, the Sam-bha-lahi lam yig edited by Grunwedel and included in the works of the great Pan-c'en blo bzan dpal ldan ye ses. Glon c'en is said to have written a general description of India, which I have not been able to see as yet and which anyhow must be a compliation because the author never went to India. Geographical information is also contained in the astrological works such as the Vaidur-ya dhar po and the Vaidurya gya' sel. Nor must we forget the various rnam tar-s or biographical accounts, chiefly, of the locavas or translators who came down to India. Some of them contain real itineraries such as the rnam tar of Ur gyen pa or of Stag tsan ras pa. Many a useful information can be gathered from the guides for. pilgrims such as the Jam bu glin spyi bsad (on which see Waddell, Lamaism, p. 307 and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1893) or the other one for the visitors of Nepal: bal yul mcod ten hp'ags pa sin kun dan dehi gnas ggan rnams kyi sa dkar c'ag mdor sdus.

his school, he meant to reform and impart a new life to Tibetan Buddhism. It is quite certain that his meeting with Buddhagupta exercised a great influence upon the formation of his mind. The learning and the experience of his Indian guru, and his explaination of some of the most sacred rituals and a great deal of the exoteric literature of Mahāyāna as expounded in India, impressed the young lama and gave the first impulse to a new line of thoughts. It seems to me that his coming across Buddhagupta represents a moment of the foremost importance in the mental and religious evolution of Taranātha. Blo bzan dpal ldan ye ses also calls him the disciple of the Indian yogin (Sam-bha-lahi lam yig, pp. 29, 49). Tāranātha himself begins his Bkah babs bdun ldan by invoking with great reverence his great guru (Edelsteinmine, p. 9, cf. p. 116) of whom mention is also to be found in another work by the same author, viz., the Gsan bahi rnam t'ar in which the dream is narrated that foretold his imminent meeting with Buddhagupta. There can hardly be any doubt that many an information embodied in the Bkah babs bdun ldan is directly derived from the teachings of Buddhagupta who is there considered as belonging to the Goraksasampradaya. This connection between Taranatha and the Nathapanthins, though of a specific Buddhist branch, is worthy of notice. Through Buddhagupta, one of the last if not the last of the Buddhist apostles into Tibet, Saivaism more than Buddhism was finding its way into the "country of the snows." I shall not translate the entire text but shall give its résumé rendering into English those portions only which have a larger interest for us.

Buddhagupta was born in Indralinga near Rāmeśvara in South India, in the family of a rich merchant, whose name was Kṛṣṇa. He was initiated into the yoga by an ascetic called in our text Tīrthinātha, a name which must be corrected into Tīrthanātha as evidenced by its Tibetan translation hbab stegs mgon po to be found in the Bkah babs bdun ldan, p. 16. This Sadhu is said to have been a contemporary of king Rāmarāja, may be who identified with Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara (1542-1565) of Talikoļa fame or rather with his cousin Rāmarāja Vitthala, who was Viceroy in the South and a contemporary of Visvanātha, the Nāyak of Madura. It was Tirthanatha who initiated him into the doctrines of the Siddha Goraksanātha together with two other nāthas, Brahmanātha mentioned also in the Bkah babs bdun ldan (p. 116) and Krsnanatha whom he met in North India during his pilgrimage to Delhi (ți li) VikramaHaridwär (Ha ri dhā ra = Haridvāra).¹ He learned and practised the mahābaddhā and the svasambaddhā mudrā (see Gorakṣa-samhitā, I. 66, 67 and Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā, Bengali ed., III, p. 111) that is those special methods of prāṇāyāma, which were expounded in the Haṭhayoga and those Tantras, Saiva as well as Buddhist, which are connected with the same order of ideas. I refer chiefly to the Sahaja-siddhi class of Tantras which were specially followed by the Siddha-sampradāya and through this and its texts exercised a great influence upon Lamaism. At the time of Buddhagupta it seems that the school of Gorakṣa was greatly flourishing in India, though it was divided into a series of sub-sects, the peculiarities of which we are not yet in a position to determine. Their names are presereved in our text, and so far as I know some of them have not yet been met with in other sources:

- (a) Nāthapanthin which has many followers in India even now.
- (b) Baksapanthin.
- (c) Gopālapanthin.
- (d) Pāgalapanthin (pa ga la) from pāgal (mad man) which may have been suggested by the strange ways of these yogins, cf. the Bāuls of Bengal perhaps from vātula.
- (e) Ayi-panthin.
- (f) Colipanthin (tso li), viz., Coliyāpanthin (vide Akṣaya Kumar Datta, Bhāratavarṣīya-upāsaka-sampradāya, p. 119).
- (g) Hodupanthin (ho du).
- (h) Dhvajapanthin (dva za).
- (i) Veragipanthin (bhe ra gi) from Vairāgin, ascetic. Cf. the name of Vairāginātha given in the list of the Siddhas up to Āryadeva.
- (l) Mangalanathapanthin.
- (m) Pathopanthin (pa tho).
- (n) Sattanāthapanthin (from sapta?).

There was also another rather dissident sect more strictly Buddhist called Națesvariyogins (nā. țe so ri) to which Tīrthanātha, Brahmanātha and Kṛṣṇanātha, the gurus of Buddhagupta belonged, and which must therefore also be connected with Tāranātha.

I The spelling Haridhāra shows that Tāranātha followed the spoken pronunciation and that even Sanskrit names were reproduced as they sounded in the vernaculars. Cf. also dīpa often used in our text for dvīpa, bheragī for vairāgin; nātesori for nateśvarī suggests a Bengali pronunciation.

Then the account of the travel begins. From the Himālaya, where, as we saw, he had been on pilgrimage, he went down to Maru (Rājputana) and spent some time in Rāthor (ra thor). Then we find him in Nagaratața, and in Mülasthana (mo la ta na, Multan) and to the north up to Kābul (ka bhe la), Khorāsān (kho ra sā na) and a place called in our text ba. ja. sa. na, Gosa, Urgyan, which corresponds, as is known, to Uddīyāna of the Sanskrit sources. The question concerning the localization of this country has been recently summarized by Dr. Bagchi in an article which gives the actual state of our knowledge about this province which played such an important part in the history of Buddhism and Tantrism.2 Without anticipating the results of my further investigation of the problem in the light of very important Tibetan itineraries recently found by me in some Western Tibetan monasteries I shall only say that Buddhagupta locates Urgyan, Uddīyāna in Ghaznī. Then he went to Urgyan in the west. The Sanskrit name of the country is Au ti ya na, but in the original language is Or gyen; since the pronunciation of ta and ra is similar it becomes like Or-ya-na. country itself in the language of the Muhammadans (kla klo) it is known to every body as Ghaznī (ga dsa ni). He went to all the great places such as the cave of Kambala-pa, the ruins of the palace of Indrabhūti,8 the mountain Ilo.4 Then he stopped for one month in the town of Dhūmasthira-in Tibetan, the place of the smoke (du

I Gosa is perhaps Khost, kuo.si.to, of Yuan Chwang.Bajasān, which might also be a clerical mistake of the copyist for Bajastān, suggests Bagistān a town in the province of Khorāsān in Persia. It is difficult to understand how these countries are in the north while Urgyan is said to be in the west. Did Buddhagupta go to Persia before and then, after returning to India, proceed to Urgyan? We should expect otherwise, east instead of west of Khorāsān.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. VI, no. 3, pp. 58off.

<sup>3</sup> The story of Kambala and Indrabhūti is narrated in the life of the eighty-four Siddhas (translated by Grünwedel, Geschichten der vier und achtzig Zauberer and in the Bkah babs bdun ldan translated by the same author.

<sup>4</sup> The form Ilora parvata found in the Sam-bha-lahi lam vig is manifestly wrong and is not supported by any source. Cf. Edelsteinmine, p. 58.

bahi gnas) in the very centre of the country. Generally speaking, the surface of this valley in the centre of Orgyan which is surrounded by the ravines and the woods of the mountains is large enough for two days' march from west to east and for four days' march from south to north. This country is surrounded by three lakes in the east, south and north.1 Then he proceeded to the north to Balkh (Bha. lag. kha), Kashmir (Kha che) where he visited some sacred places of pilgrimage for the heretics such as Saradatīrtha and Naradatīrtha (na ra dha),2 then he travelled up to Dā ra ta bo ṭa, viz., Dard-Tibetan country and to Kas kā ra, i.e., Kashgar. The Dard-Tibetan country must be the district of Kargil (Purig) and Ladak. It is therefore evident that Buddhagupta crossed the Zojila, visited the district of Purig which quite possibly was not yet at that time completely converted to Islamism as it is now, went westwards to Leh, a purely Buddhist country and through the Kardog Pass and Nubra reached Kashgar. The Sanskritic name for Purig and Ladak shows that even when referring to countries well-known to Tibetans, Taranatha strictly followed the information of his guru, preserving the Indian name of provinces which were under the direct influence of Tibet. The name for Ladak is, as is known, either Mar yul, or in recent sources, Man yul.

Back to India he met his guru and passing through Delhi he proceeded to Bhīmeśvara where he stopped for some time in a ruined temple of Iśvara (dbań phyug). After having visited some other

nas nub phyogs Orgyen du phebs/ sans kri taḥi skad du Au ti ya ṇa/ran bźin skad du Orgyan zer/ ṭa dan ra ḥdon tshul ḥdra min yod pas/ (I think that 'min' is out of place here) or ya ṇa zer ba ḥdra cig yod......da lta de phyogs ran na Kla kloḥi skad du grags pa kun gyi go ba la/ yul ga dza ni zer ro/ grub chen lva baḥi na bzaḥ can gyi phyug pa dan/ rgyal po yin ta bhu taḥi pho bran gyi sul dan/ ilo par ba ta źes bya baḥi gnas chen rnams su phebs/ Ur gyan gyi gnas mthil dhu ma sthi ra ste du bai gnas źes bya baḥi gron khyer źig zla gcig tsam bźugs/ spyir Orgyen gyi gnas mthil der ron dan nags ḥthug pos skor baḥi dbus na than khor tsam śar nub du nin lam gnis tsam/ lho byan du bźi tsam/.....gnas ḥdi śar dan lho dan nub rnams mtsho gsum gyis bskor.

Pp. 280, 486 and passim. Nāradatīrtha is unknown to me.

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small places in the south he started again for Rājputāna (Māru) where he saw the temple of Hevajra founded by Padmavajra; then we find him in Ābu, Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha (ka tsa), then back again to Saurāṣṭra and properly in Somanātha where he visited the Śivallinga and a statue of Virūpa. Then he turned his steps towards the south and peregrinated through Marāṭhā, Khāndesh (khā na de sa), Tam pa la, Vijayanagara (very often in India itself written Vidyānagara), Karṇāṭa, Trilinga, Trimalla, Kāncī (tsan tsi), Malabar (ma lyar), Konkaṇa, tsā ri dra, Marvār, tsai va la, (corr: ra for va: Ceraļam, Kerala), ni tsa ma sa (but Śam-bha-laḥi lam vig: Nicambara, ni tsa mbra ha), tsan dra du ra, Pancabhratāra (panca-bha tā ra) that is Pancadrāviḍa, Cola-maṇḍala (tsa ra maṇ ṭa la), (Mora maṇṭala) Moliyār maṇḍala, Jalamaṇḍala, Talamaṇḍala, Toṇḍaimaṇḍala (tunṭa man ṭa la), Bhogamalabar, Kalinga.

"Then in Konkana he embarked and went to the west up to an island called hgro ling in Sanskrit Dramiladvipa. In the language of the Muhammadans, the barbarians, and [the inhabitants] of the small island, it is called la sam lo ra na so (in Sambh: sam lo ra na so). In that island the teachings of the guhyamantras are largely diffused. He heard these from a pandit called Sumati who had acquired the mystic realizations (abhijñā), the mystic power of the Samvara (tantra) and of the Hevajra (tantra) and then he learnt the detailed explanation of the Hevajratantra. This Hevajratantra belongs to the system of the Ācārya Padmasambhava. speaking, the tradition of the fourfold tantras is still uninterrupted in that island, and if we except the sublime and largely diffused Kālacakratantra, whatever is in India is also there such as the (Vajra-) kīlatantra and the Tantra of the dasakrodhas, many Heruka-tantras, Vajrapāņi, mkhah ldin (Garuda), Māmākī, Mahākāla, etc. Then the sublime order of Hayagrīva which is largely spread in India is to be found there. Moreover there are many sacred teachings (chos) belonging to the Tantras expounded by Padmasambhava. Though the community is numerous, the rules of the discipline are not so pure. The monks wear black garments and usually drink intoxicating liquors......Then he embarked again with some merchants and went to Sankhadvīpa (in Tibetan, dun glin, the island of the conchshell). There he remained some time in a mountain, rich in medicinal herbs and called bde hbyun gi gnas (Sambhusthana). There he saw many men with human face and the nose [big] as that of the elephant coming from an island called Gajanasa.

Then he went to the south to the island Pa la ta, and from there sailing again towards the east, he reached Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon) where he remained five years. In a plateau in the country called Kan ta la (kandi) in the middle of a thick forest there is a cave in a rock. There the great ācārya Śāntipā, when he went to Simhaladvīpa, practised the mystic exercises. His name is Yaṣākāraśānti which in Tibetan means glory-mine-peace.

Where Buddhagupta embarked is not mentiond in our text; perhaps it was in Goa or in Choul or in Dabul which are known to have been harbours on the mercantile route on the Konkana shore. Nor can the islands that he touched be easily identified for the simple reason that their names are not to be met with in other sources known to us.

Our difficulty is increased by the fact that the distance is not given

I de na konku na nas rgy mts'o la nub p'yogs su gru btan nas byon pas / 'gro gliù ste / rgya skad du ta mi do dvipa zes par p'ebs / 'di la kla klo yan yul mt'ai mi dan glin p'ran rnams kyi skad du lam lo ra na so zer gyin gda / glin de na gsan snags kyi bstan pa c'es dar ba yod/mnon ses dan ldan pai slob dpon su ma ti zes bya bai pandita gcing la bde mc'og dan / dgyes rdor gyi dban gsan nas/ dgyes rdor gyi rgyud la bsad pa 'n zil rgyas su gsan / dgyes rdor 'di slob dpon padma 'byun gnas kyi lugs yin cin / spyir glin de nas rgyud sde bźi kai bka' ma c'ad pa dań / k'yad par bla med c'es dar dus 'k'or ma gtogs rgya gar na yod pa p'an c'er de na yod / p'ur bu dan k'ro lo bcui rgyud dan he ru kai rgyud man po dan p'yag na rdo rje dan mk'a ldin dan / ma mo dan nag po c'en sogs dan rtan mgrin bla med kyi rigs rgya gar na man ba man po yan de na yod pa dan / slob dpon pad ma abyun gnas nas brgyud pai c'os kyan man bar yod 'dug / rnams gos nag gyon pa p'al c'er c'an t'un ba sogs / par dge 'dun man po yod kyan 'dul bai lag len dog po med de / dge slon adug go/....de na (read de nas) slar ts'on pa dan lhan geig gyur bzugs nas śań k'a dvi pa ste / duń gi gliń du p'ebs / de nas bde adyuń gi gnas ses bya ba ri bo sman sna ts'ogs skye ba zig 'dug / der t'og cig bzugs glin de na ga dza nā sa zes bya bai glin nas 'ons pai mi la sna glan po c'e lta bur yod pa man po gzigs / de nas lho re byon pa la pa la ta zes bya bai glin du p'ebs / de nas sar p'yogt su gru btan bas singa / lai glin du p'ebs te der lo lua tsam bzugs /.....kan ta la žes bya bai yul žig gi p'u / nags t'ug po žig gi dbùs na brag p'ug 'dug / de na slob dpon c'en po santi pas singalii yul du p'ebs pai dus kyi dnos slob / yaśā ka ra śanti bod kad du grags pai 'byun gnas źi ba

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nor the days he spent in the sea are recorded. But if we consider that he sailed in Konkana and that he landed at Ceylon we have a line of navigation which either went along the coast or passed through the Laccadives; but I think that this second alternative is less probable, because it would imply a rather long deviation.

Nor can I suggest any definite identification as regards the first island alluded to in our text, called Dramiladvipa, the island of the Dravidians or Samloranaso; we must not necessarily think that this island is in the middle of the ocean and far away from the coast, It may as well be one of the small islands along the Konkana country. One may think of Goa itself where traces of Buddhism are to be found up to recent times and which was known to Arab sailors under the name of Sindabūr or Sandabūr.2 The mention of Muhammadan inhabitants of the country does not contradict this identification because we know that even before the time of Buddhagupta they had settled there. What on the other hand we know from Ibn Batuta about Islamism in the Laccadives seems to exclude a priori that we have to search there for the island Samloronaso spoken of by Buddhagupta as a good centre of Buddhist studies. All these facts seem therefore to point out that the islands visited by our Sādhu are to be searched for along the coast from

<sup>1</sup> Sankadvīpa.

The Laccadives and the Maldives were known to Chinese sources as "the islands of the ocean of the streams". They were not rarely touched by the ships of foreign traders. Cf. also Ibn Batuta who speaks of the goods exported from these islands to China, India and Arabia.

I am afraid that the followers of Padmasambhava in black dress have no connection whatever with Buddhist sects. There is in fact no trace of such a black colour being used by Buddhist priests. It is perhaps not impossible that some Christian monks, probably Portuguese, were mistaken by Buddhagupta for Buddhist framanas. It is to be noted in this connection that even Buddhagupta does not fail to remark a great discrepancy in the monastic rules between the usual Buddhist monks and the so-called disciples of Padmasambhava. Moreover they are clearly said to belong to an order. Drinking of wine, if now common among the rñim ma pas in Tibet seems, so far as we know, to have been not practised in India except for ritual purposes.

Goa to Cape Comorin. From there [Ceylon] he went to a small island called Ulinga¹ and then joining some merchants of this place he proceeded to another small island called Amuga at a distance taking about one month of navigation from Ceylon. There he embarked on a big boat having five thousand men on board; this is at least the number we read in the text, but it is evident that we are confronted either with an exaggeration of the narrator or of the writer or with a clerical error. No vessel was able to carry more than some hundred men. After about four months of navigation to the south he reached a country called Dzha mi gi ri (Jhāmigiri).

There are two towns, one in the north and one in the south, the distance between them being of about seven days for a traveller. Between these two towns there are three mountains and on the top of one of them there is a golden cave which spreads light at night. He remained there one year. In that island there is the throne of ācārya Nāgārjuna said to have been used by him when he went there. There are also many images of the Blessed One and many temples.<sup>2</sup>

"Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the east and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the king of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on the land accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Manibhadrakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhrūkuṭī, the cave of the golden face of the Asura, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where it was possible to have the vision (of the god).

I For Ulinga Sambhalai Pam yig reads Umālinga. Buddhagupta adds that he was the only Indian to be there; anyhow, it seems to me that these two islands, we do not know (in what direction from Ceylon), must have possessed rather big harbours and been on the trade route if Buddhagupta was able to embark there on a big ship.

<sup>2</sup> Gron K'yer c'en po lho byan gũis snan zin / de gũis re rei sran bar lam ñi ma bdun tsam re 'gro dgos pai lam yod pa / gron k'yer gũis kyi par na ri lho byan du gsum tsam zig 'dug pai gcig gi rtse mo na mts 'an mo 'od 'p'ro bai gser gyi brag c'un du zig kyan snan gsun / der lo gcig lhag tsam bzugs śin glin de na slob dpon klu sgrub p' ebs pai bzugs k'ri dan bcom ldan 'das kyi rdo sku c'en po man po dan lha k'an man du yod/

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He also made the pradaksina of the mountain, There was the celestial wood famous as the place of Manjusri and the water falling down from that was really running there. He bathed in this water and made the pradaksina of the various places round the top and the neck of the mountain. There are also one hundred mountains rock-crystal peaks and caves of diamond the height of which cannot be imagined. When one comes to this island all impurities are so to say purified. The people of this island have no Buddhist or non-Buddhist religion nor are they Muhammadan. With the exception of the little ones there are no towns. There is a temple of Buddha which was made in former times. For protecting the boundary of the houses there are many yantras made by magical art which do not exist in India. In this island he saw men whose body was covered by their ears. They came from other islands",1 Thamigiri is one of those adaptations of foreign names to Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit forms which are so common in the geographical terminology of India. If we do not take into consideration the word, giri, mountain, which, just as kūta, generally means a hilly country

de nas sar p'yogs kyi glin p'ran 'gar 'gro bai ts' on pa rnams dan lhan geig gru sar dran t'an du btan ste/ zla Jeig tsam p'ebs pa na/ rii rgyal po ta la ka yod pai glin dup'ebs/ k'a cig 'di po ta la c'un ba yin zer ba'n yod/ gan na'n mii 'gro bai spyod yul gyi po ta la ste 'di k'o nar mnon no/ nor bzan gzon nui gnas sel gyi p'ug pa dan/ k'ro gner can mai gnas dan/ lha ma yin gyi sgo gser gyi p'ug pa dan/ sgrol ma gnas dan/ ts'ans pa dan/ K'yab ajug dan dban c'en poi gnas ri bo ran abyun gi lha k'an dari bcas pa re re/ gźan yan mjal du btub pai gnas p'al c'er mjal/ ri po ța la nid la'n skor ba zig mdzad/ apags pa ajam dpal gyi gnas su grags pa nam mk'ai nos la nugs ts'al dan/ de nas abab pai c'u dnos su abab pa yod de/ de la k'rus kyan mdzad gsun/ po ța lai ri c'en poi mgul t'ug par nagas sna ts'ogs 'dug pa bskor bar p'ebs/ rtze mo sel ma rdo rjei brag ri rgya dpans tsam bsam gyis mi k'yab pa yod pa glin dei mi kun la da lta p'yi nan kla klo sogs grub mt'u' gan yan med/ mi gron yan t'an t'un ma gtogs mi 'dug/ snon dus bzens pai sans rgyas pai lha k'an yod 'jam bu glin na med pa la/ las las grub pai 'k'rul 'k'or man pos k'yim gyi mt 'a' bsrun ba 'ba' zig 'dug/ glin 'dir glin gian nas 'ons mi rna bas lus t'ams çad gyog t'ub pa man po gzigs/

and cannot therefore be considered as an essential part of the word, the element Jhāmi is left. If we remember the direction of the travel of Buddhagupta and the duration of his navigation we are bound to admit that the place where he landed and was called Jhāmi must be somewhere in the African shore or near to it. The name Thamigiri points out unmistakably to the country of the Zanj, that is, Zanzibar known, also to Chinese sources as Ts'ong pa, which played a prominent part in the commercial communications of the period with which our source is concerned; but we must not forget that the "country of the Zanj" was generally called the eastern African shore,1 One may object that even the people of Madagascar are in some Arabian writings referred to under the general designation of Zani, the common name for "the black people"; but Zanj is nowhere given as the name peculiar to the island as is the case with Zanzibar or Eastern Africa. Moreover the country of Jhāmi is here described as being rather small, its length not exceeding seven days' journey. On the contrary, the next island on the south of Zanzibar where Buddhagupta proceeded and which is described as being very great seems to correspond even in its geographical position with Madagascar. If this identification is, as I think, correct, it will be interesting to note that at the time of Buddhagupta, Madagascar was known in India as Potala, though its being considered as the abode of Avalokitesvara and heard of as a kind of a fairy-land seems to show that the intercourse between that island and India was indirect and very rare. It will not, in this connection, appear out of place to remember that the researches of Ferrand have shewn that Indian culture left its traces in Madagascar and that even Sanskrit elements were introduced into Malgash language through the intercourse of sailors and settlers from Java. This means that for some time the island was within the reach, direct or indirect, of Indian culture. It also supposes that some information of the country reached India. It is quite possible that in the course of the centuries Potala as the seat of Avalokitesvara shifted to this or that place, according to the beliefs of the various communities and the spreading of the geographical knowledge; but we cannot a priori exclude that Potala of the Buddhist tradition

Gabriel Ferrand les K'ouen louen et les anciennes navigations, in Journal Asiatique 1929. cf. also Journal Asiatique 1924, p. 240 and Enciclopedie de l'Islam, Madagascar, pp. 64 ff.

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was originally connected with some real island, even if afterwards the legendary character of the country took the upperhand. In the present case we are not in a position to establish how an island known to India through sailors and semi-Indian colonies turned into the abode of the god. Anyhow we find even in our text mention of some features which in various and independent traditions are connected with Potala and Madagascar at the same time. The rock-crystal cave in the centre of the island may perhaps be connected with the story told to Yuan Chwang by some Ceylonese monks, and according to which some thousand li to the west of Ceylon, there was the "greatprecious-substance-island" where there is a bright shining mountain; but we have seen that our text knows of a similar mountain in the country of Zanzibar already alluded to. As we saw, Potala is the name of the country, but chiefly of the mountain which is the abode of the god; now according to the Arabic sources in Madagascar there is the famous mountain of Komr which gives the island its name and from which the Nilus was supposed to spring forth. We find the same mention of a holy river running down from Potala in our text as well as in the description of Potala as we read it in Yuan Chwang. The existence of a sacred mountain and a sacred river seems therefore to be intimately connected with Potala, or rather the various Potala. In Potala Buddhagupta embarked again and after a very long navigation he reached Javadvīpa whose name is translated in our text as "the island of the barley" (nas). This means that the two places were connected by usual sea-routes and therefore proves once more the proposed identification of Potala of Buddhagupta with Madagascar, because we know the regular intercourse which took place between the two islands through the medium of Malasian sailors. There existed a permanent sea-trading intensified by the Portuguese linking Java, Madagascar and Zanzibar.

In Javadvipa he found the followers of the Śrāvaka Sendhapa and then he proceeded to a small island in the middle of the sea called Vanadipa (Banka?) where he saw the cave of Padmavajra and found traces of many Tantras. Then he sailed to the north for Ceylon and afterwards to Konkan.

"There is (in Konkana) a self-created image of Manjusri in the middle of a pond. It is called Jnanakaya. The measure of the body is like a small hill and it represents the god in the reclining position. Then he saw also the bimbakaya which looks like a rainbow raising the stupa of the accumulated vapour beyond touch." "Then

he embarked again and went to the south to Malabar and to a country near to it called Sambhudatta where he heard the Buddhasancāra-tantra and the Samvaravikrīḍita Haridarisaṅgīti and the Sahajatattva from the king Hariprabha (p'rog byed 'od) who had forded the ocean of the Vajrayāna and possessed all of the vidyās of the usual siddhas." He met again his gurus since he wanted the abhiṣeka in some other Tantric systems, but as money was required for that, he undertook a collecting tour in Trilinga, Trimalla and Karṇāṭaka, gathering a good amount of donations.

"Then he started again with the purpose of visiting the small islands of the east; so through Jārikhanda and Jagannātha he went to Khasarpana in Buntavarta (sic) where he spent in prayer about twenty days ...... Then he went to Tipura and to the highland of Tipura where there is Kasaranga or Devikota. For some days he remained in the temple erected by the Mahasiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Thence he proceeded to Ra k'an and to its places Haribhañja, Bu k'an and Bal gu. In all these countries there is a great community of monks and the Buddhist teaching is widely spread. He stopped there for a long time and heard many treatises of the sutra class and as far as possible the law of the secret mantras from pandita Dharmākṣaghoṣa of the big stūpas in the temple of Haribhañja and equally from the lay pandit Parhetanandaghosa in the country of Balgu. Those gurus were the followers of the Mahāsiddha Sāntipada. Then he embarked again and went to the island of Dhanasri. In this island also there are very many monks. There is a great stupa of immense proportion which is called Śrimad-dhanyakataka

I de nu końka nai gliń du p'ebs te/ dzňa na kāya źes bye ba mts'oi naň na 'jam dpal gyi sku raň 'byuň sku ts'ad ri c'uň tsam yod po ñal stabs su gnas pa daň/ bimba kā ya z'es bya ba nam mk'a' la 'ja' ts' on śar ba lta bu mc' od rten gyi gzugs brňan śin tu c'e ba źiň gsal ba dpal du ba 'k'rigs pa reg pa med pai mc'od rten du grags pa de yin te/.....slar gru btaň nas lho p'yogs su ma lyār p'ebs 'di daň ñe bai yul p'ran śam bhu datta źes bya ba ni rdo rje t'eg pa rgya mts'o p'a rol soň ba/ t'un moň gi grub pai rtags ci rigs pa daň ldan pai rgyal po p'rog byed 'od źes bya ba la sańs rgyas mňan 'byor gyi rgyud daň sdom pa rnam par rtsen pa/ daň lhan gcig skges pai de ñid daň hari darii glu dbyaňs la sogs pa c'os maň du gsan/

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or the stūpa with the offering or astukakāya. Its basement has the same shape as the stūpa itself, it is surrounded by two rails in stone. It takes about one day for its pradakṣiṇa. On the east there is a very big town where there is enormous assemblage of merchants coming from different countries such as China, Europe (p'ren gi) and India. When he visited the asparŝa pratibimbastūpa he saw the maṇḍala of the five kulas with Vairocana as their central essence, in the Jñāna-kāyastūpa the maṇḍala of the five kulas with Amitābha as the central essence, and in Śrīmad-dhanyakaṭaka the maṇḍala of the five kulas with Akṣobhya as the central essence. Then together with some merchants he visited some very small islands such as another island in the middle of the sea called Potala, the island Paigu, an island occupied by the Europeans in which many medicinal herbs such as jāti and lesi are produced. Sadhadīpa the great Suvarṇadvīpa, the small Suvarṇadvīpa, Sūryadvīpa, Candradvīpa, Sarvadvīpa." Sāgara-

de na (read de nas) sar po'yogs kyi glin p'ran rnams gzigs par bźeń nas dsā ri k'anta dań dsa gań nā tha rgyud nas bhanga lar p'ebs/ yul bu nta bharta ru k'a sarba na mjal/ źag ñi śu tsam gsol la adebs kyin zugs/.....de nas Ti pu rar p'ebs/ ti pu rai yul gyi p'u ka sa ram ga'm devi koṭai gnas yod pa mjal bar mdzad cin/ grub c'en po spyod pas bzańs pai gtsug lag k'ań du źag śas bźugs/ de nas ra k'an gi yul gyi nan mts'an ha ri pañja dan bu k'an dan sal gu rnams su p'ebs/ yul 'di rnams na dge slon gi dge 'dun c'es man Zin/ bstan pa lhag par dar ba yod pas/ yun rin rab re bzugs sin/ ha ri bhañ jai gtsug lag k'an mc'od rten c'en po zes bya ba zig nas dharmā ksa gho sa zes bya bai pandita c'en po zig dan de bzin du bal gui yul du bzugs pai par he ta nanda gho sa zes bya ba dge sñen pandita c'en po zig la gsan snags kyi c'os kyan ci rigs pa gsan mdo lugs kyi gian man po ion nan du mdad bla ma 'di kun yan grub c'en bźi bai źabs kyi slob ma 'ba' źig yin gsun de nas gru btań ste dha na śrī glin du p'ebs glin 'di na'n dge 'dun śin du man si źin dpal dan abras spun nam mc'od rten dpal yon can z'es kyan bya ast ka kā ya z'es bya ba mc'od rten c'en po no ho sin tu rgya k'yon c'e bai brag ri mc'od rten gyi dbyibs can/ p'yi la rdo yi leags ri brag ri adra ba fiis rim kyis bskor ba/ fii ma goig la bskor ba t'ebs tsam/ śar du gron k'yer sin tu c'e ba/ rgya nag dan p'ren gi dan rgya gar la sogs pai yul t'a dad pai ts'on pa sin to man bai ts'on 'dus c'en po 'dug gsun/ dan po rig pa med pa gzugs brnan gyi mc'od rten mjal bar

dvipa is further mentioned in connection with the younger Kṛṣṇācārya Bhubaripa and Bhubamati (bhu ba blo-ldan). We find him again in India studying Vajrayana at the school of various Siddhas such as Gambhimati, Ghanatapā, Siddhigarbha, Betatikṣaṇa, Vīrabandha, Gangapa. After having spent some time in Bodh-Gaya, Banda (bam dva) where he met the king Kumārapālabhadra, and Prayāga where he saw the great yogin Subharaksita, he proceeded to Jagannātha, Tipura and Bhīmeśvara. "He went again to Bhangala or Tipura and Ra k'an and he spent in Assam (Kāmarūpa) about one year.

Afterwards he proceeded to Tibet and went to Lhasa passing through the monastery of bSam yas; then he visited the province of gTsan where he met Tāranātha. Having explained to him various Tantric texts and rituals, he took leave from his pupil and returned back to India passing via Kirong (skyid groi) on the Nepalese Himalayan range. From Nepal he came down to Bhansyaya (Bhainsi-duhan near Bhinyashedi) in Champaram (Bettiah, tsam bā ra na), the hill Khagendra and then through Magadha to Bengal and Tipura. While Taranatha was writing his biography he heard that his guru was still living in Devikota or in some other place near it.

These long travels towards the east are not less important than the previous ones in so far as they not only show a strong survival of Mahayana Buddhism but also seem to indicate that the sea-relations with Insulindia were at the time of Buddhagupta not yet interrupted.

We can quite easily follow the itinerary of the Indian sadhu from South India to Orissa where Jārikhanda or Jarākhanda and Jagannatha are located. Buntavarta is evidently a corruption for Pundravardhana corresponding to the districts of Bogra and Rājshahi. Khasarpana cannot be exactly located, but its name seems to suggest that it is a high mountain. In fact Khasarpana is known also to Tāranātha who takes it to be the seat of Avalokitesvara but

mdsad dus/ rnam suan gtso bor gyur bai rigs lnai dkyil 'k'or dan dsa na kā ya ni 'od dpag med gtso bor gyur pai rigs lnai nkyil 'k'or dan stī dha nya kataka ni mi bskyod pa gtso bor byas pai rgyal ba rigs luai dkyil 'k'or du gzigs/ gźan yan tson pa rnams dan lhan cig tu byon pas/ po ta la zer bai rgya mts'oi rdo ri gzan cig dan pai gui gliù dan ja ti dan le śi sogs man po skye ba p'ien gis adsin pai glin Zig dan sādha dhī pa dan gser glin c'en po dan gser glin gi min can c'un ba gñis surjadhipa candradhipa sarvadhipa.

I.H.Q., DECEMBERO. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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locates it in South India perhaps wrongly identifying it with Potalaka. The fact that Puṇḍravardhana indicates the country bordering on the sub-Himalayan range seems to point out that Khasarpaṇa was a general designation for the mountains bordering on the north Bengal. The identification of Tipura with Tipperah is self-evident. Kasaraṅga betrays in its Sanskrit form the name of the Khasi tribes populating the Khasi hills. Devīkoṭa is the temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhāṭī one of the greatest centres of Tantrism in India usually included among the four foremost piṭhas and connected in the Buddhist tradition with the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Buddhist images on the road leading to the temple are visible up to now.

Ra k'an is, as known, the general designation for Burma while Haribhañja is evidently a corruption for Haripuñjaya, north of Menam near Lamphūn, Bu k'an, which can also be Pu k'an (because in the manuscript at my disposal the two letters are often interchanged). Pu k'an corresponds to Pagan, Pukam, in the Cam inscriptions, P'u kan of the Chinese travellers and writers. It is at the same time the name of a district and of a town, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the left side of Irrawaddy. Bal gu, or Pal gu is Pegu in Burma. The information which Buddhagupta gives about Burmese Buddhism is of some interest because it is a new proof that even after the conversion of King Anuruddha of Pagan, the conqueror of Pegu, Mahāyāna flourished for long time in Pagan.

Dhanasri corresponds to Tenasserim, Dahnasari of the Āin-i-Ākbarā. It belonged, as is known, to Siam up to the middle of the XVIIIth century and it was one of the most important trade centres in the Far East. It had a Protuguese settlement till 1641. The name

I p'ren gi=later Sanskrit: phiranga, Hindī: pharangī is not given in our dictionaries (the usual forms being p'e ran, p'i lin, p'a ran, p'o ran, on which see Laufer, Loan words in Tibetan n. 141). Its mention here has some importance in so far as it seems to us that the form was probably introduced into Tibet from India rather than from Persia. As regards the form p'i lin, which is now very common in Tibetan for "foreign country" or "Europe," I fully agree with Laufer that it cannot be considered as the popular pronunciation of p'vi glin, but it is quite possible that it took the place of the original p'ren gi under the influence of that form. P'vi glin pa is not only a foreigner but also is opposed to nan pa, "the man of the inside"

of the pagoda or stupa which was seen by Buddhagupta near the town, is worthy of notice; in fact Sridhanyakataka was the name, as it is known, of a samous Buddhist place in Orissa which was held in a very high estimation by Mahāyana schools. was after that place that one of the most famous monasteries of Tibet was called, I mean the dPal Idan hbras spuns (Mt. Debung) near Lhasa. On the other side modern research seems to show that the influence of Orissa was specially felt in Siam. Nor is it out of place to notice that even our text points out the existence of a land route connecting Kāmarūpa or northern Assam with Burma. Unfortunately we find no mention as regards the itinerary followed by Buddhagupta from Gauhātī to Pagan, but it seems to me that the road must have passed between the Mikir and the Jaintia hills and then reached Upper Burma through Manipur. This appears to have been the shortest and the safest since it avoided the violent rivers of the Lushai hills and the head-hunting tribes of the Nagas. Of the remaining islands only Suvarnadvipa may be identified with Sumatra though the problems connected with this identification are complicated by the fact that Buddhagupta knows two Suvarnadvipas, a small one and a big one. The mention of bSam yas is interesting in so far as it shows that Buddhagupta went into Tibet via Bhutan. This is suggested by the previous mention of Assam and by our knowledge of the roads between Tibet and India. It is generally believed that the usual intercourse between these two countries took place along the route, Darjeeling (rdo rje gling) and Gyantze (rgyan tshe) But this is wrong. This route is a new one as it was regularly opened in quite recent times and acquired its importance after the last Anglo-Tibetan war. But in former times there is no mention of it. There are good reasons for its being unknown in older texts. This road passes through Sikkim, and this country, populated chiefly by Lepchas, was converted to Buddhism by Lha brtsum c'enpo in the xviith century. The wild people of the country, the thick jungle which covered the hills and the absence of any Buddhist centre are the main reasons why the Sikkimmese road, though the shortest, was not used up to the end of the xviith century

<sup>&</sup>quot;the believer," it implies therefore not only a geographical difference but also a spiritual demarcation. Cf, in Chinese Buddhist texts nei and wei.

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when Buddhism was firmly established in the country. In former times the usual route of the Indian pandits to Tibet or of the Tibetan locavas to India was through Nepal (Kirong and Kuti) where Marpa, Ras hbyun, Rva locāva travelled or through the Sutlej and Kulu as in the case of Ur gyan pa and Stag gtsan ras pa. Eventually even the Ladak route through the Zojila was followed, though, it appears to me, not so common as the other routes. But in all rnam thars and other Tibetan sources accessible to me no mention whatever is to be found of the Sikkimese route. On the other hand, the fact, that in our text mention of bSam yas is made, excludes the probability that Buddhagupta went into Tibet via Nepal, that is, along the route which he followed when coming back to India as it is expressly stated in our text. If he had gone to Lha sa by this way he could not have reached bSam yas without deviating from his road, since we know that bSam yas is on the road to Bhutan, a country very early converted to Buddhism and a great centre of Tibetan learning. It was in fact there that one of the most important branches of the Bkah hgyur ba sects, that of the hBrug pa, had its origin and wide diffusion, Anyhow, as stated before, the mention of Assam without referring to any further movement of Buddhagupta to other places makes us believe that he started just from there. We know that there was such a route from Bhutan to Assam through Devangiri and that this route was largely followed by the Tibetans coming down to India to visit the place of the Mahaparinirvana of Buddha. It is in fact well established that according to some Tibetan traditions, accepted also by the author of the Sam bha lahi lam yig (but the origin of which we are not yet in a position to trace), Kuśinagara was in Assam. The place seems to be, as pointed out by Waddel, the village Salkusa some nine miles north-west from Gauhātī on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra. Unfortunately no mention of Kusinagara is in our text, so we cannot say whether the location of Kuśinagara, the place of the Mahāparinirvāņa, in Assam was current among the Indian Buddhists of the 16th century.

GUISEPPE TUCCI

# Fire-arms in Ancient India

#### (I) Introduction

There has been a great deal of uncertainty regarding the nature of the weapon of offence called agneya-astra, frequently mentioned in the Rāmāyaņa and the Mahābhārata. Many have taken it to mean a gun. We shall see that it was no doubt a fiery arm, but not a fire-arm. The latter is a weapon whose charge is expelled by fire, while the former might be a fiery arrow. The word, 'astra,' means a missile, and 'agneya', of fire. There was another weapon called sataghna, also called sataghni, which has been interpreted as a cannon. The word literally means a weapon that can kill a hundred at one time. It was not a cannon originally, but the name was applied to it in later times. Another weapon called, nālīka, underwent similar change. Originally it was a tubular arrow, but subsequently it meant a gun. It will be further seen that there was a large number of weapons of various names, all apparently belonging to the agneya-astra class. They were all projected by means of a bow.

### (2) Classification of arms

Before we proceed to enquire into the nature of agneya-astra, it will be well to take a broad view of the 'ayudha,' the weapons of offence in use in ancient India. A well-known classification consists of (1) astra, which is discharged, and (2) sastra, which is not. This is the primary classification adopted in the Agni Purana, and the Sukra-Nītisāra. This Purana as well as the Vasiṣṭha Dhanurveda classify them into (1) yantra-mukta, discharged from a machine, e.g.,

I The editions of texts used in this article are: Purāṇas, Rāmā-yaṇa and Mahābhārata, Calcutta edition; Sukranītisāra by Jīvānanda, Calcutta; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Sanskrit Text, (1st edition) by R, Śāmaśāstrī. My translations of Kauṭilya passages differ in many places from those of the translator.

stone from a kṣepaṇī (projector) and arrow from a bow; (2) hastamukta, discharged from the hand, e.g., stone and javelin; (3) muktamukta, thrown and brought back, e.g., a spear; and (4) amukta, which never leaves the hand, e.g., a sword. This classification based on the manner of use of the arms takes no account of the weapons of defence such as the shield and coats of mail. It should be noted that there is no mention anywhere of any weapon projected by means of fire.

Kauţilya (p. 101) gives a mixed scheme based on construcțion and use. It is as follows:—Heavy stationary engines, e.g., (1) Jāmadagnya, known also as mahāśara-yantra, or simply as mahā-yantra, for shooting heavy and long range arrows; (2) Parjanyaka, a water machine, probably a water-tower with hose to put out fire; (3) Portable or hand weapons with obtuse or blunt ends, e.g., gadā, a mace, triśūla, a trident, śataghna, explained by the commentator as "a big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of fort-walls" ; (4) Long weapons with lance-shaped heads, e.g., śūla, a lance, kunta. a spear, śakti, a heavy dart; (5) Bow and arrow; (6) Swords; (7) Flat weapons with keen edge, e.g., kuṭhāra, an axe, paraśu, a scimitar; cakra, a disc, &c. (8) stones, hurled by hand or machine.

#### (3) Divine Weapons

There was another classification of weapons into 'divya, divine, and 'mānava,' ordinary. The divya-astras were uncommon weapons deadlier than the ordinary, the construction of which was known only to a few who possessed godly power. Divya-astras were also known as 'māntrika',

I This description agrees with accounts found elsewhere. Śabda-kalpa-druma quotes an authority to say that śataghnī is a large piece of stone having iron spikes fixed into it. So also Vaijayantī koṣa. From the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 117) we learn that it used to be placed in large numbers on the tops of fort-walls. Evidently it was let fall on enemies attempting to climb the wall. But in that case Kauṭilya would have placed it in the first class. The Mahābhārata (Droṇa P.) informs us that it was carried on wheels. It is perhaps on account of its portability that Kauṭilya put it under the third class. It is, however, clear that śataghnī, whether stationary or porṭable, had nothing to do with fire.

requiring 'mantra' to be uttered before its use. There was another class of weapons called 'āsura,' demonical, the construction and use of which were known to the Asuras. In later times when guns and cannons were invented, Sukra classed them as āsura. These could neither be placed among the divya-astras, which were secret, nor with the mānava-astras which were too common. In the above list Kauṭilya has mentioned only the mānava astras. There was yet a fourth class, the Rākṣasa-astras, the weapons of the wild aborigines, consisting of stone and branches of trees thrown by the hand. This class was not recognised as worthy of study.

#### (4) The bow and arrow

The bow and arrow were the most important weapons of offence dating back to the time of the Rg-veda, and continuing down to the sixteenth century. They figured side by side with guns for at least four centuries and are still in use among the aborigines of India who cannot procure guns for hunting. Books on archery were written in ancient times and were known as Dhanurveda, the science of the bow. The science was regarded as an offshoot of the Yajurveda and taught by Brahmin experts to their Kṣatriya pupils, who alone could lay claim to it on account of their military profession. Brhaspati and Śukra, Viśvāmitra and Vasistha, Vaisampāyana and Sārngadhara and perhaps many others wrote on Dhanurveda, but unfortunately most of them have been lost, and only one, that by Vasistha, has been lately published.1 It is to a certain extent a modernised edition of an older treatise on archery bearing the name of Vasistha who was a celebrated teacher and said to have been the foremost writer on Dhanurveda. Fragments of the science of archery are found in many books, such as Yuktikalpataru by Bhojarāja, Nītisāra by Śukra. Purana has given in three short chapters a more detailed account which agrees in most parts with Vasistha. Both of them appear to have borrowed their accounts from an older source.

The common name for bow was 'dhanus.' But there were distinctive names. Kautilya calls one made of Tāla (Palmyra palm)

The Sanskrit text has been edited and translated into Bengali by Isvara Chandra Sastrī and published by Arun Chandra Sinha, Calcutta.

wood a 'kārmuka', of Cāpa (a bamboo) a 'cāpa', and also 'kodaņda' of Dhanvan wood (lit. the dhanus wood, Dhaman of our vernacular, species of Grewia and perhaps also of Cordia) 'druna', and of Śriga (horn) a 'śāriga.' The famous bow of Arjuna was gāṇḍīva, socalled because it had prominent knots. It was probably made of bamboo. The bow of Śrīkṛṣṇa was of horn. The wood of the Dhanvan tree is flexible and straight-grained and fit for a bow, whence the name, From Vasistha we gather that the bows were usually four cubits or six feet long. Hence a 'dhanus' became a standard measure of length. The dhanus of the gods were longer. That of Mahādeva was five and a half cubits long. The horn bow of Vișnu was five feet long. But the horn bows as used by men were a little shorter. These bows were used by elephant-men and horse-men, those of bamboo by chariot-men and infantry. Besides bamboo and horn, metals and other kinds of wood were used in making dhanus. metals used are said to be gold, silver, copper and steel. Perhaps these were used to embellish the bows. The horn was procured from buffaloes and a kind of antelope called Rohisa and a wild animal called Sarabha.1

The animal is thus described in the Vasistha-dhanurveda. "It has eight legs, four of which are upwards. Its horns are long. It is as high as a camel, lives in forests and is well known and hunted after in Kashmir." It is believed to be a fabulous animal, because of its so-called eight legs. This part of the description is a fiction, but there cannot be the least doubt of the existence of the animal whose flesh was eaten and which furnished horn for bows. The horn of wild buffaloes may measure more than eight feet along the curve. question is what other animal could supply the horn for bows? It is obvious, the horn must be hollow, and we should therefore search among the family of Bovidæc. We gather from other books, that its eyes are situated higher up the head, it can be seen only in forests and can dare attack a lion and is strong enough to kill it, 'simhaghātin'. From Rajanighantu we gather that it looks like a lion (mahā-simha), has enormous horns, black shoulders, (perhaps black hair on the neck), is very intelligent and lives in mountainous regions. This description would tempt one to think of bison which might have been found in Kashmir. Possibly the name sarabha was Sanskritized from 'sar', a common name for the deer in use among the natives of the Himalayas. The horn of Rohisa and Sarabha need not be very long.

Of the various kinds of wood, Vasistha mentions candana (sandal), vetra (rattan cane), dhanvan (dhāman), sāla, sālmali (Bombax), sāka (teak), kakubha «(Terminalia arjuna), bamboo and anjana (?). But it is difficult to see how efficient and lasting bows could be made of trees like candana, śāla and śāka. Probably they were used in making mahā-yantra, the machine for hurling stones, etc. It may be noted that Tala (Palmyra palm) is not included in the above list. Bhojarāja names only horn and bamboo. Agni Purāņa tells us that the maximum length of a bow is six feet, medium length five feet and the minimum length four and a half feet.

For strings of the bow Kautilya mentions fibres of mūrvā (Sansviera), arka (Calatropis), śana (Crotalaria), gavethu (Coix), venu (strips of bamboo), and snāyu (gut). Vasistha recommends silk cord as thick as the little finger, and in its absence snayu (gut) of deer, buffalo, and goat, or strips of mature bamboo tied with silk, or fibre of arka (Calotropis). Agni Purāna mentions cotton thread, munija (the munija reed), bhānga (Cannabis hemp), and snāyu (gut).

Arrows are called 'isu' by Kautilya. The word is derived from the root 'is' to move. The shafts of the arrows were made from veņu (bamboo), śara (the reed, Saccharum arundinaceum), śalāka (thin stick), dandāsana (?), and nārāca (of iron). The points were made of iron, bone, and wood, so as to cut, pierce and thrust. It is to be noted here that the word, 'bana', is not used for an arrow. Vasistha speaks of sara (arrows) and not bana, because sara was the chief material of the shaft. It is also called kāṇḍa, the reed. reed measured two cubits or thirty-six inches, and was as thick as the little finger. The points were given various shapes for piercing, cutting, etc. They had special forms for opposing and cutting bāņa on its way. Nārāca was a bāņa made entirely of metals. Bhojarāja uses the word bāṇa as a general name for arrows and insists on the lightness and stiffness of the shaft, and sharpness of the point. According to him a naraca is ribbed and the point is either sharp or rough. Vasistha also describes nārāca which is entirely made of iron, five sided and five feathered. It is said that very few succeed in shooting a nārāca.

It seems agni-bana was the result of fastening to naraca inflammable materials. The modifications of the agni-bāņa or āgneyāstra were known under various names. All were 'divya-astras', that is to say, uncommon weapons. Vasistha names seven classes of divyaastras. They were Brahmāstra, Brahmadaņda, Brahmašira, Pāśupata,

Vāyavya, Āgneya and Nārasimha, and we are told that they had numerous forms. Unfortunately the construction is kept secret. But they were all known as 'bāṇa' and not 'sara', and required careful handling. Before discharging the arrow, concentration of attention was secured by repeating Tāntrika mantras. As to the effective range of common arrows, we are told that for the best archer it is sixty dhanus or 120 yards, for the next best 80 yards and for the worst 60 yards. But for nārāca, the distances should be 80, 60, and 32 yards respectively. A man who could pierce through metal plates half a finger in thickness, or twenty-four layers of leather was considered proficient.

(To be continued)

JOGESH CHANDRA ROY

Correction Slip

the subsequent pagination should be corrected accordingly, i.e. 80 is to be added to

each page number. We regret that this error has crept in.

The number of page commencing from 629 should be 709 instead of 629 and

DHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.) भिभागे मरागे धरणिविरहिणी आन्तवक् समुद्रे छो नीरजाले विकसति कुमुद्रे निर्विकारे चकोरे। हाशे सावकाशे तमसि शममिते कोकलोके स्थोके श्रे इपे मन्दद्वे वितरति किरणाल् शवंरीसार्वभीमः।।६८।। ext is continued from the previous issue, p. 627. re before this verse, A, E, F add अत्रावसरे ; प्रतान्तरे। खागे B, C, D.
असर्गे C.
बरिशहिया B, C, D; धरियहिरितकान्तवक्ते E, F.

nitted in A, but space is left for these words. राषे B. काशप्रान्तमागे B; आकाशे प्रान्तमागे C, D. пलोके RS, CS; नाकलोके B, C, D, G, H. पोके B, C, D. E, F read लोकलोकेशशोके। A

Ë

Dām. ii, 3.

s line as well as the next, but space is left

Техт

Vāyavya, Āgneya and Nārasimha, and we are told that they had numerous forms. Unfortunately the construction is kept secret. But they were all known as 'bāṇa' and not 'sara', and required careful handling. Before discharging the arrow, concentration of attention was secured by repeating Tāntrika mantras. As to the effective range of common arrows, we are told that for the best archer it is sixty dhanus or 120 yards, for the next best 80 yards and for the worst 60 yards. But for nārāca, the distances should be 80, 60, and 32 yards respectively. A man who could pierce through metal plates half a finger in thickness, or twenty-four layers of leather was considered proficient.

(To be continued)

JOGESH CHANDRA ROY

# महानाटकम्®

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (JIVananda's Ed.)

OUR TEXT

¹ प्राचीभागे ै सरागे ³ धरणिविरहिणी ⁴ छान्तवक् समुद्रे निद्राष्टी ⁵ नीरजाखी विकसति कुमुदे निर्विकारे चकोरे। आकाशे सावकाशे ® तमसि शमिमते कोकखोके ृ सशोके <sup>8</sup> कन्दर्षे मन्दद्षे वितरति किरणाल् शर्वरीसार्वभीमः।।६ ८।। \*The text is continued from the previous issue, p. 627.

Here, before this verse, A, E, F add wanadt;

B, C, D, अत्रान्तरे।

पश्चाद्धागे B, C, D.

3 सरागे C.

4 सिचरिवरिहिश्वी B, C, D; वरिग्राहरितकान्तवस्तें E, F.

This is omitted in A, but space is left for these words.

निद्रा<u>ले</u> B.

आकाश्यप्रान्तभागे B; आकाशे प्रान्तभागे C, D.

ा नागलोंने RS, CS; नाकलोंने B, C, D, G, H.

8 विशोक 13, C, D. E, F read लोकलोकेशशोक। A drops this line as well as the next, but space is left in the Ms for them.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

कोकानाकुलयन् दिशो धवलयन्निन्दुः समुज्जूम्मते ॥११॥ फुक्टकैरवकोषनिःसरद्ञिश्रेणीक्तपाणं शशी ॥१००॥ स्थातुं बाब्छति मान एष धिगिति क्रोधादिबालोहितः अम्भोजानि निमीलयन् मृगहशां मानं समुन्मूलयन् स्वेरं कैरवकोरकान् विद्ख्यन् यूनां मनः खेळयन्। 3अद्यापि स्तनशैळदुर्गविषमे<sup>4</sup> सीमन्तिनीनां<sup>5</sup> हिद ज्योत्ह्याः कन्द्ळयंत्तमः कवलयन्नम्मोधिमुद्रेलयन् स्वैरं शीतकरः करं कमछिनीमाछिङ्गितं योजयन् प्रोद्यम् दूर<sup>6</sup>तरप्रसारितकरः कर्षसमौ तत्स्रणात् यातस्यास्तमनन्तरं दिनक्रतो वेशेन ह रागान्यितः

- खेद्यन् in all Mss, except G, H.
- PR vii, 60; Dam. ii, 4. The first line of thisverse is dropped in A, but space is left for it.
- A, E, F read 到ff before this verse.
- स्तनतुङ्गशैलविषमे A, E, F, G, H.
  - वामेन्यानां A, E, F.
- उद्यन् दूरः A, E, F; प्रोद्यदूरः B, C, D.
- रोषेषा, all Mss, except IH. Dām. ii, 5.

रोवेषा, all Mss, except II.

Dām. ii, 5.

1

स्वगृहगमनन्याजाशिषं B, C. D; स्वमन्दिरगमनायाशिषं A,

OUR TEXT

हासेनैव³ कुमद्रतीवनितया वैल्क्यपाण्ड्रकृत: ॥१०१॥ MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.) शीतस्पर्शमवाप्य! सम्प्रति तया गुप्ते" मुखाम्मोरहहे

श्रीरामः सखीं प्रति।

दिक्षान्तामुक्षरे चक्रोरसृहदि प्रौढे तुषारत्विष ॥१०२॥ रक्षालि स्फटिकान्तरै: किमघटि द्यावाप्रथिन्योर्वपुः कप्रै: किमपूरि कि मलयजैरालेपि कि पारदै-पततक्य कैरवक्षमहरे श्रङ्गारदीक्षागुरी

चक्र<sup>9</sup>क्रीडाक्रतान्तितिमिरचयचमूस्फारसंहारचक्र<sup>10</sup>

成 A; 我听 E, F. 4 Dām. ii, 6, 64 हास्येनेव A, B, C, D. ०स्पर्शमवेत्य A.

6 Dām. ii, 7. भ्रथ सर्खों प्रति श्रीरामः B,C, D. मन्दिरसारिका G, H.

9 शम्मोः E, F.

E, F.

80

10 0日來: D.

Madhusūdana's Text (Jivānanda's Ed.) कान्तासंयोग माक्षी गगनसरसिजो राजते राजहंसः। सम्भोगारम्भकुम्मः <sup>शु</sup> कुमुदवनवधूरोध <sup>अ</sup>निद्राद्दिद्रो<sup>4</sup> देवः क्षीरोदजन्मा जयति रतिषतेर्वाणानिर्माण <sup>5</sup>शाणः ॥१०३॥<sup>6</sup>

- I J notes the alternative reading सम्भोग, which is given only by H and RS.
- 2 जारम्मकाले A, E, F. 3 क्मुद्वरचयुरोष B, C, D, G.
  - 4 Is it possible that this verse is composed by the poet Nidrādaridra? One verse of this poet is quoted in Subhāṣitāvali no. 1362 = Sārṅga-dhara-paddhati no. 3454, and this verse also bears the poet's signature in the same manner as in the verse under consideration. This trick is not unusual: cf. Kavīndravacana nos. 274, 518.
- निर्वाष् B,C, D, G.
- 6 Dām. ii. 9. After this verse, A, E have the following comment: चन्द्रजिम्बगायोनीयाः कामबायाः सीताराम-बन्द्री प्रविधः इति ध्वतिः॥

OUR TEXT

चन्द्रो प्रविष्टा इति ध्वति:॥

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

## सिखीषु गतास ।1

गाढं चालिग्य गाढं स्वपिहि न हि न होति च्युतो बाहुबन्धः॥१०५॥ वणिः कि मां प्रहरति शनैन्यहिरन्नानिनाय ।।१०४॥ संसारो गर्भसारो नव इव मधुराळापिनोः कामिनोमाँ बाणाम् पश्च प्रवद्ति जनः पञ्चबाणोऽप्रमाणै-अङ्गे छत्वा जनकतनयां द्वारकोटेस्तटान्तान् 2 अन्योन्यं बाहुपाश्रम्हणरसभराशीलिनोस्तत्र यूनो-पर्यङ्काङ्कं विपुत्रपुत्रकां राघवो नज्ञवक्ताम्। भूयो भूयः प्रभूताभिमतफळ्भुजोर्नन्दतोजात एषः। वक् ततः फणिलताद्छबीटिकां स्वे विन्यस्य चन्द्रनयनावृतपूरागभाम्।

- Omitted in B, C, D.
- द्वारकोच्यान्तरस्थां B, C, D. ~
- पर्यक्राक्टे B, C, D, G; पर्यस्तान्तीं A. 3
- प्रभवति A. 4
- ष्याहरत् व्यानिनाय A. E, F; बलादु व्याहरंस्तां निनाय

Dām, ii, 10.

B, C, D.

MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.) रामोऽत्रवीद्धि गृहाण मुखेन बाले तच्छद्मना तद्धरं मधुरं प्रपातुम् ॥१०६॥

मन्दं मन्दं जनकतनथा तां चतुर्था विथाय स्वैरं जहे तद्धरमधु प्रमतो मीलिताक्षी। मेने तस्थास्तद्द कवळात् धर्मकामार्थमीक्षान् रामः कामं मधुरमधरं ब्रह्म धीत्वापि तस्याः॥ १०७॥ क्सायां सीतायां रामः।² भातिस्म चित्तस्थित³रामचन्द्रं संरुन्धती निर्गमशङ्कयेव। स्तनोपरि स्थापितपाणिषद्या च्छद्याप्तनिद्रा⁴ हरिणायताक्षी⁵॥१०८॥

- I Nos. 105, 105, 107 = Dām. ii, 12, 13, 14. These verses are omitted by all Mss and printed editions, but are probably taken from Dām. by J.
- Omitted in B, C. D.
- RS notes also the reading चित्तस्थित।
- 4 ॰पागिपशासनिद्धा B, C, D; छशान्तनिद्धा F, F.
- Dām. ii, 15.

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

तत्र सीतावज्ञःस्थलस्थं अमरमवलोक्य।1

मदनदृहनग्रुष्यत्क्षान्त थनान्ताकुचान्त-<sup>3</sup> ह दि मलयजपङ्गे गाडबद्धाखिलाङ्गिः। उपशिवततपक्षे लक्ष्यतेऽलिनिमग्नः<sup>4</sup> शर इव कुसुमेषीरेष पुङ्खावशेषः<sup>5</sup>॥ १०६॥<sup>6</sup>

अत्रावसरे।

पृथुळजघनमारं मन्दमान्दोल्यन्ती मृदुचळद्छकान्ता प्रस्कुरत्कर्णपूरा। ा तत्र सीतायज्ञास्थले सानन्द्रमिन्दीवरमवलोक्य A ; तत्र सीता बिज्ञसि सानन्द्रमिन्द्रीयरमवलोक्य E, F ; अत्र सीतास्तनमध्ये चन्द्रनगन्ध-पिततभ्रमरमवलोक्य B, C, D.

कान्त for क्वान्त B, C, G. 3 ०कुचान्ते B, C, D, G, H. लह्यते किन्न मग्न: A; लह्यते कि निमग्न: E, F.

क्रसमेषोः पुह्नमात्रावशेषः A, E, F. Dām ii, 16.

2 9

Omitted in A, D, E, F; B, C read instead

1年日1

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OUR TEXT

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed)

. प्रकटितमुजमूखाद्धिंतस्तन्यखोळा प्रमद्यति पति द्राक् जानकी च्याजनिद्रा ।। ११०॥

श्रीरामपादाः ।2

निद्राणस्त्रीनितम्बाम्बरहरणरणन्मेखळारावधाव-त्कन्द्रपविद्ववाणव्यतिकरतरळाः कामिनो³ यामिनीषु। ताडङ्को⁴पान्तकान्त⁵प्रथितमणिगणोद्ग्छद्ग्छन्छटामि-<sup>6</sup> व्यक्ताङ्कास्तुङ्गकम्पा ज्यनगिरिद्रीमाश्रयं ते श्रयन्ते<sup>7</sup>॥ १११॥<sup>8</sup>

स्पृह्यति च विमेति प्रमतो वाळमावा-न्मिळति सुरतसङ्गे ऽप्यङ्गमाङ्गभ्वयन्ती।

ज्ञानकी प्रबुद्धा।

- Dām. ii, 17.
- 2 Omitted in A, which also omits the following verse no. III.
- Dropped in B, C; कामिनी G, H.
- सातक्षो A, E, F. 5 ॰कान्ता A, E, F.
- 6 ०द्ज्छप्रमाभिः A, E, F, 7 ०द्गीमार्गमत्राभ्यक्ते A, E, F.
- Dām. ii, rg.

OUR TEXT

8 Dam. 11, 19.

स्मितमधुरकटाक्षमिवमाबिष्कर्गेति ॥ ११२ ॥1 अहह न हि न हीति व्याजमप्यालपन्ती

पात्रीभूतेन ृधात्रीं युवतयति <sup>7</sup> चिरस्थाविरां रामराज्ञी<sup>8</sup> ॥११३॥ वाचां गुम्फेन रम्भाकरकमछद्छोदारसञ्चारचञ्च-श्री²रामः सानन्दं जानकीवाग्विलासमुह्णास्त्रयति तत्रीसजातमञ्जुस्वररणन भातोद्रारतारा हिसरेण। प्रत्ययोत्रिद्रनाकद्रुमकुसुमनवामोद्समोद् भित्री-

- 2 Omitted in A, E, F. Dām. ii, 20.
- जानकों वाग्यिलासयति B, C, D.
  - अञ्जस्मररभस A, E, F.
- ॰ आसीझारभारा E, F; A drops these words but leaves space for them.
  - 6 स्वाद for सम्मोद A, E, F, G, H, which reading also noted by J and RS.
    - 7 सरत्यति A, E, F, G.
- 8 Dām. ii, 22. This verse is omitted in B, C, D.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अपिच।1

अर्ण्यं शारङ्गें गिरिकुहर्गभीश्च हरिभि-दिशो दिङ्गातङ्गेः श्चितमपि वनं पङ्कजवनैः। प्रियाचश्चमध्यस्तनवद्नसौन्द्र्यविजितैः सतां माने म्राने मरणमथवारण्यशरणम्<sup>थ</sup>।। ११४॥³ हष्ट्रा मुखं ते सरसीरुहाणि भङ्गाक्षमाठां जगृहुर्जपाय । एणीहशस्तेऽप्यवलोक्य वेणीं भोगं \* भुजङ्गायिपतिर्जुगोप <sup>5</sup> ॥११५॥<sup>6</sup>

अयि प्रिये पश्य

- Omitted in B,C, D.
- 2 oमथवा दूरसरद्यास, A, E, F; oमथवा दूरगमनम् B, C, D; oमथवा दूरगरवास् G, H. J and RS note also the reading oमथवारय्यगमनम्।
- 3 Dām. ii, 23. 5 Dām. ii, 24.

4 战对 A; भद्र' B, C, D, E, F.

- 6 After this verse, G reads तरङ्गय हगङ्गमे which occurs in BR iii, 25 (= Viddha8āla-bhañiikā iii, 27=
  - occurs in BR iii, 25 (= Viddh.  $B\bar{a}la-bh\bar{a}rata$  i, 31.

OUR TEXT

Bāla-bhārata i, 31.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed)

विलोक्य तूर्णं मणिबीजपूर्णं 4 फलं विद्रोणं किल दाडिमस्य ॥११६॥ 5 क्षिपति च परिपूत्ये तस्य ताराः किमेताः ॥ ११७ ॥ हष्ट्रा सुवर्णं । दहने स्वदेहं विक्षेष वर्णं ३ तव दन्तपङ्किम् । स्थितमतुलयदिन्दुः खेचरोऽभूह्यद्यात् वद्नममृतर्शिम पश्य कान्ते तवोच्यी-मनिलतुलनद्गडेनास्य वाधौं विधाता।

सीता सपरिहासम्।

बदनमस्तरश्मेर्मण्डलं वा प्रियेण ॥ ११eq ॥  $^7$ ऋतमपि गुरु धात्रास्वाद्य निर्णीयतां मे रमण चरणयुग्मं तावकं भावियत्वा मधुरगिरमुद्रारं रामद्रासी व्रवीमि

4 माध्यबीजप्तां B, C, D. 2 दहनेयु देह' B, C, D. meri A, E, F. स्वर्णां A.

Dām. ii, 25. 20

Cf. a similar verse in Anargha-rūghava, vii, 81.

This verse, with its headnote, as well as no. 117, is omitted in all Mss and printed editions. They occur as Dam. iii, 26 and 27 from which source I probably includes them. MADHUSüDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

ासीतां मनोहर²तरां गिरसुद्गिरन्ती-माल्किय तत्र बुभुजे परिपूर्णकामः। रामत्त्रथा त्रिभुवनेऽपि यथा न कोऽपि³ रामां⁴ भुनक्ति बुभुजे न च मोक्ष्यतीयः ॥ ११६ ॥⁵ मृदुसुरमिसुवर्णस्भीतकश्रापुटीच-ह्मिलिक्शायाः सम्पुटालिङ्गितायाः। सुरतरसवशाया राघवस्य प्रियाया हरति हद्यताषं काषि दिञ्या स्तनश्रीः?॥ १२०॥<sup>8</sup> आगामिद्धिवरहं चिरमाविरासीत् ा The following headnote is added before this verse: राम: खानन्दम् A; श्रीरामचन्द्रः सानन्दम् B, C, D; श्रीरामः सानन्दम् G, H.

मनोरम B, C, D. 3 त्रिअवनेऽिं च कोऽिंप रामां A, E, F.
 कामं A, E, F. 5 Dām. ii, 28. 6 ०छिसत G, H.

7 सुखन्नी: A, E, F.

Dam. ii, 29. This verse is missing in B.

OUR TEXT

Madhusūdana's Text (Jivānanda's Ed.)

श्रुत्वा तथा गिरमपूरयदुष्टसन्ती-1

मुद्रीर्णकर्णरमणां चरणायुधानाम् ॥ १२१ ॥<sup>3</sup>
एष श्रीलहनूमता विरचिते श्रीमन्महानाटके
वीरश्रीयुतरामचन्द्रचरिते प्रत्युद्धते विक्रमैः।
मिश्रश्रीमधुसूदुनेन कविना सन्दर्भ्यं सज्जीक्रते

इति द्वितीयोऽङ्कः समाप्तः।

ा श्रुत्वा गिरं रतमपुरदृदृक्षधन्ती B, C; श्रुत्वा तथापि गिरमपूजय-दुर्विपुत्री A, E, F; श्रुत्वा तथा गिरमपूथजुदृक्षसन्ती G, H.

2 Dām. ii, 36.

3 This very naming of the Act indicates that the erotic elaboration in it was a later addition by Madhusüdana.

4 E, F read only एष श्रील इत्यादि without repeating the first two lines.

MADHUSUDANA'S TEXT (Jivānanda's Ed.)

## तृतीयोऽङ्कः

भुत्तवा भोग्शन् सुरस्थान् मितपथिद्वित्तान् राघवो धर्मपत्न्या सार्थं वर्षिध्युकामः अवण³मुनिपितुः प्राप हा शापकाब्यम्। धत्तेऽकस्माद्विवस्वान् मिळनिकरणतां हा महोत्पातहेतो-क्ष्कादण्डंः प्रचण्डः प्रपतित नमसः कम्पते भूतधात्री ॥ ११३॥ दिग्भागो धूसरोऽभूद्दहिन बहुतराः स्कार्<sup>5</sup>ताराः स्फुरन्ति स्वभीनोभीनवीयं प्रहणमसमये रौधिरी शक्र<sup>6</sup>बृष्टिः। मध्याह्वे ध्वाङ्ग्वोषः यशणफ्तमितिस्फीतफेस्प्रचारो वारं गभीरः प्रत्थ्य इव महाकाळचीत्कारघोषः ॥ ११४॥

- अरङ्गान् A, E; भोगान् त्रिनगत् B, C D.
- कतिपयदिवसं all Mss.

0

पितरि D; च्यवन G.

4 Dām. iii, 1.

- बहुतरस्मार A, E, F. 6 रक्त B, C, D.
- मध्याह्नोऽध्वस्यिशेषः A, F, F; मध्याह्नोऽध्वस्यिकाशः G.

MADHUSūDANA'S TEXT (Jīvānanda's Ed.)

अत्रान्तरे द्यारथस्य नेष्टा ।

रामे नयचयं दृष्ट्या लोकयर्मसहं च यत् । यौवराज्याभिषेकाय तृपे मतिरभूत्ततः ॥ ११५ ॥<sup>3</sup>

समन्त्रो बहिनिःसत्य नागरान् प्रति।

स्वीयां जरामुपगतामवलोक्य राजा रामं च राज्यवहनक्षममाकलस्य ।

राज्याभिषेकपरमोत्सवमस्य कतु

व्यादिष्टवात् पुरजनाः कुरूत प्रमोदम्।। ११६ ॥ इ

I This line is omitted in A, E, F, G, H; B, C, D read धन्नान्तरे द्यांरथ।

- लोकधर्मरतं च तम् B, C, D.
- This verse is omitted in A, E, F.
- 4 Omitted in A, E, F; H reads Ettern anting nicht
- This verse is omitted in A, E, F.

S. K. DE

श्रथ रामाभिषेके¹ समन्त्रबन्तम्।² स्वीयां जरामुषगतामवलोक्य राजा रामं च राज्यवह्नक्षममाकळ्य्य। राज्याभिषेकषरमोत्सवमस्य³ कर्तं-मादिष्टवान् पुरजनाः कुरुत प्रमोद्म्॥ ४२॥

3 ०माथु B.

This phrase is given only by F and H.

A and F read instead द्यारथवाक्यम्।

2

#### Kulasekhara Alvar and his date

I

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observes in his Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religions that 'there is nothing to show that Vaisnavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country about the first century after Christ." If, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, some of the extant Sangam works are not posterior to the second century A.C., we may make the affirmative statement that among the religions prevalent in South India in the first century after Christ, Vaisnavism was one of the most prominent. Tol Kappyam, which is generally regarded as supplying the basic grammar for the works of the Sangam period in Tamil literature, and consequently as the earliest Tamil work in existence, has a section devoted to Agattinai, or the grammar of subjective life with special reference to love and happiness in the Tamil country; and there we are told that one of the regional varieties of the Tamil country is Mullainilam or pastoral land, of which the guardian deity is Māyon or Viṣṇu. In Paripādal, a collection of ancient Sangam lyrics, which, thanks to the indefatiguable zeal and labour of the great Tamil scholar, Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Svāminātha Aiyar, has been published though not in its complete form; six out of the twenty two lyrics now available are devoted to the praise of Visnu. Other evidence from early Tamil literature may also be cited; but this will suffice to show that Vaisnavism was among the accepted religions of the Tamil population in the first century of the Christian era.

South Indian Vaisnavism has produced great men at different epochs. In the words of Guizot, 'no one can say why a great man appears at a certain epoch; that is a secret of Providence, but the fact is not, therefore, less certain.' The agency of great men has been, from the earliest days of history, among the most important of the civilizing agencies of the world; and among the great men who have contributed to the cultural development of South India, there is none whose name is more reverently cherished than the Saiva and the Vaisnava saints of the Tamil country. These saints come from both sexes and from all castes, the Pañcama included; and this interesting fact establishes that Hinduism in South India recognises, not only

in theory but also in practice, that access to sainthood and spiritual union with God by way of faith and discipline could not be foreclosed by hereditary caste disabilities. The Vaisnava saints, who are twelve in number, are collectively known as the Āļvārs, a term which literally means those who are drowned (in devotion to or love of God). As their writings show, their devotion was of an absorbing character, and in it they found the fulfilment of life. Their poems, which are among the most moving and most musical songs of devotion in Tamil, are collectively called Nālāyira-Prabandham or the four thousand lyrics of divine praise.

Kulaśekhara was born in Tiruvañci-Kalam, the ancient capital of the Cera kingdom, and the Vañci of the classical Tamil writers. He is the saint that the Bhāgavatam alludes to in the following śloka as having his birth place in the country through which the 'westward flowing Mahānadā' or Periyār, as it is locally called, runs:

किचित् किचित्महाराज द्रिविड़े यु च भूरिश:। तासपर्थीं नदी यव क्षतमां पयस्तिनी॥ कावरीच महापुखा प्रतीची च महानदी।

(Bhāgavata, xi, 5. 39-40).

He was the only kşatriya among the Alvars, and was a reigning king of Kerala. We learn from Perumal-Tiru-Moli, the section of Nālāyira-Prabandham consisting of his lyrics, that in course of time he became, besides being the lord of the Cera kingdom, also Kolli-Kāvalan, Kūdal-Nāyakan and Koli-Kon; in other words, he became the suzerain of the whole of South India, including the kingdoms of Pandya and Cola. (Vide Perumāl-Tiru-Moli, I. 11; II. 10; VI. 10; IX. 11; X, 11). It is not so much as a victorious warrior and conqueror of kingdoms that he has been remembered by posterity; it is as a Vaisnava saint that his name "shines with prevailing glory in the world." The Bhāgavata-Māhātmya, which according to Grierson is of considerable authority, states that Southern India is the birth place of the religion of Bhakti; and even in the birth place of Bhakti, Kulasekhara's faith and devotion were regarded as so great that he, alone among the Alvars, has been honoured with the title of Perumāl. Even when in the plenitude of regal power and circumstance, he realized that all wordly pomp and splendour was but vanity of vanities and vexation of spirit, and yearned with unconquerable fervour to be with God.

Like all truly devotional people, Kulasekhara Āļvār was a mystic. It has been well said by a writer that mysticism is a temper rather than a doctrine. It is a state of feeling which shows itself in man's endeavour to grasp and enjoy the divine essence, and feel the beatitude of actual communion with the Supreme Being. It is the state of feeling that one experiences when one realizes that man in God is one with God in man. To the mystic, God is an experience; and his aim is to become like God and attain the bliss of union with Him. Life is to him a constant endeavour and aspiration to live in God; and such was it to Kulasekhara Alvar. There is a very beautiful and interesting story told about him. The Rāmāyana was his favourite study. and Rāma as God incarnate was the deity he adored. One day, when the court pandit was expounding the portion of the epic which describes the fight of Rama with Khara and his Raksasa hordes, the king cried in frenzy: 'My Rāma is fighting alone. Rise, my valiant soldiers, and march with me, to help him on the field of battle'. On another occasion, when the portion relating to the carrying away of Sītā by Rāvana was read, the king was so much beyond himself with righteous wrath, that he exclaimed: 'How can I rest idle here? I shall forthwith cross the ocean, slay the wicked Ravana, and restore my mother Sītā to her lord.' Our critical intellect will rail at such exhibitions of emotion as indications of incipient insanity; and that is because the merely intellectual man fails to appreciate or understand the mystic's intensity of feeling. The man that is proud of his intellect is unfortunately a stranger to transcendental feeling. He can chop logic; but what Schelling calls intellectual intuition is unknown to him. Even to him, however, come periods of life when, in spite of his preconceived derision for spiritual experiences, the 'mystic germ' in him asserts itself. William James writes: "Especially in times of moral crisis, it comes to me, as the sense of an unknown something backing me up. It is most indefinite, to be sure, and rather faint. And yet I know that if it should cease, there would be a great hush, a great void in my life." Let us recognize that intellectual perception can apprehend only material objects, but spiritual experiences can be apprehended only by spiritual vision. Kulasekhara was drowned in God-love, which alone was real to him. To him, the patent of kingship was derived, not from the prowess of his arms or the extent of his empire, but from lowly service rendered to God and His devotees.

Filled with God-love as he was, it is no wonder that Kulasekhara

yearned, amidst the distracting duties of his kingly office, for the day when released from his responsibilities as a temporal monarch, he might consecrate his life entirely to the service and glory of the Lord in all the humility of devotion and in the hallowed company of the blessed devotees. In the opening section of the *Perumāl-Tiru-Moli*, he expresses his longing in these plaintive words:

When will the day arrive for me to see
With melting heart the shining moon-like face
And lotus eyes of Him, the ocean-hued,
Who on the serpent couch in Rangam lies,

Permual-Tiru-Moli, I. 6.

The day did at last come. His infatuation for Vaisnava-bhaktas which was daily growing in intensity, at last drove his minister to the verge of despair; and with the object of redeeming him, as they thought, from his religious craze, they adopted the subterfuge of falsely accusing some Vaisnavas, who were the king's guests, of theft of a crown jewel. The stratagem failed, however; for it is said, Kulasekhara vindicated his invincible faith in the rectitude of the Vaisnavas by boldly going through the dangerous ordeal of plunging his hand into a pot containing a live cobra and drawing out the venomous reptile, without himself sustaining any injury. The conduct of the ministers hastened his renunciation. He gave up his 'power, pre-eminence, and all the large effects that troop with majesty', and exchanged the sceptre for the pilgrim's staff. He set out for Śrī Rangam and other holy places, and did not return to his royal city; and he passed away in his 67th year at Mannar-Koil, near Brahmadeśam, a few miles from Ambāsamudram, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tinnevelli district. It may be that we know little of Kulasekhara as a king; but as a Vaisnava saint, the Perumāl's name will burn for ever on the leaf of fame.

II

When did the Alvar live? Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar places him in the 6th century; the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai assigns him to the 8th century; Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar seek for him in the 9th century, each, however, for a different reason. The subject obviously requires further examination.

I.H.Q., DECEMBER, 1931

Fortunately, epigraphy fixes the lower limit of the Alvar's date. An inscription of the 18th year of the Cola king, Kulotunga I, i.e., of 1088 A.C., makes provision for the recital, at the Vaisnava temple at Śrī Rangam, of section 2 of Perumal-Tiru-Moli, which begins with the expression Tettarum Tiral-Teninai, and another inscription of 1050 A.C. belonging to the reign of Cola Keraladeva, also provides for a similar recital from the Alvar's lyrics. At Mannar-Koil where the Alvar breathed his last, there exists a temple known as Kulasekhara-Alvar-Koil; and the mural inscriptions there show that the temple was consecrated to the memory of 'Alvar Srī Kulasekhara Perumal' by one Vasudevan Kesavan of Mullappalli in Malai-mandalam. The earliest of these inscriptions is of the 4th year of Rajendra Cola, or circa 1015; but we have no materials for saying how long before that inscription the temple was built. To have deserved the honour of a public temple dedicated to him in the early years of the 11th century, not to speak of the arrangements made by the Colas for the public recital of his devotional lyrics in temples, about the middle of the century, the A'var's reputation must have been established in the land a considerably long time before that period. The Bhagavata refers, as we have seen, in terms of the highest praise to the Alvars, and the latest attempt has been to assign that work to the 10th century; and I am informed of the existence of a Hindi translation of the work by Bhuali which is said to give the information that the translation was made in Samvat 1000 or 943 B. C.

There is good reason to believe that the Bhāgavata had become well-known in the begining of the 10th century. It is mentioned in Alberuni's list of Purāṇas; and Alberuni's work on India is said to have been completed in 1030. Abhinavagupta refers to the Bhāgavata in his commentary on the Gītā and he flourished in the last decade of the 10th century (Duff's Chronology of India; also J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 59). We may, therefore, conclude that the Āļvār's date was considerably anterior to the 10th century.

Did he live in the 9th century, as Mr. Gopinatha Rao and Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar say? The former bases his view on a fancied reference to the defeat and death of a Pallava king at Māmalla-puram in the words Mallai-Mānagar. k. Kiraiyavantannai Vān Selutti which occur in Perumāl-Tiru-Moli. The reference here is to the death of Kamsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa; and Mallai-Mānagar here denotes Mathurā, the capital of Kamsa. The words occur in section 7 of Perumāl-Tiru-Moli, which expresses the surging emotion of Devaki

at the sight of her beloved son Kṛṣṇa who had been lost to her since the day of his birth, and who after putting to death the cruel Kamsa had returned to her in her prison and released her. It is strange that Mr. Gopinatha Rao should have misunderstood the passage as he has done, and tried to make history, relying on such a hopelessly broken reed. Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar has rejected the latter's attempt as futile; but he has himself, as the result of his investigation of the problem, come to the definite conclusion that the approximate date for the Alvar is 823-850. The reasoning on which this conclusion is based may be summarized as follows. The Travancore State Manual, vol. II (not III) states, that one Vasudeva Bhattatiri lived about the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era, and he wrote two Kāvyas, Yudhisthira Vijayam and Tripuradahana. The former work is seen to have been written when a Kulasekhara was king. The latter work states that its author was a son of Ravi; and a commentator, Nilakānta (c. 18th century) identifies 'son of Ravi' with a Vāsudeva. Mukunda Mālā is admitted by all to be Kulasekhara Alvar's work; and the verse in that poem that mentions the author's name also gives, according to the reading found in the copy of the work preserved in the Trivandrum Palace Library, the information that a Ravi was the author's friend. On these premises, Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar assigns Kulasekhara Alvar to the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era.

It seems to me that every link in this chain of reasoning is weak and unsubstantial. In the first place, the only authority for the date is a statement in the Travancore State Manual. Mr. Ramanatha Aiyar relies on a story given in that work for such an important matter as the date of the Alvar. There is absolutely no other authority mentioned. Then there is no indication at all that the Kulasekhara of Yudhisthira Vijaya is Kulasekhara Alvar. Naturally one would expect that in any eulogy of the Alvar, his devotional fervour, and his irrepressible aspiration to live in God would be the first qualities to be mentioned; but the Kāvya tells us nothing about them, but it takes care to inform us that his terrible battle fields were extolled by poets as 'hovered over by vultures.' Then again, 'a son of Ravi' who wrote Tripuradahanam waits to be equated with a Vasudeva for nearly four centuries, when a commentator comes to our assistance; but who this Vasudeva and this Ravi are, the commentator does not tell us; nor does he tell us the source of his information. The editor of Yudhisthira Vijaya in the Kawamala series suggests that the author of that work and the king it mentions belonged to North India; and he notices the fact that a copy of the work was discovered in Kashmir, and that a North Indian poet, Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha has written a commentary on it; but this suggestion of the learned editor is lightly brushed aside as erroneous, because the Travancore State Manual says otherwise.

Then, finally there is the link sought to be obtained from Mukundamālā, which we are naively told is 'admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Cera king Kulasekhara Varma alias Kulasekhara Alvar!' Supposing that a Cera king, Kulasekhara Varma, was the author of Mukundamālā, it would be incorrect to say that it is admitted on all hands to be the composition of Kulasekhara Alvar. As a matter of fact, there are even among orthodox Vaisnava scholars several who deny that the Alvar composed Mukundamala. For example, Prativādi-bhayan kara Anantācārya of Kāñci expresses that view in his introduction to his edition of the poem; and he further tells us that many other scholars are of the same view. This poem has never been regarded as among the canonical books of the Sri Vaisnavas; and this omission is inexplicable if the Alvar were the author. Again the Vaisnava commentators of Nalayira-Prabandham have freely quoted from Śrī Stotra Ratna, Pañcastava, Śrī Ranga Rajastava and other stotras to elucidate the verses of Nālāyīra-Prabandham; but they have not quoted from Mukundamālā which again is inexplicable if the Alvar had written it. It is also reasonable to suppose that if it was the work of the Alvar, the Vaisnava Ācāryas would have written commentaries on it, as they have done in regard to Śrī Stotra Ratnam. Mukundamālā is not among the poems ordained for recital in temples and at religious and other sacred functions. Divya-sūri-Carita by Garudavāhana, a contemporary of Rāmānuja, which is more than 9 centuries old and is the earliest work extant on Śrī Vaisnava hierarchy, mentions only Perumāl-Tiru-Moli as the work of the Alvar. It is silent about Mukundamālā, and so too is Vedānta Desika, who, however, mentions Perumāl-Tiru-Moli. Accounts of the Alvar tell us that his devotion to Sri Rāma amounted almost to a frenzy; and if he was the author of Mukundamālā, it is reasonable to expect to find in that poem, at least a few ślokas in praise of Śrī Rāma. There is not, however one such verse, while we find many verses in praise of Srī Kṛṣṇa. In one of the ślokas the author uses the expression Rāmānuja to denote Kṛṣṇa, The allusion is, of course, to Kṛṣṇa as the younger brother

of Balarāma; but the use of the word  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}nuja$  to denote Kṛṣṇa is not, so far as I have been able to discover, found prior to Śrīmad Bhāgavat. Indeed, it does not appear that even in later works this usage is common; for the Nighaṇtus and dictionaries do not give this meaning. In Vaiṣṇava parlance, Rāmānuja usually denotes Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma; and the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of that name was himself so called, because his actual name was Lakṣmaṇa. The use of the term  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}nuja$  to denote Kṛṣṇa may suggest the inference that Mukundamālā was posterior in date to the Bhāgavat. In an inscription discovered in Pagan, which is of the 13th century, Mukundamālā is found quoted. In all probability Mukundamālā was composed in the 11th or 12th century; and I think that it was not and could not be the work of the Āļvār.

The particular verse of Mukundamālā, in which the name of the author is given, is not found in all editions, for example, in the Brhatstotra-ratnākara, though that collection purports to give the entire poem. In the editions of the poem by Prativādi-bhayankara Anantācārya of Kāñci, Iļayavilli Śrīnivāsācārya of Kunrapākkam, and Cinnāmu Rangācārya of Kumbakonam, the śloka, which appears as the concluding verse of the poem, is given as follows:—

यस प्रियी यु तिधरी कविलोकवीरी सिन दिजमावरपदाशरावभूताम्। तेनाम्ब जाचचरणाम्ब जषट्पदेन राज्ञा कता क्रतिरियं कुलशेखरेण॥

A manuscript in the Trivandrum Palace Library gives the first two padas thus:—

यस प्रियौ युतिधरौ रिवलोकवीरौ सिव दिजन्मवरपारमवावसूताम्।

and the passage is explained as meaning that a Brāhmaṇa named Ravi and a Pāraśava or Vāriyar called Lokavīra were the friends of the royal author, Kulaśekhara. It seems to me that this reading is due to the ingenuity of the commentator, who, perhaps, was not able to understand the passage as it originally stood. In the first place, it is clear from the various editions of the poem, that there is no means of determining which and how many of the ślokas found in each edition were really composed by the author; for the editions do not contain the same ślokas nor even the same number of ślokas. Thus, the Trivandrum Palace Library manuscript contains only 24 ślokas, and though each of the printed editions I mentioned contains 40 ślokas, as many as 13 of the verses found in the Trivandrum manuscript are not found in those publications. It is also seen that in regard to the ślokas that are common to all the editions, there are variations

in reading. We cannot, therefore, say that this particular śloka which is differently given in different copies and is absent from some editions of the work, had actually formed part of Mukundamālā as originally composed. The Trivandrum Palace Library manuscript contains after this sloka another sloka as phalasruti, which is not found in the published editions. We may, therefore, easily conclude that considerable liberty has been taken with the original text by various persons. But supposing this śloka was in the original Mukundamālā, I see no reason why the reading found in the Trivandrum manuscript should be preferred to that given in the printed editions. To my mind the Trivandrum reading seems to carry with it its own condemnation. Look at the flagrant aslilatvam patent in the use of sava in the word pāra-ŝava! Again, one of the two persons whom the king proudly proclaims as his friends is announced to be a pāraŝava, by name Lokavira. The annotator explains the term Pāraśava as meaning Vāriyar. a caste-name in Kerala. There is no authority for that meaning in Sanskrit usage; and Mukundamālā is a Sanskrit work. In Sanskrit Pāraśava means the son of a Brāhmana by a Śūdra woman; it also means a bastard. It is a well-known term in Smrti literature. This is how Manu explains it :-

यं ब्राह्मणास स्ट्रायां कामाद्रायाद्यीत् सुतम्।
स पारयत्रीव भवसमात्रारभवः स्टतः॥ (ix. 178.

Sir William Jones translates the placitum as follows: "A son, begotten through lust on a Śūdra by a man of the priestly class, is even as a corpse, though alive, and is thence called in law a living corpse." It is evident that man so begotten is a mere corpse or śava in the eye of the law. It is highly improbable that a king or a saint to choose him for close comradeship. Further, the śloka describes both friends as Śrutidharau; what is the appropriateness of the epithet when applied to a Pāraśava, even understanding the term to mean a Vāriyar? The reading seems to me to be fanciful. My conclusion is that Mukundamālā is of no use whatever in determining the date of the Āļvār. It will thus be seen that the whole ground work on which the Āļvār has been sought to be placed at the beginning of the Kollam or Malabar era is unsound.

It is possible to aver that the Alvar must have flourished before the commencement of the Malabar era. The commendatory verses in regard to Perumal-Tiru-Moli are written by Manakkal Nambi, who according to Vaispava accounts was born in Kali year 3933

or 832 A.C. There is no valid reason for rejecting this date, as Vaiṣṇava hagiology came to be written within a century of this date. Maṇakkāl Nambi was 50 years senior in age to Āļavandār, whom he preceded in the spiritual headship of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Between Āļavandār and Rāmānuja, there were three generations and Rāmānuja was born in c. 1015. The middle of the 9th century is, therefore, not an improbable date for Maṇakkāl Nambi; and the Ālvār, who is the subject of commendatory verses by the Nambi, must have lived before the 9th century.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, professing to act on the astronomical data supplied by the Guruparamparas fixed 767 A.C. as the date of Alvar's birth. He seems to have himself rejected this date afterwards; but be that as it may, the postulation of this date ignores the important historical fact that Kulasekhara, though by right of birth only a king of the Cera country, was able, as we see from frequent statements found in Perumāl-Tiru-Moli, to acquire overlordship over the Cola and Pandya kingdoms and other territories in South India. These statements occur in the closing stanzas of various sections of Perumal-Tiru-Moli; and a suggestion has been made that these terminal verses are not the composition of the Alvar, but are additions spuriously made. This is an un varranted suggestion. The Alvar has been descriptively referred to by the hagiographers as cemcol-moli-nurrancumceppinan i.e., he who spoke the one hundred and five faultless verses; and Vedanta Desika writes, referring to him: Nan-porulser Tirumoli nurraintu-pattu Nanraka enakkarul-sei-nalki Nīye, i.e. you have graciously sung 105 stanzas of Tiru-moli of good import. These citations make it clear that the Perumal's composition consists of 105 stanzas; and this number can be obtained only by including the last stanzas of all the sections of his Tiru-moli. Indeed, it is the practice of all the Alvars to place their name or mudra in the closing verses of their songs; and we can obtain the 4000 stanzas of Nālāyira-Prabandham only by including in our calculation all the mudra stanzas. A similar usage is also seen among the Saiva Nayanmars. I see no reason, therefore, for regarding the mudrā stanzas in Perumāļ-Tiru-Moļi which contain the name and description of Kulasekhara as interpolations. These stanzas clearly show that the Alvar was, besides being a king of the Cera country, also an over-lord of the Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kongu kingdoms.

When was it possible in the political history of South India for the Cera to have gained ascendency over practically the whole of the

southern peninsula? Not certainly in the latter half of the 8th century, which was the period of Nandi Varman Pallavamalla, Mara Varman Rājasimha Pāṇḍya and Jațila Varman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, It must have been before the 7th century; for the Pallavas became powerful about the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, and they maintained their ascendency for a long time; and after the battle of Tiru-parambian, the Colas under Vijayalaya and his successors gained ascendency and they further transferred their capital from Koli or Uraiyar to Tanjore, In the centuries immediately before the 7th, the position of the Colas and the Pandyas appears to have been precarious. After the destruction of Puhār, there was a civil war in the Cola country, and this led to an invasion by Ceran Senkuttuvan, who defeated the united forces at Nerivayil, and placed his relation as the ruler of Cola Nadu. This, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, (I.H.Q., vol. I) was probably in the 2nd century; and since then, for a long time we know nothing of the Colas, with the exception of Ko-Cen-Kannan. As regards the Pandyas, the Velvikudi and Cinnamannar plates help us to get some idea of their activities from Māran, the victor of Nelveli, onwards; but before him, there is a dark period, which except for the occurrence of two names after Kadunko, the restorer of the Pandya dynasty after the Kalabhra interregnum, is a blank. It may not, therefore, be unsafe to conclude that during the period we are considering, the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya and Cola were insignificant politically and could be overrun by a powerful invader. We may thus look for Kulasekhara's conquest of these kingdoms somewhere before the 7th century.

The upper limit of his date is supplied by the Alvār himself, for he quotes in his Tiru-Moli (v. 3) from the well-known Kural (chap. 55, 2); and his prosody shows that he came some centuries after the Sangam period. The guruparamparās state that he was born in Kali 28, jovian year Parābhava in the month of Masi on Friday, Śukla dvādasi, Punarvasu asterism. Perhaps Kali 28 denotes the 28th year of the Kali century current when the Ālvār was born. If so, Kali year 3628 will suit all the conditions. The year was Parābhava. The 12th Masi of that year was Friday; and from about 4 A.M. onward that day, the star was Punarvasu and from 10 A.M. the tithi was Suklā-dvādasi. The corresponding English date will be 29th January 527 A.C. Hence we may hold, till a more probable date is established, that the Ālvār was born on 29th January, 527 and as he is said to have lived 67 years, his death must have taken place in 594 A.C.

### Early Visnuism and Narayaniya Worship\*

III

In the Nārāyanīya itself (xii, 334-351), which has been called the Pancarātra Upaniṣad, we have accounts of the origin of the system

The Nārāyanīya accounts of its divine origin. as well as of the name Ekānta-dharma given to it, enveloped though these descriptions are in the mist of legend. In the first place, we have the description of a direct communication of the doctrine, with its purāna

(ancient tradition), its bhavisya (future development) and its rahasya (secret), to Nārada in ch. 339 (śl. 108f.) by Nārāyaṇa himself, who vouchsafes to him as a reward for his devotion a vision of his divine self in Svetadvīpa. The doctrine is described here as "the great Upaniṣad (mahopaniṣad) coming out of the mouth of Nārāyaṇa himself

Direct revelation of the doctrine to Nārada by Nārāyaṇa,

Warada and shaped or employed by Sāṃkhya-Yoga (sāṃkhya-yoga-kṛta)". It was named Pañcarātra by Nārada² and was repeated accurately by him (yathā-śrutam) in the abode of Brahmā, his father, to the Siddhas

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from I.H.Q., vol. VII, no 2, p. 358.

I sa-rahasya sa-samgrahah in 346, II. The rahasya, of course, refers to its mysteries or esoteric doctrines, its upaniṣad; but does samgraha mean "a summary", an abstract, or does it signify totality of the doctrines as in the term karma-samgraha in Bhagavad-gītā, xviii, 18? An attempt is made to raise the religious teaching, as revealed to Nārada, to the dignity of a Upaniṣad by an injunction (339, 126) similar to what is found in some Upaniṣads (cf. Śvetāśvatara Up., vi, 22) that it is parama-guhya (cf. 334, 28), "the essence of all narrations" and should not be imparted to one who is not a bhakta of Vāsudeva (nāvāsudevabhaktāya tvayā deyam kathañcana). Also cf. Bhagavad-gītā xviii, 67.

<sup>2</sup> tena pañcarātrānuśabditam, 339, III. The phrase anuśabdita is obscure. Does it mean Nārada repeated the name which he heard, or does it signify that he named the Śāstra Pañcarātra after the Pañcarātra devotees of Nārāyaṇa? It is declared as nāradokta (śl. 137) in the sense that, although coming ultimately from Nārāyaṇa, it was promulgated by Nārada to whom it was communicated in Śvetadvīpa.

assembled there. The account is here called ancient or legendary history conformable to the Veda (purānam veda-sammitam). It is the essence of all narrations, just as amrta is the essence derived from the churning of the ocean (śl. 127). Sūrya, the sun, having heard it on

and subsequent traditional transmission. this occasion, repeated it to the sixty-six thousand rsis or sages in his train, who related it to the deities assembled on the mount Meru. Asita, the great sage! having heard it from these gods, told it to the fathers

(pitr). Bhisma, who is now telling it, learnt from (the Pitr?) Santanu, his father. Its traditional character is clearly acknowledged here by the statement that this legend, connected with the sages (ārṣeyam ākhyānam), is 'handed down in regular succession' (param-parayāgatam, 8l. 125, 137,141). It must also be noted that later on in 346, 10-11 and 348, 53-54 we are informed twice in exactly the same words that the dharma which Nārada received with its mysteries and abstracts from Nārāyaṇa himself is already told concisely in the Harigītās (harigītāsu), which (in spite of the plural number) is apparently intended to refer (as one can presume from 348, 8) to the Bhagavad gītā.

The second account occurs in ch. 335 (sl. 16f.) in the course of Yudhisthira's enquiry about the strange people in the Svetadvīpa and Bhīṣma's relation in this connexion of the legend of king Uparicara-

Another account of its origin in the legend of Uparicara-Vasu in the Nārāyaṇīya.

Vasu who, in former times, was a friend of Indra and was devoted to Nārāyaṇa-Hari. Here we are told that Uparicara-Vasu in his worship of Nārāyaṇa followed the Sātvata rule (sātvataṃ vidhim āsthāya), which formerly issued from the mouth of Sūrya (prāk sūrya-

mukha-nihsrtam), and offered oblations, with the remainder of which he pleased the fathers (pitr) and the Brahmins, himself partaking of

I This may be, as Grierson notes, Asita (-Devala), the ṛṣi of Rg-Veda ix, 5 and 24. See Bṛhad-devatā, ed. Macdonell, ii, 157. In the Epic, however, Asita, Asita-Devala or Devala figures as a divine sage (ṛṣi) who is Śiva's brother-in-law, having married Ekaparṇā, one of the three daughters of Himavat and sister of Aparṇā-Umā. He recites the Pañcarātra to the Pitṛs. He is mentioned in xii, 318, 59 in the list of the teachers of the Twenty-fifth Principle (oddly combined with Sāṃkhya-Yoga) which he teaches to Nārada in xii, 274. See Hopkins, Great Epic, pp. 155f. The story of Asita-Devala and Jaigīṣavya is told in ix, 50.

what was left over. He owed his kingdom to Nārāyaṇa's favour (nārāyaṇa-varāt) and considered all he possessed as bhāgavata or coming from the Bhagavat himself. It is again repeated that following the Sātvata rule (sātvataṃ vidhim āsthāya) he performed all the optional (kāmya) and occasional (naimittika) sacrificial acts. The leading exponents of the Pañcarātra system (pañcarātra-vido mukhyāḥ) used to eat eagerly the food consecrated to the Bhagavat (bhagavat-proktam) in his house. The narrative proceeds to relate how Uparicara-Vasu came to be instructed in the system. The supreme scripture (śāstram uttamam), apparently of the Pañcarātras, was compiled and uttered

Revelation of the doctrine to the Citrasikhandins and their compilation of an extensive scripture. with an unanimous mind (eka-matibhih) by the seven sages (ṛṣis), known as the seven Citraśikhaṇḍins, who were well-versed in austerities (tapas), and who, after worshipping Nārāyaṇa-Hari with penances for a divine thousand years, were possessed, for the good of the world, by Sarasvatī, at the direction of Nārāyaṇa himself. These sages were Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha,

Kratu and Vasistha; with them was also the Svayambhuva i.e. Manu. The seven holy sages, who are really the seven prakrtis2 personified. were the receptacle as well as the promulgators of the Sastra, which is described as connected with the four Vedas (vedais caturbhih samitam) and honoured with the sound of the sacred syllable Om (onkāra-svara-pūjitam). They composed the Sastra after considering the world (lokan) and reflecting well in their minds that this was the highest good (śreyas), this was Brahma (neuter), this was incomparably the highest well-being (hitam anuttamam). The invisible Narayana within them, after hearing it, was pleased and declared that these hundred thousand excellent slokas would form the source of the dharma of the entire course of the world,3 He further certified that they were in complete accord with the four Vedas, and that they determined the path of action (pravrtti) and inaction (nivrtti). He also prophesied that it would be authoritatively taught by Manu Svāyambhuva, as well as by Usanas and Brhaspati, of whose teaching

I Cf. śāstram citraśikhandijam 337, 3. It is curious that in Nārada's prose hymn to Nārāyana (ch. 338), the deity himself is addressed also as Citraśikhandin.

<sup>2</sup> As also in xii, 340, 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> kṛtaṃ śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānām idam uttamam| loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya y asmād dharmah pravartate ||

it would form the basis. Uparicara-Vasu would learn it from his preceptor Brhaspati, but after Vasu, the doctrine would disappear.

In this strange account which is described as "the essence of all narratives", there are many things which are of interest, and we shall revert to them in their proper places; but one notable feature is the omission of Nārada's name¹ as one of the original expounders of the system to the world. It is perhaps implied that all these happened even before Nārada visited the Svetadvīpa, the mythical abode of Nārāyaṇa, and received an exposition of the system anew from Nārāyaṇa himself. That the system was taught in different ways

A third and still more mythical account of the origin in the Nārāyaṇīya related by Nārada himself.

at different times is clear from the third account which occurs in ch. 348, 11f. where, curiously enough, Nārada himself is made responsible for the description of the modes in which the system was taught. It is strange, however, that in this account also Nārada is never mentioned as a recipient of the doctrine, until towards the

end where an attempt is made to remove the inconsistency by adding that the system, whose several appearances and disappearances at different times are described here, is the same as that which Nārāyaṇa himself communicated to Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa.

Nārada is said to have declared this third account before an assembly of sages in reply to Arjuna's enquiry, and Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana having heard it there, explained it to Vaiśampāyana, who now relates

Seven different appearances and disappearances of the doctrine, it to Janamejaya. In this mythical account seven different births of Brahmā are mentioned,<sup>2</sup> and at the creation of each Brahmā, different modes of revelation of the system from Nārāyaṇa are distinguished, the *dharma* having been lost at the end of each Brahmā.

These are: (i) At the first mental birth (mānasam janma) of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's mouth, Nārāyaṇa himself performed the rites of the religion. From him the religion was first received by the Phenapa (lit. 'froth-drinking') sages, who handed it to the Vaikhānas,<sup>3</sup>

I The tradition of Nārada's connexion with the *bhakti*-doctrine and with the Pañcarātra survives in the ascription to him of the apocryphal Nārada-Sūtras on Bhakti and in the Nārada-Pañcarātra.

<sup>2</sup> The seven births of Brahmā are also mentioned in 347, 40-43.

<sup>3</sup> Grierson is inaccurate in translating the substance of the lines (phenapā rṣayas caiva taṃ dharn.aṃ pratipedire| vaikhānasāh phenape-bhyo dharmaṃ taṃ pratipedire||) as "the latter (i.e, Nārāyaṇa) imparted

who gave the teaching to Soma, and then it disappeared. (ii) At the second birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's eye (cākṣuṣaṃ janma), Brahmā received it from Soma, who gave it to Rudra, who in the Kṛta-yuga taught it to the Vālakhilya¹ sages. Then it again disappeared. (iii) At the third birth of Brahmā from Nārāyaṇa's word (vācikaṃ

janma), the sage Suparna received it from Nārāyana himself. As he recited it (parikrantavan) three times (a day),2 it came to be known by the name Trisauparņa. From Suparņa it went to Vāyu, and from Vāyu to the Vighāsin sages,3 who gave it to Mahodadhi (Ocean?). It once more disappeared and became merged (samāhita) in Nārāyaṇa, (iv) At the fourth birth of Brahma from Narayana's ear (gravanaja srstih) Brahmā at the direction of Nārāyana, received the dharma. called here by the name of Satvata (348, 29-34) with its mysteries (rahasya), its compendium (samgraha) and its āranyaka, issuing from the mouth of Nārāyaṇa. With it he proceeded to create and arrange the Kṛta-yuga, and the Sātvata-dharma having been established pervaded the world. Brahmā then taught it to Manu Svarocisa (the second Manu), who taught it to his son Sankhapada, who taught it to his son Suvarnābha, the Dikpāla. Then the Tretā-yuga came, and the doctrine disappeared. (v) At the fifth birth of Brahma from Nārāyana's nose (nāsatya-janmani) Nārāyana recited it himself to! Brahmā and the teaching was then handed down in succession from Brahmā-Sanatkumāra-Vīrana the Prajāpati (at the beginning of the Kṛta-yuga)-the muni Raibhya-his son Kukṣi, the Dikpāla. It

it to the Vaikhānasas, who drank foam". Hopkins (*Epic Mythology*, p. 178) is correct, but the *dharma* is not, from the context, "the tenets of Nārada".—Nārada in xii, 338, 4 addresses Nārāyaņa as Vaikhānasa and Phenapācārya.

I Candramas (= Soma) and Vālakhilya are Nārada's epithets of Nārāyaṇa (338, 4).

<sup>2</sup> So Nīlakantha. As this difficult vow (vratam) is said to be rg-veda-pātha-pathitam (a phrase which is obscure unless it refers to the general conformity of the doctrine to the Veda), Nīlakantha refers to Rg-veda, x, 114, 3-5 where the word suparna (=bird) occurs; but the relevancy of the reference is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins (op. cit., p. 179) is perhaps more accurate in regarding this as a proper name, instead of translating it literally with Grierson as "the Rsis who ate the residues of oblations",

then disappeared. (vi) At the sixth birth of Brahmā from the egg (andaja janmani), Brahmā again received it from Nārāyaṇa's mouth, and it was taught in succession thus: from Brahmā Barhiṣad sages Sāmavedāntaga Jyeṣṭha¹ → King Avikalpana (v. l. Avikampana). It then disappeared. (vii) At the seventh and last birth of Brahmā from the lotus (padmajaṃ janma), which is the present dispensation, the system was communicated by Nārāyaṇa himself to Brahmā, and from Brahmā it passed in succession to Dakṣa → the eldest son of Dakṣa's daughter, Āditya (who was older than Savitṛ) → Vivasvat. In the beginning of the Tretā-Yuga, Vivasvat gave it to Manu, who passed it on to his son Ikṣvāku, by whom it was spread and established over the worlds. At the dissolution of the world, it is predicted, the dharma will go back to Nārāyaṇa.

This account is obviously mythical, although some of the names may be traced in Vedic and Pauranic literature. But to this is added a further statement which is interesting. We are told<sup>2</sup> that this

(348, 53-55)

[It is not clear what is implied by the phrase "religion of the Yatis" here, as well as in 348, 85 unless the intention is to identify the Nārāyaṇīya (as well as the Sātvata) faith with the orthodox religion of austerities. The word Yati, however, is used in the Bhagavadgītā (v, 26) to describe the spiritually purified Yogin, who practises Karma-

I barhiṣadbhyaś ca samprāptaḥ (dharmaḥ from previous stanza?) sāmavedāntagaṃ dvijam jyeṣṭhaṃ nāmnābhivikhyātaṃ jyeṣṭha-sāmavrato hariḥ (348, 46). The passage is obscure, but Hopkins' interpretation (Great Epic, p. 143, followed by Grierson) as "a priest who was acquainted with (Jyeṣṭha) Sāman (and) Vedānta; his name was Jyeṣṭha" is not convincing. Might not sāmavedāntaga dvija, which qualifies jyeṣṭha (a proper name), mean a Brahman who, has mastered the whole of Sāma-Veda).—Hari in this passage is called Jyeṣṭha-sama-vrata, just as Nārāyaṇa (= Hari) is addressed as Jyeṣṭha-sāmaga by Nārada in 338, 4.

<sup>2</sup> yatīnām cāpi yo dharmaḥ sa te pūrvam nṛpattoma|
kathito hari-gītāsu samāsa-vidhi-kalpitaḥ||
nāradena su-samprāptaḥ sa-rahasyaḥ sa-saṃgrahaḥ|
eṣa dharmo jagannāthāt sākṣān nārāyaṇān nṛpa||
evam eṣa mahān dharma ādyo rājan sanātanaḥ|
durvijneyo duṣkaraś ca sātvatair dhānyate sadā ||

dharma of the Yatis is already given in a compendious form in the Hari-gitas (plural); that it is the same as the doctrine which was revealed directly to Nārada¹ by Nārāyaṇa with its mysteries and compendiums; that this great, original and eternal persuasion,

The Narayaniya faith declared in this account to be identical with that of the Satvatas or Bhagavatas.

characterised by the teachings of ahimsā, vyūha, bhakti etc. (348, 56f.) is almost incomprehensible and difficult to practise, but it is always maintained by the Sātvatas; and lastly, that it is in fact the Sātvata dharma (eṣa te kathito dharmah sātvatah 348, 84). The obvious intention of this passage is to emphasise, lest one should

doubt it, that the Nārāyaṇīya system is identical with the Sātvata or Bhāgavata faith expounded in the Bhagavad-gītā. The intention of connecting the Nārāyaṇīya doctrine with Bhāgavatism also appears in a similar passage (346, 10-11) which we have already referred to. There we are told in almost the same words² that the system, which was revealed directly to Nārada by Nārāyaṇa, with its mysteries and compendiums, had already been given in a compendious form in the Hari-gītās. What these Hari-gītās are³ is not clear; but from 348,8, which tells us that the religion of the Ekāntin followers of Nārāyaṇīya is the same as that recited by the Bhagavat himself to the cheerless Arjuna in the battle-field of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas, we can infer a clear reference to the Bhagavad-gītā. With this object in view the traditional succession of the system from Vivasvat to

Yoga and attains the final peace in Brahma. But in Mbh. 348, 5 the process of emancipation of the Yatis, as well as of the orthodox students of Vedas and Upanisads, is described as different from, and inferior to, that attained by the Ekāntins.—S.K.D.]

I It is remarkable that there is no reference in this account to the promulgation of the doctrine by the Citrasikhandin sages and to the legend of Uparicara-Vasu.

nāradena su-samprāptah sa-rahasyah sa-saṃgrahah |
eṣa dharmo jagannāthāt sākṣān nārāyaṇān nṛpa ||
evam eṣa mahān dharmah sa te pūrvaṃ nṛpottama |
kathito hari-gītāsu samāsa-vidhi-kalpitah || (346, 10-11)

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins (Great Epic, p. 53) suggests, without much ground, that these were Gāthās recited by a divinity.

<sup>4</sup> samupodhesvanīkesu kuru-pāņdavayor mṛdhe | arjune vimanaske ca gītā bhagavatā svayam ||

Ikṣvāku and the prediction of its subsequent disappearance are also made to conform to the account of the traditional handing down of Bhāgavatism from Vivasvat to Ikṣvāku and its subsequent loss, mentioned by the Bhagavat himself in Bhagavad-gītā, iv, 1-2.

With these declarations must also be connected the stray references to Satvata as the name of a manifestation (pradurbhava) of Narayana

Other stray and unconnected references to Satvata or Satvata rule, supporting this declaration.

in the form of Kṛṣṇa (339, 104), as well as to the Sātvata rule (vidhi) which Nārāyaṇa's early devotee Uparicara-Vasu is said to have followed (335, 19 and 24). It is also stated that at the fourth birth of Brahmā, this religion was named and established as Sātvata (348, 29-34) with its mysteries, compendiums and āranyakas.

It is curious, however, that in the two places in the same account (348. 29-34 and 348, 53-55) where the Nārāyanīya system is expressly identified with the Satvata, two different modes of revelation from Nārāvana are mentioned, viz., to Brahmā in the Krta-Yuga and to Nārada in Svetadvīpa respectively. This was admittedly at different ages, viz., at the fourth and seventh birth of Brahma respectively, but in both cases it is not clear why the system is called Satvata. No particular reason can indeed be perceived except the obvious intention of establishing the identity of the two systems, even at the risk of anachronism and inconsistency. The same remarks apply also to the reference to the satvata vidhi mentioned above in the passages where Uparicara-Vasu, for no other particular reason, is said to have followed the Satvata rule in offering oblations and performing orthodox Śrauta sacrifices. The passage is remarkable because it makes a rather unwarranted and inconsistent attempt to connect the so-called Satvata rule of Uparicara-Vasu with sacrificial religion. It is unwarranted and inconsistent because the Sātvata-dharma or Bhāgavatism (as we have it in the Bhagavad-gītā ) does not indeed reject sacrifice as sacrifice but it either pays little respect to it (ii, 42f.), or symbolises it,2 or else subordinates it to its doctrine of selfless work. At any rate, the

I The phrase sātvatam vidhim āsthāya occurs also independently in vi, 66, 40, where, however, there is an apparent allusion to the vyūha-doctrine of the Nārāyanīya (not found in the Bhagavad-gītā).

<sup>2</sup> The idea that humam life is itself a sacrifice is not new, and is more than once expressed in the Upanisads; but such an idea tends to lessen the importance of sacrifice as sacrifice.

'Sātvata-rule' does not interpret sacrifice in the narrow ritualistic sense, nor does it prescribe any definite regulations for offering oblations or making sacrifices. There is hardly any point, therefore, in saying that Uparicara-Vasu in performing his optional and compulsory sacrificial acts followed the Sātvata rule, which has no direct concern with such sacrificial acts.

Not much capital, again, need be made of the use of word bhagavat for the supreme deity: for this is done rarely in the main narrative of

Similar mention of Bhagavat, Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa) and Vāsudeva in this account. the Nārāyanīya (where it is not necessary to make it bear the denotation of a proper name for Vāsudevakṛṣṇa),¹ but chiefly in the somewhat irrelevant and loosely fitted digressions in chs.340-342, where the whole topic is

deliberately put in the mouth of the Bhagavat. Nor should the fanciful etymology of the term Sātvata (as a proper name) in one of these chapters (342, 77-78) or the inclusion of Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa) in the list of Nārāyana's manifestations (prādurbhāva) present serious difficulties : for the supreme divinity is named throughout Nārāyaṇa or Hari (and in one passage as Visnu, 343, 20 ) and never, except in these extraneous passages, as Kṛṣṇa or Sātvata. In Nārada's long list of names and epithets, neither Krsna nor Visnu occurs as a name. The references to Vāsudeva occur only in connexion with the Vyūha doctrine, and an etymology is furnished by interpreting the word (as a name of the supreme god ) as "dwelling above (adhivasa)" or "enveloping all creatures (sarvāvāsa)". The Bhagavad gītā ignores the Vyūha-doctrine, which speaks of four mystical cosmic forms of Nārāyaṇa and says nothing about Vasudeva in this connexion; if it was aware of the legends of Vāsudeva, Samkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, it does not appear to have subscribed to the mystical interpretation of these persons as related to Vāsudeva in successive cosmic emanations.

I e.g., 335,24; 339, 1,12 and 134; 343, 22, 54 and 55; 344, 12 and 23. It has not been proved that the term *bhagavat* in the Epic always denotes Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and that it does not apply honorifically to other gods, as well as to demi-gods, sages and respectable persons of religious merit. The name itself, as we have already discussed before, was originally perhaps an epithet, like the Buddha. See Hopkins, JRAS., 1911, pp. 727 f.

It is not necessary to anticipate here what our enquiry in the following pages will attempt to bring out, but it may be stated

But the identification is slight and artificial.

But the identification is slight and artificial.

Ekānta-dharma, which Uparicara-Vasu professed or which

Nārada observed and received at Śvetadvīpa, could not have been in their origin identical; nor can the one be said, inspite of many points of

The probable independent origin and character of the Nārāyaṇīya E kānta-dharma.

contact, to have been a direct development of the other. There are many points of resemblance, but the many points of divergence are also interesting and significant. As different expressions of a bhakti religion of an originally non-orthodox character, there is of course much

agreement in the fundamental tenet of bhakti with its important implications; but neither is the teaching nor the environment the same in detail. There is throughout the Nārāyaṇīya an anxiety to connect and identify its Ekānta-dharma with the Bhāgavatism of the °Gītā; but the connexion is, on the face of it, slight and artificial. The passages where the identity is expressly declared are either loosely joined to the main narrative by way of addendum or an after-thought (as in 346, 10-11 and 348,53-55), or are introduced incongruously and ab extra (as in 335, 19 and 24), or are not of such importance as to be taken seriously. It would at least not be critical to accept them as bearing undoubted testimony to the original identity of the two currents of an early bhakti-religion. One need not go so far as to hold with Hopkins' that the Nārāyaṇīyas were originally hostile to the Kṛṣṇa (or Sātvata)

is slight and inconclusive. In vii, 17, 31 and vii, 18, 7 the Nārāyaṇiyas (or more accurately Nārāyaṇas) are represented as battling against Arjuna and Vāsudeva; but this is because they were Gopas or Gopālas (apparently a tribe of cowherds) who were also warriors offered by Kṛṣṇa to Duryodhana (v, 7, 18f.) and accepted by the latter. There is nothing to show that they were the Ekāntins of the Nārāyaṇiya. Rönnow (BSOS., v, p. 281) expresses his approval of Hopkins' remarks and cites in support xii, 339, 101, where, according to him, "it is announced that Nārāyaṇa will send a terrible visitation upon the Sātvata princes and upon Dvārakā"; but this is a misunderstanding of the text, which does nothing more than refer, in a prophetic strain, to the well-known story of the destruction of Dvārakā and the Sātvata princes, and does not give expression to "any Pañcarātra disapproval of the Kṛṣṇa cult."

cult, but there is a strong probability that the Nārāyaṇīya faith had an origin which was independent of Bhāgavatism, although in the end they were amalgamated and to all appearance presented one system of bhakti-religion.

The highly fabulous account of the origin of the Nārāyanīya Ekānta-dharma given above may be rightly taken as furnishing extremely dubious material for a sober reconstruction of its early history.

The fabulous account of the origin is probably a testimony to its high antiquity.

But even admitting its obviously mythical garb, it would not be paradoxical to state that this fantastic account probably bears testimony to the high antiquity of the faith. It is not unusual in Indian literature to fabricate piously such legendary accounts where the actual origin is lost and forgotten in the mist of remote antiquity.

It is possible that the account betrays the common tendency of the Indian author towards glorifying his system by ascribing to it not only divine origin but also ancient and unquestionable authority by associating its promulgation with legendary saints and sages; but it is also possible that it embodies a current tradition of the actual existence of the system from time immemorial. Possibly it had no early expounder whose historicity was beyond doubt, unless it be a mysterious sage Nārāyaṇa, semi-historical or entirely mythical, to whom all the three accounts of origin agree in assigning the honour by raising him to the dignity of the supreme god of the system.¹ But even if there were some historical founders of the system, their names apparently perished and had to be made good by those of frankly mythical personages.

One may indeed legitimately doubt the value of the narrative as an historical document, but its importance and interest as a document of culture-history cannot be so easily denied. It does not give us

Doubtful historicity of the account, but its value in making an estimate of the character of the religious faith itself.

chronological facts or the exact lines of development, but it gives us the probable surroundings out of which the system emerged, as well as the ideas and sentiments which produced and shaped it. The Nārāyaṇīya faith could not have been a deliberate philosophical or historical religion, promulgated or preached by a definite expounder, but it must have grown naturally

out of floating myths and legends and naive speculations, on which

I In 349, 68 Nārāyaṇa is declared to be the Knower of the entire Pañcarātra (pañcarātrāsya kṛtsnasya vettē nārāyaṇaḥ svayam; v. l, vettā tu bhagavān svayam).

popular faiths feed and grow, the philosophical doctrines with their technicalities (such as we find in it) having coalesced with it in comparatively historical times. We shall see presently that there is in the Nārāyanīya system a curious reconciliation of Brāhmanic ritualism, Upanişadic monism,quasi-Sāmkhyan dualism and Yogic mysticism with the popular worship of a personal god in an ardently devotional atmosphere and with all its paraphernalia of mythological fancy. But the speculative side, which is meant to supply a philosophical background to the religion, is an inadequate medley of varied ideas, sometimes unrelated and incongruous; it could not have formed the essence of the deep and fervid religious feeling on which alone the system bases itself. For a proper insight into this religious feeling, therefore, we must look to its mythical side, even if it is bizzare and confusing. The myths form a part and parcel of its popular theology, and even throws interesting light on its process of absorption of independent philosophical or religious ideas. Indeed, some points characteristic of the Nārāyanīya theology can be best understood, not by a reference to its extraneous philosophical ideas but by a recognition of its popular mythical fancy, strangely blended as it is with such philosophical ideas.

Two accounts of the teachings of the Nārāyanīya, as R.G. Bhandar-kar pointed out long ago, can be distinguished in the above narrative.

Two mythical accounts of the teaching,

The first gives us the legend of king Uparicara-Vasu and of the partly fruitless journey of the three ascetics to the mysterious Śvetadvīpa; while in the second we have the story of Nārada's successful visit to the same

island and his vision of Nārāyaṇa who reveals the doctrine to him. In both these mythical accounts the Brāhmanic tendency is clear. Apart

Influence of the Brahmanic religion and theology clear in both.

from its borrowings of orthodox theosophical ideas, we find the anxiety of the faith to name some of the orthodox saints and sages, as well as the partly orthodox Nārāyaṇa himself, as sponsors of its theology; it also betrays a great respect for sacrificial acts and a clear belief

in austerity (tapas) and yoga, in spite of its exaltation of bhakti. Does not

I Vaisnavism etc., p. 7.

as such. R.G. Bhandarkar asserts the greater historicity of the second account, because he thinks it is directly connected with Vāsudeva and and identified with the Gītā religion. But while the religion of Uparicara-Vasu in the first account is also connected with the Sātvaṭa

Nārāyaņa himself observe the daily rites (534, 19-22)1 and perform perpetual austerities at this hermitage at Badarī winning reputation as khyāta-tapas and mahā-yogin (346, 3; 349,17)? In the cosmic form in which Nārāyaṇa appears to Nārada he is described (339, 6-10) as an ascetic and as uttering the syllable Om, the Gayatri, the four Vedas and the Āranyaka.2 King Uparicara-Vasu, one of the legendary patrons and promulgators of the doctrine, is reported to have been a great sacrificer. He performs not only his optional and occasional sacrificial acts and offers daily oblations, but under the superintendence of Brhaspati, arranges a great Asvamedha sacrifice in accordance with the rules ascribed to the Aranyakas,3 but without any offering of sacrificial animals. It is also related that his precipitation to an underground cavern was due to his advising animal sacrifice, of which the gods were in favour but of which the sages disapproved. The gods (including Nārāyana at their head) could not, of course, save him from the ascetics' curse of 'the fall', but they carried nourishment to the condemned devotee who was ultimately rescued by Nārāyaņa himself. The seven Citrasikhandins were also well versed in tapas and received the revelation after performing severe austerities. The three sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita obtain a vision of Svetadvīpa, if not of its presiding god, after having performed tapas for a thousand years, just in the same way as Narada does by his Yoga-powers (yogayuktah).

No doubt, these legends are meant to enunciate the Nārāyaṇīya conception of the higher worth of *bhakti* as a means of divine grace and the inadequacy of mere tapas and yoga. Nevertheless, they

rule, we have already dwelt upon the slight and external character of this connexion in both the cases.

I On whose efficacy he waxes eloquent in ch. 345, which is however an irrelevant digression.

<sup>2</sup> Not so in the Bhagavat's theophany to Arjuna. Nārada describes (343, 60-61) that the deity whom he saw at Śvetadvipa was practising severe austerities there, having constructed an altar, measuring eight fingers' height, standing on one foot, with hands uplifted and face directed towards the north! The popular belief is Yogic powers must have been at the root of such descriptions.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., apparently of the Brāhmaņas, of which the Āraṇyakas form later sections.

inculcate respect for veda-kalpita vidhi, as well as for the efficacy of tapas and roga, up to a certain point. On the doctrinal side nivṛtti is praised and inculcated, but an emphasis is laid throughout on pravṛtti or activity in pious sacrificial works in accordance with the Brāhmaṇic rule, although it is clearly laid down that animals should not be sacrificed in the Kṛta age (340,82) and that bhakti supersedes everything. Not only in the legend of Uparicara-Vasu<sup>T</sup> but also in the discussion on pravṛtti and nivṛtti in ch 340, to which we shall revert later on, the sacrificial rites are not rejected as sacrificial rites; on the contrary, their necessity to a certain extent is enunciated, and the supreme god in one passage declares himself pleased with a sacrifice which the gods arrange in his honour in accordance with the Vedic rules (veda-dṛṣtena arrange in his honour in accordance with the Vedic rules (veda-dṛṣtena

Popular mythical elements in both are of greater significance. vidhinā), and lectures on its usefulness. In these tendencies the influence, either direct or indirect, of the orthodox Brāhmanical religion is evident, but there is also a great deal more in the faith which does not come, either directly or indirectly, from that source, and this

element is certainly of greater significance.

I R. G. Bhandarkar is right in stating that in the earlier stage of Nārāyaṇīya worship, as indicated by the legend of Uparicara-Vasu, the religion had not thoroughly emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices; but it is difficult to maintain his suggestion that in the second stage it did. In both the stages the connexion is clear.

<sup>2</sup> It is not that "reform" on conservative principles began within the Brahmanical fold (Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 7-8); but more likely, these tendencies indicate, as we have attempted to explain before, mutual influence between the hieratic and the popular religion and the result of an ultimate compromise. [It is noteworthy that even in much later times Sankara does not admit the orthodoxy of the Pancaratra system, and yet its orthodoxy is admitted by the recognition of the Epic itself. It is true that we have no direct evidence of the existence of popular sectarian religions except at a comparatively later period in the evolution of Indian religious thought, but it does not follow that the popular conception of a personal god and all its implications are later in date to the Brahmanic and Upanisadic conceptions of a sacrificial or theosophical religion. Nor is the inference justified that the more vivid popular faith was merely grafted on the Brahmanic ritual or on its impersonal and negative theology, thus introducing "a reform" in its outof-date ideas, or that the popular faith with its superior vitality absorbed

One of the most important mythical elements of a popular character consists of the narratives of the two visits (which practically agree) to the Svetadvīpa, once by Nārada at the Story of the visits to the instance of Nārāyaṇa himself, and again at a presumably Svetadvipa. earlier time by the three ascetics Ekata, Dvita and Trita on their own account. Since the time of Weber who appears to have started the theory by his critical investigations into the Kṛṣṇa legend,1 the story has been utilised by some Whether it indicates Chrisscholars2 for asserting the indebtedness, even if veiled, tian influence of early Indian bhakti-religion to Christianity; but as on early Indian Bhakti relicriticism has now shewn how difficult it is to maintain gion. the theory or attain any certain result,3 it is not for us here to advert to it and reopen the contro-

into itself whatever there was of living force in the other. In all probability the two lines of religious ideas existed side by side, and the epic religious systems are the fruits of an inevitable mutual compromise in which the more human element came naturally to predominate.—S.K.D.]

I Chiefly in his classical essay on the festival of Kṛṣṇa's birth, Ueber die Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī, 1867, pp. 318-324 (Eng. trans. in IA., 1873-74, vols. iii-iv); also in Indische Studien, i, p. 400, ii, pp. 166, 398f., Die Rāmatāpanīya Upaniṣad, 1864, pp. 277-78 and Die Griechen in Indien, 1890, p. 930. Also Lassen in Indische Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed. ii, pp. 118-19. The question was revived by Hopkins in his essay on Christ in India in his India, Old and New, 1902.

2 For references to the literature on the subject see the works of Raychaudhuri, Hopkins and Garbe, and the articles of Clark and Rönnow. But see especially Grierson (art: "Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians") in IRAS., 1907, pp. 317f, also IA, 1908, p. 373 and the article on "Bhakti-Mārga" in ERE, ii, pp. 459f. (somewhat modified); Kenedy in IRAS., 1907, pp. 481f. and 951f.; Garbe, Indien und das Christentum, 1914, pp. 196f. and in Die Bhagavadgītā, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 42.

3 See the fairly full summary of the general question of Christian influence in Raychaudhuri, op. cit, pp. 76-97, and the most recent review in connexion with the Svetadvīpa problem by Clark in JAOS., 39 (1919) pp. 230f, and by Rönnow in BSOS, v, (1929), pp. 253f. In addition to the arguments adduced in these writings against the theory of Christian influence, Jacobi (ERE., vii, p. 196) would exclude Weber's theory by chronological considerations; for the Jaina Canons, which

versy. Clark and Rönnow<sup>1</sup>, who have recently reviewed the question in special connection with the Svetadvipa problem and negatived the Christian hypothesis on that basis, have, however, made certain other points clear, which former studies of the subject obscured, because of the uncritical position they had assumed either in favour of, or against, the asserted connexion with Christianity. These two critics have brought forward enough evidence to demonstrate that the Svetadvipa is an entirely Indian

Bearing of this entirely Indian conception on licertain features of the Nārāya
nīya theology.

to demonstrate that the Svetadvīpa is an entirely Indian conception of a purely mythical land of blessed existence. They have also drawn attention to certain peculiar features of this popular mythical conception which have a direct bearing on some characteristics.

of the Nārāyanīya religion.

The description of the Svetadvīpa as the abode of Nārāyaṇa and its strange inhabitants is interesting from this point of view. The

The Svetadvīpa represents the ordinary epic conception of a mythical inaccessible god-land,

Svetadvīpa or "white island", where Nārāyana resides invisible even to the gods, is conceived as an earthly but mythical region, situated in the milky sea at a fantastic distance (32,000 yojanas) to the north of Mount Meru,—a mysterious and inaccessible god-land, which is peopled by popular fancy with strange supernatural beings and

illuminated by dazzling supernatural lights eventually emanating from

are prior to the Christian era, build up their entire hagiology on the model of the history of Krsna, assuming nine Vasudevas, Vasudevas, Baladevas and Prativasudevas, It has now been generally admitted that the word bhakti in its religious application is pre-Christian and that the ideas that it connotes need not have been a foreign importation. theory that the phase of the early bhakti movement originated through or was influenced by contact with Christian communities in the northwest of India can no longer be maintained. The only question at issue is whether Christian ideas, chiefly from South Indian sources, influenced the much later development of the cult after the Christian era. On this question the data are scanty and hardly satis. factory. They show parallelism, but do not prove direct influence; at least, they scarcely support the hypothesis of a Christian settlement with sufficient energy to stimulate a greater religious movement which had originated and developed independently. See Carpenter, Indian Theism (1921) p. 264 n., 521-4.

I References as above,

the deity himself. It is parallel to the Buddhist Sukhāvatī¹ and the Purāṇic Amarāvatī or Uttara-kuru,² and forms the Nārāyaṇīya version of the popular mythical conception of paradise, where the best of the Nārāyaṇīya devotees live in bliss and have a direct communion with

modified by the Nārāyaṇīya ideas of Bhakti. their object of ekānta bhakti or monotheistic religious emotion. It is indeed the ordinary epic or purānic conception of heaven, but the Nārāyanīya theology of exalting bhakti over other means of salvation caused

considerable modification. This is clear from the story of the expedition of the three sages, Ekata, Dvita and Trita (336, 20f.), which is really the Nārāyaṇīya version of a Rgvedic legend with a different motif.<sup>3</sup> The three ascetics make an attempt to penetrate this inaccesible god-land by means of extraordinary penance lasting over thousands of years. They are successful in obtaining a dazzling vision of the

The only way
of approach
to the deity
through Bhakti
as illustrated
by the legend
of the three
sages,

wonderland and of the refulgent devotees who worship the god there with great adoration; but their principal object of beholding the deity himself, who is hidden from them by the effulgence of a thousand suns, is denied to them. They are informed by a divine voice that the great god is not to be seen by any one who does not possess bhakti: "That god is not to be seen

by one who is destitute of devotion (abhakta); that lord, invisible by a halo of light, can be seen only by those who through long years have attained a state of exclusive devotion (kāmam mahatā kālena ekāntitvam upāgataih)". The story is obviously intended to inculcate that neither austerities on which the ascetics depended, nor yet sacrifice by which Bṛhaspati sought to obtain the sight of the god, is of any avail. These means are not rejected up to a certain point, but they must be leavened by exclusive devotion (ekānta-bhakti) which alone makes beatific vision possible.

I Clark, loc cit., p. 233, note 91; Rönnow, loc. cit., p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, ibid, p. 228; Rönnow, ibid, pp. 256f., 272.

<sup>3</sup> See Rönnow, ibid, pp. 260f.

<sup>4</sup> In v, III, 19-20 (story of Gālava) the god-land in the north is declared inaccessible. In xii, 344, 4 Nārāyaṇa declares that even by tapas and such other means the deity is unattainable. The earlier way of approach, as is apparent from the description of Indra's Amarāvatī in iii, 43, 4-6, was through sacrifices and austerities. The Nārāyaṇīya discovers a new way of approach through

This is one of the central doctrines of the Nārāyaṇīya worship.

The point is also evident in the story of Nārada's visit to, and vision of, the deity. A concession is made indeed to the time-honoured belief that those who have practised much tapas and yoga can win and by the entrance and see the holy land (343, 22); but it is story of Nārada's also expressly stated that Nārada was in a happier

story of Narada's also expressly stated that Narada was in a happier position because of his intense bhakti to Narayana by which alone the vision of the deity was vouchsafed to him (339, 13;344, 1-3). The extreme difficulty of seeing the god is emphasised by the

1-3). The extreme difficulty of seeing the god is emphasised by the statements that he is invisible in his essence, not only to the three ascetics but also to the gods, and even to Brahmā who is born from himself. The privilege of seeing him in certain forms is given only to the bhakta whom he loves (344, 3), to the Ekāntins, to Nārada, Arjuna and Vyāsa, who adore him with whole-hearted love and devotion. Spiritual exercises prepare them to it, but the idea underlying the whole conception is that the mortal eye is not able to endure the divine brilliancy, nor even the "eye of knowledge" which Vyāsa attains, but that they must be endowed with "a divine eye", acquired through bhakti, such as Arjuna receives in the Bhagavad-gītā xi, 8 for a vision of the cosmic form of the Bhagavat.

The description of the inhabitants of the Svetadvīpa (335, 9-11; 336, 28-30; 339, 19-20; 343, 536.) who perpetually see, sport with and worship Nārāyaṇa with ekānta-bhakti, also makes the point clear. These Ekāntins are, however, described as strange beings endowed with strange peculiarities. They are devoid of sense organs (anindriyāh, sarvendriya-vivarjitāh) and live without taking any food (anaśanāh, nirāhārāh); but they are said to possess winkless eyes (spanda-hīnāh),

bhakti. The idea is so firmly established that in other parts of the Epic (e.g., iii, 163, 17-24) we find that Nārāyaṇa's abode is invisible even to the gods and accessible only to the Yatis who have prepared themselves by bhakti as well as by tapas, good works and yoga. Nārāyaṇa himself explains to Nārada (339, 12-13) that the three ascetics could not see him because he is visible only to the Ekāntika, of whom he praises Nārada as the greatest.

I Vyāsa also appears to have visited the Svetadvīpa, worshipped the god (339, 135-136) and received illumination on the shores of the Milk Ocean after undergoing severe austerities (340, 25-27).

heads shaped by umbrellas (chatrā kṛti-śirṣāh), a white complexion! like the lustre of the moon (candra-varcasah), voices like that of a mass of thunder-clouds (meghaughatheir fantastic peculiarities ninādāh), bones and bodies as hard as adamant (vajrāsthikāyāh), four symmetrical muṣkas² each (sama-muṣka-catuṣkāh), soles of feet marked by hundreds of lines (rajīvac-chata-padāh),3 sixty white teeth (danta), eight tusks (damstra) and many tongues with which they lick the whole sun-face. They always emit a fragrance and blast the eyes of sinners with their radiance which is like that of the sun at the dissolution of a yuga. The description has puzzled many critics; but it is frankly fabulous and its fantasies are eccentricities of popular imagination. are the product is probably furnished by the further statement that of popular

are the product of popular mythical fancy of an emancipated or supernatural being. are eccentricities of popular imagination. The clue is probably furnished by the further statement that the white islanders are "endowed with all the lakṣaṇas" (sarva lakṣaṇa-lakṣitāḥ); and Clark and Rönnow are probably right in regarding these extraordinary

peculiarities as the traditional lakṣaṇas or marks of blessedness of an emancipated, supernatural or god-like being,6 or of a Mahā-

I Śvetāḥ, explained by Nīlakaṇṭha as śuddha-sattva-pradhānāḥ. Whiteness of complexion is attributed to dwellers of many mythical regions in the Epic and has obviously a symbolical meaning; see Clark, op. cit., p. 233, note 90. It need not be taken literally as referring to any white people actually living in the north,—a supposition which has misled some scholars to imagine a white continent of Christian worshippers. It must be remembered that Nārāyaṇa is a white god in the Kṛta-Yuga; so is Viṣṇu. Whiteness is associated with light or purity, but it is also the colour of meditation.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of this obscure term, which literally signifies a testicle, see Clark, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> So Nīlakantha. The other reading is rājīva-cchada-pādāh, "having feet like lotus-leaves".

<sup>4</sup> Tusk or damstrā seems to be mythically associated with cosmic forms of the divine deity, e.g., in the Boar Incarnation (a cosmogonic myth) and in Bhagavad-gītā, xi, 23 and 25.

<sup>5</sup> The line is obscure. It reads: jihvābhir ye visva-vakratam lelihyante sūryaprakhyam.

<sup>6</sup> They are called muni-gaṇāh in 336, 50 and suddha-yonayah in 336, 49, as well as muktāh and siddhāh (see below), 'liberated' or 'perfected'.

purusa. The Lord is also said to possess the same laksanas of a Mahāpurusa (343, 36-38), and the devotees whose appearance is said to be celestial (divyāvayava-rūpa) seem to be either copies or images. These material characteristics of the white radiant beings, however, hardly agree (as we shall see presently) with their immaterial nature. These are, therefore, residues, not very well fitted into the spiritual scheme, of purely popular fancies of the god and his god-like saints. Their very grotesque and fabulous character would easily point to such a popular connexion.

As to their spiritual characteristics, we are told that these divine beings are high-souled, cleansed from every sin, freed from the three gunas, indifferent to good and evil, fully awakened (pratibuddhah), possessed of auspicious strength (subha-saro-Their spiritual petah)1 and every mark of blessedness. nature and they are identified with the 'perfected' (siddha) or their modes of worship, 'emancipated' (mukta) souls. Their worship is vividly reported (336, 36f.) by the three ascetics who visit the island, and is important from our point of view. When the three ascetics saw them, their hands were ever joined in repeating prayer (japatah) to Brahma (neuter), and their faces were turned, some towards the east and some towards the north. The japa (or repeating prayers or names of the deity) performed by these highsouled beings was a mental (mānasa) japa, with which (Nārāyaṇa-) · Hari became very pleased, since their minds were entirely fixed on him (ekāgra-manasivena). Suddenly there appeared a light like the effulgence of a thousand suns.2 The white beings, full of joy, ran towards the light, their hands folded, uttering the one word namas (we bow to thee). Then a loud cry was heard, as though they were occupied in offering a sacrifice (vali) to the great god; but nothing could be seen by the ascetics who were dazzled by the lustre and deprived of their senses. Only a great exclamation of adoration was heard: "Victory to thee, O thou of eyes like the lotus-petals! Obeisance to thee, O Creator of the universe! Obeisance to thee, O Hṛṣīkeśa, the great Puruṣa, the First-born (pūrvaja)!" The

There is no need to read, with Nīlakantha, the specialised sense of Yogic powers into this phrase, as Rönnow does (p. 270).

The supreme god Nārāyaṇa is also called sahasrārcis or sahasra rocis," the thousand rayed one"—obviously a distant reminiscence of Viṣṇu as a sun-god,

fragrance of celestial flowers was wafted by the unsullied breeze. These men of the island, the Pañcakālajñas, endowed with the highest love of the god (paramā bhakti) and entirely devoted to him, were worshipping Hari with mind, word and action. Undoubtedly the god appeared in the place whence the sound arose, but the ascetics were stupefied by his illusion (māyā) and could not see him. Then a voice told the ascetics that those white men alone, devoid of their five outward senses, were able to behold Nārāyaṇa, that the great deity could not be seen by one destitute of bhakti and that hidden by his halo of light, the lord could not be seen except by those who through long years have come to a state of exclusive devotion (ekāntitva).

There is little of deliberate metaphysics in all this, but a great deal of genuine religious emotion. The narrative, as well as the religious sentiment contained therein, is evidently the product of popular fancy and belief about the existence and godhead of a

not a plagiarism of Christian i deas and ideals. personal god, his paradise, his favoured and devoted saints and their emotional worship of love and joy. Apart from other considerations, the superficial resemblances to Christian ideas and ideals (resemb-

lances which may not be due to direct or indirect plagiarism) need not be emphasised. The religious beliefs and their expression, in spite of their similarities, lie on different planes of thought. The mythical and religious elements in the narrative are entirely Indian and are already stereotyped in the mass of such mythical descriptions

Emphasis on Ekanta-bhakti, and the essentially emotional nature of the worship. in the Epic and elsewhere. But several features of the Nārāyaṇīya belief involved therein are noteworthy, and they consist of the superimposition of the Nārāyaṇīya bhakti and other ideas on this general mythical conception. Apart from the extraneous idea of the im-

personal neuter Brahma, to which we shall return later, the emphasis is laid mainly on *ekānta-bhakti* for a personal god. The offering of sacrifice is indeed mentioned, but the mode of worship is entirely emotional. The folding of hands, burst of joy, uttering of *namas* and hymn of adoration are all indicative of a personal feeling of intense affection or love, for which later *bhakti*-theology uses the

On the meaning of this obscure term see S. K. De in IRAS, 1931, p. 415.

words anurakti, rāga or prīti. The mention of mānasa japa¹
is also significant; for this japa, in which is involved

Japa as a the idea of the efficacy of mantra (repetition of holy
samādhi and words or syllables), form an important element of worship in later sectarian cults. The mention is not casual,

for in 344, 26, Nārada in his worship of Nārāyaṇa is said to have performed duly a great many japas relating to Nārāyaṇa (jajāpa vidhivan matrān nārāyaṇa-gatān bahūn), just as Uparicara-Vasu in 306, 64 is said to have performed nārāyaṇa-japas. Similarly when Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers became devoted to Nārāyaṇa on hearing Bhīṣma's narrative, they were engrossed in regular japa (nityaṃ japya-parāḥ) and uttered the name of Nārāyaṇa (nārāyaṇam udīrayan). The necessity of meditation (samādhi)³ for a bhakta is stressed in the Bhagavad gītā. There are expressions in the Nārāyaṇīya also pointing to the same direction. The highest devotee is said to be samāhitamanaska (344, 19) or ekānteṣu samāhitaḥ (339, 129); and japa is probably one of the means for the attainment of such meditative concentration.

100

The qualification of moral purity, in addition to such spiritual exercises, is of course demanded, and the highest devotee must be freed from every sin; but the highest qualification that is insisted

The highest qualification needed in a devotee, viz. ekānta-bhakti.

upon is ekāntitva (334, 44; 336, 54; 346, 1), ekānta-bhāva (336, 28 and 50; 339, 129; 344, 19; 349, 72) or ekānta-bhakti (348, 71), all of which signify paramā bhakti (336, 47) or the highest love of god and give the name Ekāntin or Ekāntika (336, 50; 339, 13, 20)

and 49; 341, 34; 343, 64; 348, 1-6, 62 and 68) to Nārāyaṇa's devotees and the designation ekānta-dharma (348, 61) or ekāntagati (348, 85) to the religion itself. Four kinds of bhakta are

I This need not involve any condition of yoga or Yogic samādhi, such as Rönnow supposes (p. 270).

<sup>2 339, 134-135.</sup> So also Vyāsa here, and Brahmā in the story of Haya-śiras in 347, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Which may or may not involve technical yoga.

<sup>4</sup> The japa of Viṣṇu's name is inculcated in connexion with the list of his thousand names (xiii, 149), where of course the names Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva also occur.

<sup>5</sup> As well as ekānta-gata-buddhi (339, 107; 343, 67) and ekāgra-manastva (336, 37; 339, 19).

distinguished in a passage which, occurring in the course of a long digression, may however have been expressly meant to conform to the Gītā-doctrine. It speaks of the Ekāntikas as the first and best, while the remaining three (not described by any classificatory epithet) include generally those who do good works for their fruits (phala-kāma). This last phrase and description anticipate the central Gītā-doctrine of selfless work dedicated to the Bhagavat; but as the doctrine, unless implied in the very idea of ekāntitva, is nowhere so evident, one may be justified in regarding it as extraneous. But the

The Ekantin of the Svetadvīpa as a type of the ideal devotee. best devotees, the Ekāntins, with whom we are directly concerned here, are defined as those who have no other god (ananya-devatāh) and whose actions are directed solely towards Nārāyaṇa; they alone are fully awakened (pratibuddha, 341, 45; also 343, 53 and 65; 348, 75)

and they are exceedingly rare in the world (348, 62). They are specially favoured and are dear to the god (343, 53-55 and 65; 344, 3), to whose grace alone (prasada) is due their condition of religious devotion. They ultimately enter the deity and yet live with him in bliss in his paradise. The characteristics of the ideal devotee thus detailed are not inaptly summed up in the verse (344, 19):

samāhita-manaskā ye nityāh samyatendriyāh |
ekānta-bhāvopagatā vāsudevam višanti te |

which insists upon spiritual meditation, moral purity and devotional concentration as three primary requisites, of which the last appears to be the highest. The word  $ek\bar{a}ntin$  is often translated by the term

I This passage occurs in the long digression on the etymology of the Lord's name, which has no connexion with the main narrative. [The word śrutam, however, in this passage (341, 33, catur-vidhā mama janā bhaktā eva hi me śrutam) probably indicates that the classification was traditional. The °Gītā (vii, 16) mentions four kinds of bhakta viz., ārta, jijñāsu, arthārthin and jñānin, of which the jñānin is supposed to be the best. Such a scheme appears to be independently referred to in another passage in 339, 130, where, however, only the ārta and jijñāsu are mentioned.—S.K.D.]

'monotheist'; but it is clear that the Ekāntins are monotheists who possess not only intellectual conviction or belief, but also an ethical-emotional attitude of love or devotion.

The \*kānta bhakti\* is not merely intellectual satisfaction, nor even moral elevation, but emotional exaltation.

This is the centre of gravity towards which all other elements of the

This is the centre of gravity towards which the state of the Nārāyaṇīya theology move; and if we bear in mind this ideal of emotional realisation we can understand why the systems of Bhāga-vatas and Śaivas in general are declared elsewhere (xiii, 14, 198) as vatas and Śaivas in general are declared elsewhere (xiii, 14, 198) as "freed from philosophical disputation" (hetu-vādair vinirmuktam).

The characteristics of the ideal devotee, typified by the Ekantin inhabitants of Svetadvipa appear also to be the characteristics of the

The Ekantin as the mythical and theological conception of a liberated soul. emancipated souls in the Nārāyaṇīya theology. The white men are called not only siddha, 'perfected' (339, 49) but also mukta, 'liberated' (335, 41; 339, 25 and 43; 340, 9). The word iha (here) employed in these verses seem to imply both 'on earth' as well as 'in

Svetadvīpa,' so that there cannot be any doubt that the mythical island is the Nārāyaṇīya paradise where the liberated souls, housed in grotesque bodies, go and become the white men, who thus represent the mythical as well as the theological conception of the liberated soul. That the ideal devotees, when released, are numbered among the white islanders appears to be expressly stated, not only in 335, 14 which declares that the lakṣaṇas of the emancipated souls are those of the white men, but also in 339, 129 which states that the ideal devotee, after liberation, reaches the Svetadvīpa.

We can now understand why the inhabitants of the mythical god-

I To render the term ekāntin by "unitarian" (Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 413) is inadequate and misleading; for here the one god is a one-god of many forms. We have already explained the peculiar character of early popular monotheism in which one god stands at the head, without excluding the possibility of his having many real forms or of the existence of other inferior deities either independently or as a part of himself. The emphasis is undoubtedly on oneness and unity, but in practice the early monotheistic religions allied themselves with an almost endless variety and multiplication of gods and goddesses of every rank and order.

## KING NANYADEVA OF MITHILA

land are conceived with grotesque peculiarities and are described as radiant beings who have no external organs of sense.

An explanation of their strange peculiarities.

These peculiarities are not mere levities of imagination but represent symbolically the theological ideas of the Nārāyaṇīya. They are intended to describe the indescribable, viz., the liberated soul, and are therefore haltingly grotesque; but they are also meant to emphasise that the manifestations are entirely spiritual and beyond material description. In the passages referred to above the ideal or emancipated devetee, as well as the white men, are said "to enter" the deity; but in fact they are not absorbed but dwell like copies or images of the divine person him-

(To be continued)

self, who condescends to sport with them.

MRINAL DASGUPTA

## King Nanyadeva of Mithila

King Nānyadeva played an important part in north Indian politics in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. He was of Karṇāṭic origin, but founded an important ruling family in Mithilā (N. Behar) and Nepāla. Mr. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi has recently published an account of a Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Chs. xxvnī to xxxiv, dealing with music) which was written by Nānya¹ (This book is hereafter referred to as 'Commentary'). The king must, therefore, have distinguished himself in arts of war as well as of peace. Some passages of the Commentary throw an interesting light on the life and reign of the great king. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has contributed an article on Nānya,² but as he had no knowledge of this manuscript, and his general view of the political situation of the time is vitiated

I Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, October, 1926, pp. 55-63.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. O. R. S., vol. IX, pp. 300-310; vol. X, pp. 37-46.

by a wrong assumption about the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal, the subject requires a fresh discussion.

The colophon of the Commentary refers to the author as \$\Silon\_{\textit{Nahasamanta}dhipati^2dharmavaloka-\Silon\_{\textit{nan-Nanyapati}}. Here the title 'Mahasamantadhipati' indicates that Nanya had been a feudatory chief or viceroy of some king before he assumed the position of an independent sovereign. In the body of the Commentary, however, Nanya refers to himself as \$Mithile\sura and \$Karnatakulabh\overline{u}\_{\text{sana}}, and uses the titles \$Dharmadh\overline{u}\_{\text{rabho}\overline{u}\_{\text{para}}}\$ and \$Karnatakulabh\overline{u}\_{\text{sana}}, and uses the titles \$Dharmadh\overline{u}\_{\text{rabho}\overline{u}\_{\text{para}}}\$ In addition to the general and vague references to his prowess in war, he is specifically referred to as having 'extinguished the fame of the king of Malava,' 'defeated the heroes of Sauvīra,' and 'broken the powers of Vanga and Gauda.'

In order to understand properly the value and true meaning of these interesting data we must have an idea of the date of king Nānya.

The Nepalese chronicles have preserved conflicting traditions about the time of Nānyadeva. But M. Sylvain Lévi was the first to establish, on a satisfactory basis, that the accession of the king falls in 1097 A.D.<sup>1</sup> This statement, which is found in a drama, Mudita-kuvalayāśva, has since been confirmed by a memorial verse, preserved in the Puruṣa-Parīkṣā of Vidyāpati,<sup>2</sup> and is corroborated by a Ms. written in 1097 in the reign of Nānyadeva.<sup>3</sup> The question may, therefore, be regarded as finally settled.

The duration of the reign of Nānya is, however, more difficult to determine. The Nepalese chronicles assign to him a reign of 50 or 36 years. According to a tradition, preserved in Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-Parīkṣā, a son of Nānyadeva was a contemporary of king Jaya-ccandra who ascended the throne in 1170 A.D. If this tradition is to be believed we shall be inclined to accept the longer period of 50 years. Nānyadeva's reign may, therefore, be placed between 1097 and 1147 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Le Nepal, vol. II, pp. 197, f.n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. O. R. S., vol. 1X, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Pischel, Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft, vol. II, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Lévi, Le Nepal, vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Purusa Pariksā, I, 3.

<sup>6</sup> But see fn. 2, p. 688 below.

The lower limit of the date of Nānyadeva may, perhaps, be fixed with the help of the colophon of a book noticed by Bendall. This colophon, dated Saṃvat 1076, refers to Tirhut as being ruled over by "Mahārājādhirāja Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṃśodbhava Gauḍadhvajo-Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva." Bendall referred the year 1076 to Vikrama era and identified the king with Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, father of Karṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has expressed his doubts about this identification mainly on the following grounds:

- (a) The titles ending in "Avaloka" are more characteristic of the Rāstrakūţas, and are not known to be used by the Kalacuris.
- (b) The title Gaudadhvaja indicates some political authority in Gauda, and there is no evidence that the Kalacuri king Gaugeyadeva had any pretensions to suzerainty over Bengal.
- (c) Kalacuri king Gängeyadeva is not known, from any other evidence, to have ruled over Tirhut.

These objections are serious, and to the last point may be added the fact, brought out by Mr. R. Chanda,<sup>3</sup> that Magadha being under the Pālas and the territory to the west under the Chandellas, it is difficult to believe that the Kalacuri Gāngeya could rule over Tirhut.

I think the date of the manuscript should be referred to the Saka era, and the king should be identified with Gangadeva, the successor of Nānyadeva, according to Nepalese chronicles. The title Dharmāvaloka and the reference to the conquest of Gauda by Nānya in his Commentary, referred to above, would remove the first two objections. If this view be accepted, then Nānyadeva must be regarded as having died before 1154 A.D., when his son was on the throne.

Nānyadeva originally belonged to Karnāṭa country. This is expressly referred to in the Nepalese chronicles and clearly appears from the title Karnāṭakulabhīṇṣaṇa occurring in the Commentary composed by Nānyadeva, referred to above. We know from Deopārā Inscription that about the period when Nānyadeva was ruling in Mithilā, Bengal was conquered by Vijayasena who also belonged to the Karnāṭa race. It would appear, therefore, that somehow or other

I J. A. S. B., 1893, p. 18,

<sup>2</sup> Le Nepal, vol. II, p. 202, fn. I.

<sup>3</sup> Gauda-raja-mālā, p. 42 fn.

the Karnātas had gained a prominent footing in the eastern part of Northern India towards the close of the eleventh century A.D.

Various suggestions have been made to explain this sudden intrusion of the Karnāṭas as a political factor in Northern India. According to Mr. Jayaswal, "The Karnāṭa settler out of whom the Simraon dynasty (i.e. of Nānyadeva) arose was either a remnant of the Rājendra Cola's army as Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks or more likely a remnant of the Karnāṭa allies of Karna, the Cedi king.....who overran nearly the whole of India about 1040-60 A.D."

Mr. Banerji's theory of the 'Cola' origin of the Bengal Karnāṭas? should never have been seriously taken by anybody and has been thoroughly refuted by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar. Mr. Banerji himself seems to have given it up, as it does not find any place in his discussion on the origin of the Sena kings in the second edition of his 'History of Bengal'.

As to the second theory of Mr. Jayaswal, it undoubtedly finds some support from the fact, stated in the Commentary (see above), that Nānyadeva defeated the Mālavas and Sauvīras, for Mālava was certainly among the countries conquered by Karņa. It must be remembered, however, that the victorious expeditions of Karņa were over about forty years before the accession of Nānyadeva. As Nānyadeva was himself the founder of a new dynasty, and was merely a Mahāsāmantādhipati to start with, he could not possibly have been a leader of the Karṇāṭas who accompanied Karṇa about forty years before his accession. The long reign of fifty years (which Mr. Jayaswal also accepts) assigned to Nānyadeva renders the view untenable.

The most reasonable view seems to be to connect the rise of the Karnāṭaka power in North India with the victorious military expeditions of the Karnāṭa emperors Someśvara I and his valiant son Vikramāditya VI of the Cālukya dynasty. We learn from Bilhana's Vikramānkadeva-carita that Someśvara I (1040-69 A.D.) stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras in Malwa, from which king Bhoja had to flee, and that he utterly destroyed the power of Karna,

I Op. cii., p. 306. 2 Pālas of Bengal, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, vol. III, pp. 560ff,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bühler's Introduction to Vikramankadeva-carita,

king of Dāhala. His son, prince Vikramāditya, led victorious expeditions against Gauda and Kāmarūpa. Vikramāditya VI led victorious expeditions against Northern India at least twice during his reign. A record of A.D. 1088 89 speaks of Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā, and conquering kings on the other side of that river. And another of A.D. 1098 shows that then, again, he was in the northern part of the kingdom. on the banks of the Narmadā.

It would thus appear that the two Karnāṭa kings played an effective part in North Indian politics during the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. That they had pretensions of suzerainty not only over the states named above but even over distant Nepāla follows from an inscription of Someśvara III, the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI, in which the king is said to have placed his feet upon the heads of the kings of Andhra, Drāvida, Magadha and Nepāla.<sup>2</sup> Now there is no record of Someśvara's military expedition to the north, and, as Fleet remarks, with the exception of a Southern expedition, "the records do not seem to mention any campaigns made by him; and his reign seems, in fact, to have been a very tranquil one." We must hold, therefore, that his pretensions of supremacy over the northern states, whether nominal or real, must have been derived from his father or grandfather.

The downfall of the Cedi king Karna, and the Paramāra king Bhoja, caused by Someśvara I, must have paved the way for Karnāṭa supremacy in the north, and ushered in a new epoch in north Indian politics. An inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla kings definitely asserts that Candradeva founded the kingdom of Kanauj "when kings Bhoja and Karna had passed away." Candradeva, the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, flourished about 1090 A.D. Within a decade of that, two Karnāṭa chiefs, Vijayasena and Nānyadeva,

I Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., vol. XI, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II, pp. 455-6.

<sup>4</sup> Supremacy over Nepala is also claimed by the Calukya king Taila II in his records. But Fleet thinks it is an invention of the poets. I should rather take it as a belated reference to an old glory, which had no longer any reality (cf. Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II, p. 431).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Basahi plate of Govindacandra; Ind. Ant., vol. XIV, p. 103.

founded the kingdoms of Gauda and Mithilā. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that the deluge of Karnāṭa invasion, which had swept away the two mighty kings, Bhoja and Karna, also ushered in the three dynasties at Kanauj, Mithilā and Bengal.

We have seen above that the Karnāṭa emperors of the Cālukya dynasty boasted of supremacy over Bengal, Bihar and Nepāla, and of the three new ruling dynasties, the two that ruled over Bengal, and Bihar-cum-Nepal, definitely belonged to the Karnāṭa country.¹ It is, therefore, only natural to hold that, like the later Mahratta principalities of Northern India, the two Karnāṭa kingdoms of Bengal and Bihar-cum-Nepal were merely off-shoots of the Karnāṭa expeditions

As to the Gahadavalas, it is not unlikely, though it is difficult to assert it positively, that they too came from the Karnāta country like those ruling in Bengal and Bihar. I propose to treat this subject in a separate paper, and must content myself here with only a few observations. Tradition and inscriptions alike give the appellations Rathor and Rāstrakūța to the Gahadavalas (cf. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, vol. III, pp. 259-66). The Rathors have always been regarded as the same as Rattas, Rāstras and Rāstrakūtas. Now the Ratta country is frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the eleventh century as Rattappadi and it included the Bombay Presidency south of the Vindhyas (Aiyangar, Ancient India, p. 22). The Rattas of Saundatti (in Belgaum) formed an important clan under the Calukyas of Kalyana (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 11, pp. 549ff.). The Gāhadavāla clan of the Rāthors or Rattas may therefore belong to the Ratta country proper in the Deccan, and Candradeva Gahadavāla of Kanauj may thus be of Karnātaka origin like Nānyadeva and Vijayasena. It is interesting to note that a Kanarese inscription at Gawarwad dated 994 Saka (1072 A.D.) in front of the temple of Daksina Nārāyana refers to the famous town of 'Gāvarivāda' (Ep. Ind., vol. XV, p. 337; Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II, p. 441, fn. 3). Gāvarivāda—Gāwarwād, may be easily recognised as the origin of the name Gahadavada of the family, and although it may be purely accidental, we have, corresponding to the Daksina-Nārāyana of the southern town, reference to 'Adikeśavadaksinamūrti' in an inscription of the Gahadavala king Candradeva of Kanauj (Ep. Ind., vol. XIV, p. 197). I do not press this point further here, and while there is as yet no positive evidence to show that the Gahadavadas were a Karnataka family, the possibility of their being so should not be overlooked,

in Northern India led by the Cālukya emperors Someśvara I and his son Vikramāditya VI. We may note in passing that the title, Mahāsāmantādhipati, assumed by Nānyadeva, was actually applied to the Viceroys and Governors of Vikramāditya VI.<sup>1</sup>

We have already remarked above that in the Commentary, Nānyadeva is credited with victories in Mālava and Sauvīra. This is easily explained if we accept the view propounded above. For we have seen that the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI conquered the kings on the northern side of the Narmadā river, and Bilhana says that Vikramāditya VI helped a king of Mālava to regain his throne. Nānyadeva, in his earlier life, probably accompanied one or more of these victorious expeditions and hence took the credit of victory in wars against those countries. Otherwise, it is difficult to believe, that as a ruler of Mithilā he could have carried his arms so far to the west, with such powerful neighbours to his immediate west and south-west.

Among the other achievements of Nanya, the Commentary mentions his victories against Gauda and Vanga. This is interesting in more ways than one. From the Deopārā Inscription of Vijayasena we know that he defeated Nanya.2 This has usually been taken to refer to an agressive invasion of Mithila on the part of Vijayasena. In the light of the new evidence, it seems more likely, however, that the dissensions between the two Karnāța kings took place over domination in Gauda and Vanga. At the time when Nanyadeva ascended the throne of Mithila, the political condition of Bengal was such as to tempt a foreign invader. Rāmapāla had just put down a revolt of the Kaivartas and re-occupied Varendra, and the country was necessarily unsettled. Eastern Bengal was under a new dynasty, the Varmans, while the Senas were a rising power in Rādha or South-west Bengal. Besides these, there were probably other minor chiefs all over the country who enjoyed either full or limited independence, such as those mentioned in the Rāmacarita. It is quite probable, therefore, that Nanyadeva, after having settled himself in Northern Bihar would turn his attention to Gauda and Vanga (N. and E. Bengal). The ambition of the Senas, however, lay in exactly the same direction. Whether the two Karnataka chiefs pursued in concert a common policy of conquest, and fell out later when the prize was

I Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part II, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. I, pp. 305-15.

within their grasp, or whether they came into conflict because each wanted the other to leave him alone in what he regarded as his own sphere of influence, cannot be exactly determined. But the one sure conclusion that follows from a study of the contemporary records is that there were two streams of Karnāṭaka invasion that overwhelmed Bengal, one from north-west and another from south-west under the leadership of Nānya and Vijayasena. Nānya, however, ultimately failed, whereas Vijayasena succeeded. Foiled in the east, Nānya turned towards the north and succeeded in conquering Nepāla.

In his elaborate discussion about the general political situation in North India at the time, Mr. Jayaswal has upheld the view that Nānya allied himself with the Gāhaḍavāla kings against the Senas; and further that the Pālas in South Bihar also joined this confederacy against the rising power of the Senas.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Jayaswal has, however, reconstructed the narrative of the struggle between this confederacy and the Senas on the theory tenaciously upheld by Mr. R. D. Banerji that Laksmanasena ascended the throne in 1119 A.D. This view, however, seems untenable, and is rarely accepted at present by any scholar who has made a special study of the subject. But even Mr. Banerji, who was the great champion of this view, maintained that Laksmanasena died before 1170 A.D. This would be hardly compatible with Mr. Jayaswal's view that 'it was in the time of Nānya's grandson Narasimhadeva (1174-1205) that Mithilā leaned towards the Sena power and it would be then that the Laksmanasena era would come into vogue in Mithilā'.2

As a matter of fact, there can hardly be any doubt now as to the true dates of the Sena kings. Since I wrote my paper on this subject,<sup>3</sup> several scholars have made further contributions to it and all these confirm in the main the chronology then suggested by me in opposition to the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji whom Mr. Jayaswal has taken as his sole guide.

These further contributions of scholars mainly turn on two important points: (1) the genuineness of the dates 1082, 1090, 1091 Saka for Vallālasena's reign as given in Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara; (2) the date given in the colophon of Saduktikarņāmṛta.

As to (1), reference may be made to the writings of Mr. Chinta-

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 44ff.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> J.A.S.B., 1921, pp. 7ff.

haran Chakrabarty, and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya.2 To these I may add another argument in favour of the genuineness of the dates of Vallalasena found in his literary works. This is furnished by a "reference in the Todarananda-Samhita-Saukhya about the position of constellation of the Great Bear according to the Adbhutasagara in the Saka year 1082 (1160-61 A.D.) while Vallalasena was ruling."3 Todarananda is 'an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine, composed by Rājā Todaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar'. The reference in this book to the dates of Adbhutasagara undoubtedly goes a great way to confirm their genuineness. As Mr. Chakrabarty has pointed out, the dates are not merely given in the introductory verse, which Mr. R. D. Banerji regarded as later interpolation, but that "in the Adbhutasagara itself, in more than one place, explicit reference is made to the year of commencement of the work, which agrees with what is given in the introductory verse; further, in several sections astronomical calculations are made from the year when the book was commenced." In the face of all these it would be difficult not to regard 1090-91 Saka (1168-69 A.D.) given in Dānasāgara, as a date falling. in Vallālasena's reign.

This view is further confirmed by the date given in the colophon of Saduktikarnāmṛta. Mr. Chakravarty has restored the correct reading of the colophon by a collation of the different manuscripts. According to this colophon the accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena falls in 1100 Śaka (1178 A.D.)6

As I pointed out in my paper, these dates are in full accord with the other data known from Indian and Muslim history. Thus, the probable dates of accession of the first three great kings of the Sena dynasty may be laid down as follows with a fair degree of certainty:

Vijaya Sena — 1095 A.D.

Vallāla Sena — 1159 A.D.

Laksmana Sena—1178 A.D.

I Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. III, p. 186; vol. V, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 145ff; Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. 111, pp. 574ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 421. 5 Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. V, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. 111, pp. 188-9.

As in the case of the date of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Mr. Jayaswal has been misled by Mr. R. D. Banerji into the belief that the Gāhaḍavāla king Candra of Kanauj helped Madanapāla against Vijayasena. Mr. Banerji's theory rests upon a passage in Rāmacarita (Canto IV, verse 20) which describes "Candra" as a friend of Madanapāla. There is nothing to indicate that Candra helped Madanapāla against the Sena king, or that he was a king of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. On the other hand, Mr. Banerji's view, that in his wars against Vijayasena Madanapāla was helped by king Candra of Kanauj, rests upon his theory that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1119 A.D. which, we have seen above, is untenable.

All the same, the rivalry between the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas is undoubtedly a fact. But there is no evidence to connect either the Pālas or Nānyadeva with this struggle. So the picture which Mr. Jayaswal has drawn of the balancing of powers in Nānya's time does not appear to have any sure basis to stand upon.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Nānyadeva seems to have been effectively checked by Vijayasena. According to the Deopārā Inscription he was even taken prisoner by the latter,<sup>3</sup> This serious reverse seems to have finally shattered his ambition and he left the field free for the two combatants, the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas. According to the Deopārā Inscription, Vijayasena sent a flotilla of boats along the Ganges with a view to conquer the western regions.<sup>4</sup> This would hardly have been possible if the ruler of Mithilā had not been previously rendered incapable of rising against him. The scheme of

I Pālas of Bengal p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jayaswal has laid some stress on the fact that Malladeva, a son of Nānyadeva, took service under Jayaccandra of Kanauj. The story is given by Vidyāpati, and according to him, Malladeva was killed in the war when only sixteen years old (J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 408). Now as Jayaccandra ascended the throne in 1170 A.D., Malladeva could not have been born before 1154 A.D., if Vidyāpati's story were true. The death of Nānyadeva would then have to be placed after 1154 A.D. He would thus have a reigning period of about 60 years, far more than the longest period assigned to him in Vamśāvalīs. Thus reasonable doubts can be entertained regarding the truth of Vidyāpati's story, at least, in all its details.

<sup>3</sup> Cf, verse 21

western expansion was steadily pursued by the Senas, though the strong arms of Govindacandra of Kanauj did not enable them to reap any immediate success. But the ambition of the Senas was realised to a great extent when, after the death of Govindacandra, king Lakṣmaṇasena planted pillars of victory at Benares and Prayāga, probably some time between 1180 and 1190 A.D. During the whole of this period the rulers of Mithilā, Nānya and his successors, were negligible factors in north Indian politics. Even their policy of expansion towards Nepāla did not meet with great success. According to M. Sylvain Lévi, Nānya and his immediate successors exercised but little real authority in that country. They remained as local rulers of Tirhut with Simraon as their capital. The only epigraphic record of their rule is furnished by the Andharā-Thāṛhi inscription of Śrīdhara, the minister of Nānya.<sup>2</sup>

R. C. MAJUMDAR

## The Coins and Weights in Ancient India

The intimate connection between the coinage and the weightsystem of a country is well-known. Everywhere the standard unit of
weight for precious metals became the standard unit of value, and
this became ultimately coin when stamped with the royal insignia.
The very names of the coins indicate this relation in good many
cases.<sup>3</sup>

In the Manusamhitā is found a table of weight-metres of the Hindus which have remained almost the same as the basic system of weights and measures in India up to date. The subsequent alterations by the Indians as well as the non-Indians may be regarded as mere superimpositions on the original structure of the great law-giver. Still the actual unit of measurement for precious articles in India, is

I Le Nepal, vol. II, pp. 205, 219.

This inscription has been edited by Mr. Jayaswal in J.B.O.R.S., vol. IX, pp. 300ff. It does not contain any historical information of real value.

<sup>3</sup> Jevons, p. 35; Kinley, p. 48.

the traditional rati kṛṣṇala (kunj-seed)<sup>1</sup>; and still the actual weights in the order of ascending scale bear the names given to them by the ancient ṛṣi, and indicate the same significance as in his time. The minute subdivisions of the kṛṣṇala, as given below, are used merely for the purpose of accounting and have no practical significance:

```
I Liksa (egg of louse)
8 Trasa-renu
                       I Rāja-sarṣapa (black mustard)
3 Liksas
                       I Gaura-sarsapa (white mustard)
3 Rājasarsapas
                       I Yava (barley corn)
6 Gaura-sarsapas =
                       I Krsnala (berry, rati)
 3 Yavas
                       I Māsā (bean seed)
5 Krsnalas
                       I Suvarna (weight and coin of gold)
16 Māṣās
                       I Niska or Pala
 4 Suvarnas
                       I Dharana2
10 Palas
```

As distinct from the above table of Manu, the following may be considered indicating alterations and super-impositions on the original structure:

```
      6 Rājikas
      =
      1 Māṣā, huna or vanaka

      4 Māṣās
      =
      1 Ṭaṅkā, sala or dharaṇa

      2 Ṭaṅkās
      =
      1 Koṇa

      2 Koṇas
      =
      1 Karṣa
```

108 Suvarņas = Šurubhuṣana, pala or dīnāra<sup>3</sup>
20 Kapardakas (shells or cowries) = 1 Kākinī (buri, 5 gaṇḍās)
4 Kākinīs = 1 Paṇa, kārṣāpaṇa or karṣikā

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16 Paṇas (purna of shells) = 1 Bherma of silver
16 Bhermas = 1 Niṣka of silver
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I Colebrooke, Prinsep, 1, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Manu VIII, 131-38, Hopkins & Burnett.

<sup>3</sup> Gopāla Bhatta, 122.

## THE COINS AND WEIGHTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

5 Kṛṣṇalas = 1 Māṣā
16 Māṣās = 1 Karṣa, akṣa-tolaka or suvarṇa

\* \* \* \*
5 Suvarṇas = 1 Pala¹,²

Manu's table, quoted above, primarily refers to gold. The subsidiary copper-table is similar, but silver has a peculiar table of its own:

> 2 Kṛṣṇalas = I Silver māṣaka 16 Māṣakas = I Dharaṇa or pūraṇa 10 Dharaṇas = I Satamāna<sup>3</sup>

88 White mustards = 1 Silver māṣa 16 Silver māṣas. = 1 Dharaṇa

It may be granted that primarily from Manu's table of weights the following table for coins was constructed in ancient India:

> Pala (gold) = 5×16×4 - 320 Ratis. Niska I  $5 \times 16 \times 4 = 320$ Suvarna 5 X 16 Kārṣāpaṇa 5 X 16 80 Māṣa IX5 = Karşa, kṛṣṇala, (kārṣāpaṇa, kahāpana, kāhana) of (gold) = I Rati. Satamāna (gold) 100 Ratis.

Satamāna (silver) 2×16×10 = 320 Ratis. = Dharana or pūrana (silver) = I 2 X 16 32 Kārṣāpaṇa (silver) 80 I Karsapana (silver) 32 I Niska (4 suvarna in weight) 320 I Suvarna

I Līlāvatī.

<sup>2</sup> Kauțilya calls a Suvarnappala (Arthasastra, p. 127).

<sup>3</sup> Kautilya calls a dharana or pūrana of silver of 32 ratis a kārṣāpaṇa.

<sup>4</sup> Kauțilya calls a silver dharana or purana of 32 ratis a Karşa-pana,

<sup>5</sup> The silver satamana has also the same weight.

Most of the above coins had also their sub-divisional varieties, such as, ardhakārṣāpaṇa, pada-kārṣāpaṇa.

It is rather difficult to reconcile the discrepancies in the above

tables regarding the denominations, weights, and basic metals.

According to Manu, silver māsaka is equal to 36 gaurasarṣapas. But according to Kauṭilya it is equal to 88 gaura-sarṣapas. Again Manu's silver dharaṇa or pūraṇa is equal to 32 ratis, that of Kauṭilya is equal to 80 ratis and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's dharaṇa is equal to 24 ratis.

Still there is another variety of the dharana which is equal to 1200 ratis.

Manu's silver māṣa is 5 ratis; Kauṭilya's 5 ratis; and Bhaṭṭa's 6 ratis.

5 Kṛṣṇala = I Māṣā.
 6 Māṣā = I Suvarṇa.
 4 Suvarṇa = I Pala or niṣka.
 10 Pala = I Dharaṇa.

Is it possible to reconcile the discrepancies? Are they in any way due to the varying ratios between gold and silver at different times? May it be conjectured that when the ratio was I:8, two rations masaka of silver was the unit and when it changed into I: 12, three or six rations masakas had to be introduced as the unit?

With regard to the coins of gold similar discrepancies puzzle an enquirer:

I Suvarņa (Manu) = 80 Rati.
 I Pala (Kauṭilya) = 80 ,,
 I Kārṣāpaṇa or karṣa = 80 ,,
 I Kārṣāpaṇa or karṣa = 96 ,, (Gopāla)
 I Kārṣāpaṇa 4×8 = 32 ,,²
 I Kārṣāpaṇa, karhāpaṇa or kahana = 1 Rati.

22029							
1	Pala	•••	4 (suv	arņa) x 80	-	320	Rati
I	Pala	•••		5 × 16	_	80	19
I	Niska					320	19
I	Satama	āna (go	old)		=	100	
	Satam		ver)	•••	-	320	15
1	Niska (	silver)		•••	-	320	1)

I Bhandarkar, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, p. 44

The suvarna and the kārṣāpaṇa are sometimes identical in weight in the case of gold. Suvarṇa, the generic name of all sorts of gold coins derived from their basic metal, came to be applied not only to a particular weight of gold (80 rati) but also possibly to a silver coin of the same weight. Kārṣāpaṇa, the full-weight unit of gold money, was also called Suvarṇa. But there were 96 rati kārṣāpaṇa of gold, 32 rati kārṣāpaṇa of silver and 1 rati kārṣāpaṇa kahāpana or kāhana which was the smallest unit for counting value as well as the smallest coin (yava-traya-parimita).

The pala and the niska were the two different names of gold coins of the same weight. The silver coin of the same weight was called niska, but strangely its other name was satamana.

"In Yājñavalkya, Niska of silver is mentioned which is equal to 4 suvarnas or one pala of gold (in weight of course).1

This is queer, as the mana is a rati, and so the satamana should be 100 rati as in the case of gold. The mana in the case of silver apparently indicates different measure as the masa.

"Mention is also made of silver satamana of 57.6 grains. As the word means 100 manas or measures, the single mana must have been 5.76 grs. = 3 ratis spoken of as silver masaka."

Manu's māsā (gold and copper) is five ratis and (silver) 2 ratis, and Gopāla's 6 ratis.

Prinsep notices four varieties of māṣās of 5, 4, 16, 2 ratis. Other varieties have been noticed by other authorities.3

The māṣā in its importance has been regarded as the second of the monetary measures in India. It is, like the kṛṣṇala, a kind of seed, and its average weight has been ascertained to be 3.625 grains and near about that of the silver māṣā of 2 ratis. But unlike the kṛṣṇala it has no absolutely definite significance and its weight has been mentioned as widely different in different cases and by different authorities.

It may be imagined that while the rati or the kṛṣṇala provided for the primary weight-unit for gold, the māṣā served the same purpose for silver, the lighter metal. Both the seeds are readily available in India and are sufficiently uniform in size and weight to serve as the necessary units. The rati is the sub division of the māṣā in the case

Cunningham, p. 47. 2 Cunningham, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Prinsep, p. 212, Cunningham, Gopāla Bhatta, Raghunandana, Colebrooke.

of silver and there is a nice adjustment between the weights. One silver māṣā is about 3'625 grains or roughly 3'50 grains, while a rati has sometimes been mentioned as 1'83 and on the average as 1'75 grains, and the 2 ratis are equal to a silver māṣā. In the case of gold the māṣā is five times a rati. The reason seems to be that a minuter subdivision was necessary for the more valuable metal of which the primary unit of weight or currency was a rati which was of sufficient value to serve as a medium of exchange.

But there is mentioned another kind of māṣā of silver, of which the weight is 8 rati or 14.64 grains.¹ This may be the quadruple piece of the silver māṣā, two rati in weight. This 8 rati māṣā might have been the smallest practical unit of silver coin while the 2 rati piece was a mere weight or money of account. This 8 rati māṣā was one fourth of a dharaṇa which was 32 rati in weight. The one rati gold piece was coined as money, but it may be imagined that the 5 rati gold māṣā was much more convenient as money. Similarly the 8 rati silver māṣā was more prevalent as money than the two rati silver māṣā of very low value which might have been useful only for the purpose of accounting.

But the other varities of māṣā such as 4, 16, 3, 6 ratis in weight have also been mentioned.

"According to Kātyāyana...a māṣā or paṇa (is) one-twentieth part of kārṣāpaṇa in value."

It is therefore 4 rati in weight and one-eighth of a silver dharana or pūrana. If there were a 16 rati māṣā also it was one half of the punch-marked silver coin so famous in ancient India.

Is it possible that the māṣā came to be the general name for all fractional money, particularly in the case of silver? If so, the full silver table was:

I	silver		32 rati (kārṣā-paṇa)		
1-2	"	")	=	16	" (ardha-kārṣāpaṇa)
1-4	7.66	,,			, (pāda-kārṣāpaṇa)
1-8	,,	desired to the	=	4 ,	" (māṣā)
1-16		"	=	2	,, (māṣā)

All the fractions of the full weight silver coin (pūraņa or kārṣā-pāṇa) came to be called māṣā. But the word was also applicable to gold and copper for measuring the fractions of the full weight gold

I N. Orientalia.

Did the māṣā, whatever might be its origin, a seed of 3.5 or 14.6 grains (the small bean or the big bean), come in course of time to mean a fraction of the standard gold, silver and copper piece? The silver māṣā starts with 2 rati or 10 of the full-weight silver money, and the gold or copper māṣā is the same in relation to the full-weight gold or copper money, and even today the significant fraction of the rupee is its 10 part, the anna.

A māṣā has been called by Kātyāyana, a paṇa. A paṇa is an anna or i of a kāhana (kahāpana or kārṣāpaṇa). Thus it fits in well with the present system in which an anna is 1/16th of a rupee. But Kātyāyana regards a paṇa as -10 and not -10 of a rupee. Subsequently, it has been discussed that the karsapana, when of gold, might have been used indifferently for two different varieties of weights and coins, 80 rati suvarna and the I rati kṛṣṇala or karşa. The modern kāhana, which is equal to 1 x 16 x 80 cowries, is derived from the latter specie, of which the copper value is equal to 1280 rati, if the ratios between gold, silver and copper be taken to be I:16:80, as mentioned in the Sukra-niti. A kārsāpana has sometimes been designated a karsa or a rati. It may not be altogether fantastic to imagine that the 80 rati copper kārṣāpaṇa was so named because it contained I paṇa (80) karṣa in weight and in value (I rati copper = I cowri). Thus the 80 rati paņa (copper) was i of 1 rati (gold) kārṣāpaṇa or kāhana, and Kautilya's 4 rati pana was only tof a karsapana (copper) and equivalent to the modern "buri" or 5 gandas or 20 cowries in the Bengal system of Arithmetic.

We frequently meet with instances of loosely using the same word for denoting different conceptions. This is a common error even today, and most probably was much more so in ancient India. It may be also that in the widely distant parts of such a vast country the same name denoted different things. The word "tākā" has different significance in the different parts of India in modern times. In the up-countries it is often used to mean a "Double-pice". Again a seer weight may be 60, 80, 100 and 120 tolas, according to the location of the market.

It has been supposed that the māṣā was originally a bean seed and also that there were two varieties of it, the small one weighing 3.5 grains and the big one weighing 14.6 grains, both approximately. If so, how the other sorts of māṣās of 3, 4, 5, 6, ratis etc. can be explained?

"Nārada says, a māṣā may also be considered as ½ th of a kārṣāpaṇa and Bṛhaspati describes it as ½ of a pala. Hence we have no less than four māṣās, not taking into account the māṣā used by the medical men consisting of 10, 12 ratis which may be the same as the jeweller's māṣā of six double ratis, because it has been explained as being measured by 8 silver rati in weight, each twice as heavy as the seeds".1

This supports the above suggestion that māṣā was a generic name for all fractional weights.

Finally, it may be said that the māṣā was a secondary unit and not the primary one like the rati, and its significance was not so precise as that of the rati which was the only absolutely and universally definite weight in the Indian system of weights and coins.

The kṛṣṇala or the rati has a unique position in the Indian system, as the primary unit for the measurement of value as well as of weight. Perhaps the attractive appearance of the seed, its abundant and wide supply and uniformity in weight as well as in shape led to its adoption by the people of India for the above mentioned useful purposes. The kṛṣṇala came to be recognised by the early Hindus as the "balance or scale of a seed," and was able to maintain its position under the Muhammadans as the surkh or "red." Its weight has been carefully tested by the European numismatists, some of whom are inclined to estimate it to be 1.83 grains but the concensus of opinion is that, on the average, it may be taken to be 1.75 grs.<sup>2</sup>

The rati, no doubt, is the starting point in weight-measurement and money-account. It is very significant that unlike the māṣā it has only one and a precisely definite connotation regarding weight which makes it serve without any possibility of confusion as the basis for the monetary and weight calculation of India.

But the rati was not merely a weight. It was also a coin. The unit of weight, in course of time, became unit of money and more or less current in the case of gold. Historical evidence may be quoted to support this view that the one rati piece was current as medium of exchange in the shape of "scales of gold" or bags of gold dust. These pieces were too small to be counted<sup>3</sup> and were measured in pots.<sup>4</sup>

p. 530; Bhandarkar, p. 179.

I Colebrooke, I, p. 531.

<sup>2</sup> N. Orientalia, pp. 10-11, 14, 65; Rapson, p.2; Prinsep, I, p.212; Colebrooke, I, p. 529.

3 "Suvarņa salākāni yava-traya-parimitāni."

4 N. Orientalia, p. 14; Cunningham, pp. 7, 21; Colebrooke,

It may be that the "bags of gold-dust", in which revenue was paid to the Persian Darius, and which have puzzled the ingenuity of the European numismatists so much, were bags of the star-like kṛṣṇala coins.

A rati has also been called a karsa, and the one rati gold star, a

kārsāpaņa or the modern kāhana of 1280 cowries.

The smallest gold coin in India is the rati. Then comes the māṣā of 5 ratis; after that the suvarṇa, the full-weight unit coin of gold, weighing 80 rati and prevalent as the most widely current coin under different denominations, such as the suvarṇa, kārṣāpaṇa, and pala. The suvarṇa was a generic name for all kinds of gold coins as well as bullion. The original significance of the term was possibly the metal only. In course of time the ideas of a particular weight and definite inscription were associated with it and it came to mean the standard gold coin, 80 rati-kārṣāpaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

Suvarna was originally simple gold, afterwards, a particular measure of gold, contained in a bag serving as a convenient

I Cunningham, p. 7: "The gold standard coin, the suvarna of 80 rati." Also Rapson, p. 2.

Bhandarkar, p. 91: "Suvarṇa being intended as the gold kārṣāpaṇa." Yājñavalkya, Smṛti, p. 432; Bhandarkar, pp. 103, 184: "Pieces of gold in point of value are suvarṇas mentioned in the Vedas."

Cunningham, p. 22: "The suvarnas gradually became the name of coins from the original name of weight."

N. Orientalia, p. 81. "The Buddhist legends abound in mentioning suvarnas."

Cunningham, p. 22: "The suvarna was a single bag of gold dust."
Bhandarkar, p. 58: "Suvarna must denote a coin and not simply gold."

Yājña-valkya, Smṛti, (Pāṇini office) p. 434: "According to Viṣṇu-gupta another name of suvarṇa is karṣa". See also Bhandarkar, pp. 183, 184.

Cunningham, p. 22: "The gold of India, always noted for its yellow hue, received its common name suvarna which at last became the name of a piece of gold'.

Arthaśāstra, p. 102; Bhandarkar, p. 71: "Suvarņa weighs 80 ratis. Kauţilya gives the same information. Another name of suvarņa is karşa, the gold kārṣāpaṇa."

Cunningham, p. 50: "Han and hun, the same as son, the spoken form of suvarna, gold."

Bhandarkar, p. 184: "The Gupta inscriptions may have used suvarna also synonymously with dīnāra,"

unit of payment; then a definite measure of coined gold as money which following the indigenous method came to be of 80 rati weight. In course of time all gold coins came to be known as suvarna irrespective of weight, from the rati kṛṣṇala or star to the pala of 320 ratis or even more. But the full-weight suvarna coin was 80 rati specifically. Its another name was kārṣāpaṇa, which was also the generic name of all full-weight coins, irrespective of their basic metals, gold, silver or copper.

Now, the exhaustive list of coins may be given here:

```
96 rati (kārsāpaņa)
Gold Coins: 1 rati (kārṣāpaṇa)
                               100 ,,
                                      (śatamāna)
              (ropaka)
         5 " (māṣā)
                               320 " (niska)
                             320 " (pala)
         80 " (karṣāpaṇa)
                               400 ,,
                                      (pala)
        80 ,, (pala)
Silver Coins: 32 rati (dhāraṇa or purāṇa) ... Kārṣāpaṇa
                                ... Ardha-kārsāpana
          16 rati (māṣā)
                               ... Pada-kārsāpana
           8 rati (māṣā)
           4 rati (māṣā)
                                ... 1
2 rati (māṣā)
                                ... 18
Copper Coins: 80 rati (paṇa) ··· Kārṣāpaṇa
            40 ,
                         ... 1
            20 ,
                     10 ,
5 " (māṣā) ··· 1/6
```

By comparing these three tables some striking uniformity of principle can be found out. The smallest fraction, except in the case of gold, is a masa which is always  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a standard coin. The exception in the case of gold may be due to high value in small bulk and also silver being 16 times lower in value as mentioned in the Sukra-nīti.

All fractional coins have the general name of māṣā. All the standard coins are 16 times the māṣā. In the case of silver it is 2×16. One rati silver piece being of too low a value would not be of practical use, and the 5 rati copper piece was merely money of account and possibly never coined as actual money. Cāṇakya mentions the smallest variety of copper coin as pada-kārṣāpaṇa which was 20 rati in weight and valued at 20 cowries or 5 gaṇḍās or a buḍī which, in the indigenous system of accounts today is regarded as equivalent to 1 pice. The bigger fractional

coins are the multiples of the smallest masa following the quadruple principle so indigenous and enduring in the Indian mode of calculation and measurement. The Satamana is an exception due to its exotic origin.

16 chattacks = I seer

16 paṇas or bisās = 1 kāhana (paddy)

16 chattacks = I cottah

16 panas = 1 kāhana (cowrie)

16 annas = 1 rupee

and so on.

The generic names of all the full-weight standard coins were kārṣāpaṇa. Thus the golden suvarṇa is kārṣāpaṇa, the silver dhāraṇa is kārṣāpaṇa and the copper paṇa is karṣāpaṇa.

It is a mistake to regard the kārṣāpaṇa as merely or pre-eminently a copper coin, following Manu's phrase "tāmrikaḥ karṣikaḥ paṇaḥ", and to conclude from this that copper was the standard of value in ancient India.

The kārṣāpaṇa was the name of all standard money. It derived its name from 80 rati which is a paṇa even now. It was the mostly current form of coin. The suvarṇa is much more mentioned than the pala or the niṣka. But in course of time the pala also came to be called kārṣāpaṇa. The dhāraṇa has been called kārṣāpaṇa. It has been regarded as the standard coin (the famous "punchmarked" one).

The kārṣāpaṇa became kahāpaṇa in Pāli and kāhana in Bengali. Its symbol is always I or a full unit and its fraction is a (I) paṇa which is converted into kārṣāpaṇa by multifying the paṇa by 4 or 16. The maund is I, the rupee is I, and the kāhana is I. All these are 16 times of the fractional unit and represented by the symbol I.

Thus in the metric system the position of the karṣapaṇa is as important as that of the kṛṣṇala.

Two important questions remain to be discussed in connection with the kārṣāpaṇa:

I. Was the kārṣāpaṇa coin merely or predominantly of copper as suggested by some?

I N. Orientalia, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Amarakosa, Kennedy, Bhandarkar, p. 39, 79, 84: N. Orientalia.

2. Was the golden kṛṣṇala coin also called a kāṛṣāpaṇa with a very important and particular significance along with the standard full-weight unit of gold, silver or copper—the suvarṇa, the dhāraṇa and the paṇa?

There can be no doubt as to the existence of an 80 rati gold piece. With reference to its metallic basis it was called suvarna and was extensively mentioned in the ancient literature including the Vedas. It must have been the full-weight monetary unit and the standard of value; and from both these points of view it was called kārṣāpaṇa.

"Amarakoşa distinguishes between kārṣāpaṇa and paṇa. Both are karṣika, i.e., I karṣa in weight, but paṇa alone as tāmrika, i.e., made of copper. His commentators infer that kārṣāpaṇa was silver. The author of the Kāśikā speaks of kārṣāpaṇa as being hāṭaka, i.e., made

of gold.""

"According to Visnugupta another name of suvarna is karṣa."2

The kārṣāpaṇa has also been extensively mentioned in the Jātaka literature where it connotes a current monetary unit irrespective of its metallic basis.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, Manu's śloka in question refers to only a particular variety of kārṣāpaṇa, the copper one and in no way denotes the non-existence

of any other variety.4

Thus the specific name of a copper kārṣāpaṇa is a paṇa; and Amarakoṣa distinguishes between kārṣāpaṇa and paṇa. Both are karṣika but paṇa alone is tāmrika.

In fact, Manu's śloka can never suggest that the Indian standard was at any time based solely on the copper kārṣāpaṇa.

The second point to be discussed is what is a karşa. Can the golden rati or kṛṣṇala coin be also called a karṣa?

The word kārṣāpaṇa is apparently a compound of 'karṣa' and 'paṇa'. Karṣa has reference to both weight and value, and paṇa to number.

I Bhāndārkar, p. 92-3; see N. Orientalia, p. 22: "There was a suvarņa or golden karṣa which was simply a suvarņa or given weight of gold, in the form of coin."

<sup>2</sup> Yājñavalkya, p. 434. (Panini Office Edition).

<sup>3</sup> Bhāndārkar, p. 50, 78, 80, 81 etc.

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Tamrikah karşikah panah"

<sup>&</sup>quot;A copper pana weighing a karşa should be known as a pana."

The kārṣāpaṇa has been taken to be of 80 rati weight, except in the case of the silver dhāraṇa which came to appropriate the name common to the other standard coins without any specific significance either regarding weight or value. The Karṣa was practically the smallest weight used; it was also termed raktika. "Thus karṣa signifies 80 rati as well as one rati."

Mr. Prinsep in writing about this discrepancy, says: "It is now the 80th part of a pana, but similar discrepancies are common throughout."2

The key to the solution of the discrepancies may be found, as has once before been suggested, in the loose use of the term to denote different conceptions. But a method may be found in this particular case. Karṣa is a weight. It is the weight of a coin. It is the weight of the standard unit of money, the smallest to start with for calculation and accounting, as well as the fullest to be convenintly used as a medium of exchange. This explains the existence, side by side with rati gold kārṣāpaṇa, 80 rati gold and copper kārṣāpaṇa and the 32 rati silver kārṣāpaṇa.

But what is the significance of the other half of the compound word, the pana or the apana?

Paṇa alone is tāmrika or paṇa is coin made of copper. The paṇa was sub-divided into fanams or kas-fanams or more properly paṇam is identical with the word paṇa, now applied chiefly to ascertain measure of cowries or copper money.<sup>3</sup>

The original name of the coin was kārṣāpaṇa, from karṣa a weight and a paṇa (custom) or use meaning that they were pieces of one karṣa weight as established by use or custom...karṣa of commerce or of common use or in other words the current karṣa.

Thus according to Cunningham the second half of the compound word is not paṇa but apaṇa. But this goes against the classical view and can hardly be warranted from the textual use of the term in Manu and other authorities. It is safer to use paṇa in the sense of a particular number, 80 (rati). Eighty still makes a paṇa and a copper paṇa is nothing but 80 rati. But there is another 80 rati coin associated with paṇa, the golden kārṣāpaṇa. Still there is another gold coin the one rati star-like piece which is also a kārṣāpaṇa because of its value

I See Colebrooke, p. 531,

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, Indian Antiquities, vol. I, p, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Prinsep, Useful Table, p. 18. 4 Cunningham, p. 18.

being reached through So rati of copper. One rati copper, when cowrie came to be the prevalent medium in petty exchanges, was equivalent to I cowrie. It is quite likely that at that time the ratio of gold, silver and copper came to be established at I: 16:80.

Thus I rati gold was equal to 16×80 rati copper or 1280 cowries. This is today called a kāhaṇa, the Bengali word for kārṣāpaṇa or

kahāpaņa.

"The value assigned to the kārṣāpaṇa in the ancient law-book agrees with that of the kāhaṇa of the present day."1

There can be no doubt about the existence of a variety of golden kārṣāpaṇa of which the value was paṇa of copper or 1280 cowries. But was it ever a coined money?

In the Indian Numismatics are several times mentioned minute coins of gold, bags of gold or gold dust. Also up to very recent times actually current gold coins of very small size have been found to exist.

"Suvarṇa śalākāni yava-traya-parimitāni" clearly indicates the existence of I rati gold pieces. In Manu's sytem the kṛṣṇala or the rati was the smallest coin or weight. Long afterwards it was found to be current as "the minute gold coins of the south, the gold stars, just like little scales of gold." Mr. Bhandarkar himself found in the Piprawa stūpa such pieces impressed with symbols, which according to him, indicate that these might be the kṛṣṇala coins.

Thus the idea that the kārṣāpaṇa had a unique position in the system of the Indian currency is corroborated. It is the standard and current money. It is also the money of account and the unit to start with in the construction of the monetary table.\*\*

A. K. SARKAR

I Cunningham.

<sup>\*</sup> The following abbreviations have been used in this paper: Colebrooke for Colebrooke's Essays.

N. Orientalia for Numismata Orientalia, Ed. Thomas.

Cunningham for Cunningham's Coins.

Rapson for Indian Coins.

## Finger-posts of Bengal History\*

H

Pathan Period, c. 1200-1550 A.D.

The word 'Pathan' is used here in the popular sense of pre-Mughal Muslim invaders of India, who were mostly Turks by race and are called so in the Sanskrit literature and epigraphs of the time. These Turks had little culture of their own, and long after their conversion to Islam (c. 1000 A.D.) they continued to be rude soldiers who cared little for art or literature. They have left no literary records and the only notable monuments of their sway in Bengal are the ruins of Gaud and Pandua which bear the stamp of Hindu workmanship, and their coins which have the distinction of being practically the first ever minted in Bengal. No land-grant of their time has come to light and their inscriptions which were mostly engraved on mosques are only partially explored as yet. Most of the published ones have been utilised in R. D. Banerji's Bānglār Itihās, vol. 2, but few in the Cambridge History. Recently Mr. S. Sharaf-ud-din of the Varendra Research Society has made a list of over 180 of them for inclusion in the Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV. This list has been utilised by me for some of the points noted below.

Ikhtiyar-ud-din, the founder of Pathan rule in Bengal, came from Afganisthan and so did several of his successors, and there were also some who came to Bengal from Western India, e.g., Malik Jiwand of Multan, who has left an inscription at Bangarh. It was in the Pathan period that Bengal was linked once again with Magadha (or Bihar, as it was then named). With Orissa or rather the Ganga kings of Jajpur, the Pathans were in conflict from the time they entered Bengal, and the conflict continued, through Caitanya's days, until at a time when their rule was about to end in Bengal, the Pathans secured the northern part of Orissa, and took there refuge from the advancing Mughals.

Pathan sway in Bengal was centered in West Varendra where the Malda and Dinajpur Muslims still form distinct racial groups. The

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 457.

earliest Pathan inscription in Bengal, viz., the Malda one of 1232 A.D. (which is 10 years earlier then the earliest Muslim inscription in Bihar) is in this tract, and so also is the majority of their inscriptions and monuments. In this tract also are

- (1) Gaud which was their capital till the very end of their rule, as also
- (2) Pāṇḍuā, which dates from Ilyas Shah's time, about 1340 A.D. (Banerji, Itihās, II, p. 108),
- (3) the fort of Ekdala which baffled the attack of Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlak, about 1350 A.D. (*Ibid.*, pp. 116-42) and which is identified with Kasba in P. S. Bansihari, by Mr. Stapleton; and
- (4) Devkot or Bangarh where after an unsuccessful raid into Tibet, Ikhtiyar-ud-din met with his death¹ and which figures so largely in the early history of Pathan rule in Bengal, although the earliest Muslim inscription found in it does not go beyond 1297 A.D. (V.R.S. Monographs No. 4, pp. 25-28).

The Pathans appear to have followed the retreating Senas into the Madhainagar tract. A Pathan inscription (not yet read) has been found recently at Gulta, five miles south-west of the Bhavanipur shrine and said to be the original site of the shrine (Bagudār Itihās, p. 114), and some coins of Danujamardana have been found near Madhainagar itself. Tradition goes that Rājā Ganeś, identified with Danujamardana, as will be noted later, had his home in this locality before he seized the throne of Gaud (Banerji, Itihās, II, p. 187), and the colossal Sivalinga at Talum and the ruins at Satpada near it are attributed to the Ek-tākiā Bhāduris who dominated this part of the country in the 17th century and whose line is said to be continued by the Tahirpur house.

Pathan sway did not spread to the rest of Varendra till about the middle of the 15th century when there was a Pathan expansion following on the short Hindu regime of Danujamardana and Mahendra.

I Evidence of this raid through Kāmarūpa is furnished by an inscription dated 13th Caitra, 1127 Šaka, or 27th March 1205 A.D. on the Kanaibarasi hill on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Gauhati town, which reads: Šāke turaga-yugmese Madhumāsa-travodase Kāmarūpam samāgatya Turuska kṣayamāyayuh (I.H.Q., 1927, p. 843).

The Pathan coins found at Mahāsthān date from Mahmud Shah's time (r. 1442-59 A.D.) (V.R.S. Monographs No. 2, p. 32); the earliest Mahisantosh inscription is of 1460 A.D.; a Pathan inscription at Kantaduar, P. S. Pirganj, Dist. Rangpur, (only one half of which has been found by Rai Bahadur Mritunjay Ray Chaudhuri) records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Husain Shah 'the conqueror of the rebels of Kāmarūpa and Kamta' c. 1502 A.D. (Ann. Rep. A.S.I. 1924-25, p. 89). The other Pathan inscriptions in Varendra belong to about the end of Pathan rule—the Bagha mosque inscription is of 1524 A.D. (Pravāsī, Āsvin, 1326, p. 553), the Dhurail Bridge inscription (in Sanskrit) is of 1533 A.D. and the Kusumba mosque and the Sherpur (Bogra) dargah inscriptions are of 1558 A.D.

Pathan away spread early to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍh, as an inscription of 1298 A.D. (a year after that of the Bangarh inscription) records a victory of the Pathans over the Hindus at Triveni (Banerji, *Itihās*, II, p. 87), but it did not extend to Pāṇḍuā (Hughli) till 1477 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 216).

The first notable Muslim to appear in the Dacca area was Emperor Balban, who went there, in 1283, in pursuit of his rebellious governor Tughril Khan and met the Hindu Rājā Danuj Rai, as already noted. Some writers think that this Rājā is referred to in Hari-Miśra's Kārikā as well as by Kīrttivāsa (Vasumatī, Caitra, 1337, p. 940). Muslim sway is said to bave been imposed soon afterwards on East Bengal (Banerji, Itihās, II, p. 89) but the earliest Muslim inscription of Dacca does not go beyond 1457 A.D., while that in the famous Baba Adam's tomb at Rampal is dated 50 years later.

To the rest of East Bengal, Muslim influence spread even later and judging from similar legends about its origin every where, it appears to have been confined at first to isolated *pirs*. The earliest dates recorded are 1459 A.D. at Bagerhat, 1466 at Bakerganj, 1473 at Chittagong, about 1480 at Sylhet and Lauria (though lbn Batuta is said to have visited the *pir* Shah Jalal at Sylhet in 1340) and about 1486 at Mymensingh.

Pathan sway does not seem to have ever reached South Bengal and it was there that Pratāpāditya (1555-1611, Modern Review, March, 1923, p. 316) sprung from the family of the revenue minister of the last Pathan Sultan, migrated after the downfall of the Pathan Sultanate and set up an independent state.

The most striking feature of their history in Bengal is that the Pathans could not establish settled rule. They were no doubt numerically very weak, and without any superior arms, but they were also

torn by dissensions themselves—no less than fifty rulers belonging to ten different dynasties and various races, including Abyssinian and even Hindu, covered the 300 years of their sway in Bengal. Within 120 years of Ikhtiyar-ud-din's death the kingdom is said to have broken up into three parts with their capitals at Gaud, Satgaon and Sonargaon. They were brought under one sceptre by Ilyas Shah (r. 1340-58) and the State was raised to prosperity by his son Sikandar (r. 1358-39) who built the Adina mosque at Pāṇḍuā.

But dissensions soon reappeared and in 1417 a Hindu chief, Danujamardana seized the throne. His reign was short, but he appears to have issued coins bearing legends in the Bengali script from three mints, Pāṇḍunagar, Sonargaon and Chatgram, and to have been succeeded by his son Mahendra, who is said to have afterwards turned Muslim. Following Mr. Bhattasali (Modern Review, 1929, January, p. 44), we may take these two Hindu kings as identical with Ganes and Yadu of Bengal tradition. According to MM. Haraprasād Sāstrī, Vṛhaspati, surnamed Rāya-mukuṭa, wrote his commentary on on the Amarakoṣa under the patronage of these two Hindu kings (Banerji, Itihās, II, p. 175).

The Pathans soon recovered the throne, and then ensued a period of their expansion, as referred to before. The most notable king of this period was Husain Shah (r. 1493-1519) who, judging from the number of his inscriptions had a prosperous reign—raiding Kamta and Kāmarūpa (as recorded in his Malda and Kantaduar inscriptions) and even attacking the Ahoms¹ and carrying on war with Pratāparudra of Orissa (1504-1532). Recently four more of Husain Shah's inscriptions have been discovered, one in Begu Hajjam's mosque in Patna city (J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p. 340), one on a mosque near Barh (Patna Dt.), one at Gaḍh Mandaran (Hugli Dist.) (Pravāsī, 1326, Jyaiṣṭha, p. 133), and one near Kandi (Mursidabad Dist.) (Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1337, p. 81).

Husain Shah's son and successor, Nusrat Shah (r. 1519-1532) had a prosperous reign until 1529, when Babar, who had ousted the Pathans from the throne of Delhi, turned his victorious arms against Bengal, where the Delhi Sultan's brother, Mahmud Lodi had found refuge. He advanced as far as Maner, where a peace was concluded. Eight

The Ahoms entered the Assam valley about the same time that the Muslims entered Bengal, and ruled for 600 years, for which period they have chronicles oilled Buranjis,

years after this there was a Pathan revival under Sher Sur who seized Bihar and Bengal. This drew Humayun to Gaud where he is said to have enjoyed himself for six months. Gaud was named Jannatabad or Heavenly city by the Pathans. The name occurs on some coins of Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah (r. 1389-96) (Banerji, Itihās, II, p. 155) and on a canon of Sher Shah which is now in V.R.S. Museum. On Humayun's way back, Sher Sur inflicted on him a crushing defeat at Chausa and afterwards drove him out of India and became Emperor with the title of Sher Shah. He ruled for five years only (1540-1545) but has left a brilliant record of achievements among which are the Grand Trunk Road, and the revenue settlement of the empire which was afterwards incorporated in the Ain-i-Akbari. To him also is to be ascribed a novel form of inscription in Bengal, viz., on bronze guns, some of which have been found in Malda and some in western Kāmarupa (V.R.S. Monographs No. 3) and one recently in the North East frontier tract of Sadiya (Report of Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti, 1931, p. 53). With the passing away of this great ruler, dissensions again appeared among the Bengal Pathans, and though Sulaiman Karnani (r. 1564-72) who removed the capital to Tanda, is said to have seized a part of Orissa (Banerji, Itihūs, II, p. 367) and to have beaten back an invasion from Kuch-Bihar (Ibid., p. 368), Bengal finally passed under Mughal sway with the overthrow and death of his grandson Daud Shah in 1576. Some Pathan chiefs of local origin Muslim and Hindu, held out,-one of them, Masum Khan being dignified with the title of Sultan in the Chatmahar mosque inscription of 1582 A.D. (Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, I, p, 631) but eventually they all had to yield to Akbar's steady pressure (Bhattasali, Bengal Past and Present, 1928, Nos. 71 & 72).

Many places in Bengal—notably Gaud Pänduā, Bangarh and Triveni—bear witness to the iconoclastic zeal of the Pathans. Probably the predominance of Muslim population in North-East Bengal dates from their time. Some of the Muslims in this tract, as can be easily seen from their features and culture, are no doubt descended from converted Hindus or foreign settlers of this or a later period, but from the fact that Pathan sway was so feeble and late in this area, that we may conclude that the bulk of them owe their origin to mass conversion of indigenous tribes which had been outside the pale of Hindu society, by the influence of the pirs who were settled among them and not, as some people suppose, to conversion of Hindus by political pressure or allurements. This view is suported

by the marked difference as regards physique and culture as well as social status and wealth, between the Muslims and the Hindus, and the practical absence, till recent years, of religious ministration and houses of prayer for the former. The queer tribal names Manquli and Quanksal of some of the Pathan opponents of Akbar in Bengal seem to point to their indigeneous origin. We see a parallel to this process in the present day mass conversion to Christianity of certain backward tribes in Assam (Pravāsī, 1337, Bhādra, p. 655), Chota-Nagpur and North Bengal.

Though ever since the end of Hindu rule, the Hindu society of Bengal has languished for want of royal support and direction, the Pathan rulers themselves do not appear to have exerted any pressure on it. In fact, they appear to have honoured the leading Hindu families of the time with such non-Sanskritic titles as Raya, Majumdar, Sarkar, Mallick and even Khan. Nor did they close the high offices of state to the Hindus or make any foreign tongue their official language. Their inscriptions are indeed mostly in Arabic language and Tughra characters, but even as late as 1533 A.D. we find an inscription in Sanskrit language and Bengali script set up by a Pathan minister of a Pathan king (I.H.Q., 1931, p. 17). And it was during the Pathan period that Navadvīp became a noted Hindu centre—to which learned and pious men flocked from all over Bengal and even from Sylhet,where the school of Navya-Nyāya was evolved,-where Raghunandana composed his 28 codes of Hindu laws and rites and Ananda Bhatta his Vallāla-carita (1510 A.D.) and—where Caitanya (1485-1534) preached

p. 149 of the Report of the All Parties Conference, 1928 shows that a 'neutral' zone passes from Dinajpur to Khulna through Malda, Murshidabad, Nadia and Jessore districts (probably along the Mahānandā river and the old course of the Bhairav). West of this zone the Hindus predominate with an average of 77 per cent (maximum 88 in Midnapur) and the Muslims also are of a type different from those in N. E. Bengal. East of the zone, the Muslims predominate with an average of 73 per cent (maximum 83 in Bogra). Again a zone of about 65 per cent Muslim passes from Sylhet (53) to Khulna through Dacca and Faridpur districts (probably along the Surma, Meghna and Madaripur rivers) and separates two distinct types of Muslims. An investigation, of these figures may throw some light on Muslim origins as well as on the old hydrography of Bengal.

his new Vaiṣṇavism, while Tāntrik literature and practices flourished in Varendra. It was also in this age that Caitanya and his followers laid the foundation of modern Bengali literature.

Meanwhile, west of India, the Turks had been overthrown by another tribe, the Mughals who, described as 'infidels' by Minaj in the 13th century had adopted Islamic religion with Persian culture before the 16th century when they burst into India and very soon wrested Bengal from the Pathans, as noted above. Their racial and cultural difference from the Turks is recognised in Sanskrit writings by their being designated Yavanas (e.g. Ahom cannon inscriptions in Assam). With their advent a momentous change was inaugurated—the Hindu or indigenous culture was superseded in Bengal, as elsewhere in Northern India, by the adoption of a foreign language (Persian) as the official language, and a foreign (or Persian) culture as state culture, and by the muslimization of the higher state services—and even the centre of government was shifted from West to East Bengal.

Such is the light which we derive from even a cursory view of these finger-posts of history. When they are published in a connected and properly edited form and studied together by scholars they will not fail to give us an authentic history of Bengal for the somewhat obscure period of 1200 years which preceded Mughal rule.

BIJAY NATH SARKAR

# Studies in the Kautiliya\*

THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF INVASION FROM THE REAR

The circumstances in which an attack is to be made upon a king-dom from the rear, when the soverign of this kingdom is invading another king, should be carefully examined to find out the advantage that accrues from the rear-attack. The advantages derived from such invasions from the rear vary a good deal, and unless the circumstances are probably weighed, there may be losses or positive disadvantages. An omission to make an attack upon a State from the rear at a time when the sovereign of the State is engaged in an invasion

<sup>\*</sup> Continued from p. 474.

upon another State may, on the other hand, give an opportunity to the other sovereign to grow into a very powerful neighbour without much difficulty if the invasion, upon which he has launched himself. be not thwarted by a rear-attack upon his State and for that reason his victory over the enemy in front be comparatively less difficult. Thus, there are many factors that should be taken into consideration to decide whether or not a rear-attack should be made. The circumstances become more complicated when in addition to the existence of three kings within the range of our consideration (viz. a king invading another, and a third king attacking the former from the rear), there is a fourth, who though inimical to the third king has entered into an alliance with him for mutual help, and two other kings, one proceeding to invade the territory of the other. In other words, two sets of two kings are supposed, and in each set one king is out for an attack upon the other; and two other kings are also supposed to play a part in the situation. They are 'natural' enemies but are now in alliance for mutual benefit. Each of these two allies is to attack one or another of the two kings, who have resorted to vana against their respective enemies. One of the reasons for attacking from the rear is to curb the power of the king thus attacked, it being of course understood that the kings being neighbours or having States within the same mandala, the sudden increase of power of one of them was looked upon as a menance to the existing equilibrium of power within the mandala and specially to the secure enjoyment of power by his immediate neighbours. The comparison of the gains and advantages likely to be acquired by each of the two aforesaid allies from their respective reargattacks upon the two kings out to invade their enemies is the subject-matter of the chapter in the Kautiliya on pārṣṇigrāha-cintā.1 It also deals briefly with ways and means by which a king whose State has been attacked from the rear should. try to extricate himself from the difficulty. The principal object of the chapter is, however, the comparison of the advantages derived from the rear-attacks upon the States of kings who are already launched upon invasion upon their neighbouring States. The derivable advantages may not be palpable, and hence in the choice of the State against which each of the two allies will direct his activities, one may have more chances of acquisition of gains than the other. There are also the dangers, patent or hidden, incidental to all hostile operations

<sup>1</sup> K., VII, ch. 13

between any two states, or peculiar to the circumstances existing at the time. The consideration of these advantages and disadvantages derivable by each of the two allies from the rear-attacks as mentioned above is the principal object of the chapter. It is noticeable that the existence of the two allies to whom the advantages or disadvantages accrue is not essential to the estimate of the advantages or disadvantages or to the consideration of the circumstances from which they are calculated to issue. For the purpose of such comparison, mere hypothetical cases comprising a set of three kings (the rear-invader, the invader, and the king invaded) supposed to be in the midst of varying situations could have served the same purpose without introducing the complications brought about by the existence of six kings within our view. But perhaps the Kautiliya wants also to make a pointed reference to the gains or losses likely to accrue to the two allies from the rear-attacks, and hence what could have been explained with a lesser amount of complication has to be done with two sets of six kings.

The circumstances in view of which the Kautiliya offers directions for the guidance of a king bent on taking to the appropriate course of action when a neighbouring king inimical to him is out or about to be out on an expedition against his enemy, are:

- I (a) If there be two kings, one strong and the other weak, and if both are out on expedition against their respective enemies, then of the two kings who are enemies (of the invading kings) in alliance in the rear, the one who attacks the strong king becomes a gainer, because the strong king after defeating his enemy in front would have grown stronger, and consequently could have brought about the ruin of his rear-enemy if he had not been thwarted during his expedition against the frontal enemy; while the other rear-enemy who attacks the weak king during his operations against the enemy in front does not make any gain, because left to himself, these operations alone would have weakened him further leaving in him no desire to make an attack upon the rear-enemy.
- (b) The other circumstances being the same as above, if the two kings invading their enemies be of equal strength, the rear-enemy who attacks the rear of the one who has made preparations on a vast scale (as opposed to the other who has made small preparations) becomes a gainer, the reason being the same as given above.
- (c) The other circumstances being the same as in (a), if the strength and preparations of two kings invading their enemies be

I.H,Q., DECEMBER, 1931

equal, the rear-enemy who attacks the rear of the one who brings all his forces to bear upon the invasion becomes a gainer, because the capital remains unguarded and the defeat becomes easy.

- (d) The other circumstances being the same as in (a) if, the strength, preparations, and the numerical strength of the army of two kings invading their enemies be equal, the rear-enemy attacking the king out on an expedition against a calāmitra (an enemy without forts) becomes a gainer, while the rear-enemy who attacks the king invading the territory of a sthitāmitra (i.e. an enemy with forts) does not make any gain, because the king who invades a calāmitra can be easily successful and can turn round to attack his enemy in the rear after the acquisition of strength by his success, while the other king who attacks an enemy possessing forts has no prospect of acquiring additional strength through success as he is sure to be repulsed by his enemy; further, he may come back without waging any war at all and therefore without having the occasion to suffer any loss of men and money. He is thus in a position to retaliate if his rear be attacked.
  - 2 There being the two sets of three kings as supposed already, the rear-enemy attacking the king who is out on an expedition against a king who happens to be dhārmika (righteous) becomes a gainer, because an attack from the rear upon such a king meets with the disapprobation even of his own men.

In similar circumstances, an advantage is also gained by the king who makes a rear-attack upon another inimical king who is out on an expedition against his enemy and is unpopular by reason of being (i) a spend-thrift in regard to patrimony (mūlahara), (ii) a squanderer of wealth acquired from time to time during his reign (tādātvika) or (iii) an accumulator of wealth by oppressing the officials and relations (kadarya).<sup>1</sup>

3 In a similar situation comprising two sets of three kings, the one who makes a rear-attack upon another who is invading the territory of the third king who was a mitra (friendly) but has now turned hostile to him, becomes a gainer because the hostility between the second and the third king was not likely to last long and hence he would have turned to fight with the enemy in the rear (i.e. the first king) shortly after, had he not been brought to bay beforehand in the present plight with one enemy in front and another in the rear.

I For the meanings of the terms, see K., II, ch. 9, p. 69.

- In this case the two sets of three kings are there, but in one set, the pārṣṇigrāha is attacking a king who is invading a mitra i.e. one who was friendly but is now hostile to him, while in the other set, the pārṣṇigrāha is attacking a king who is invading an amitra (i.e. a natural enemy). Here, the latter pārṣṇigrāha is a gainer, because by the ruin of an enemy the invader could have increased his strength and turned round towards the king who is now his pārṣṇigrāha to fight him perhaps successfully on account of his increased power, but by the rear-attack in the midst of his invasion against his enemy, an effective check can be put upon his power, reducing him to a weakened position. In regard to the former pārṣṇi-grāha, the state of things is different, because he is attacking a king who is waging a suicidal war with his former friend whose ruin would but serve to make the former weak and therefore unable to turn round to fight against the king who is now his pārṣṇigrāha.
- 5 Of two kings (in the two groups of three kings each as mentioned already), the one attacking from the rear another king who has returned unsuccessful (on account of the rear-attack) in his military operations against a third sovereign though he had expected much gain from same, or has suffered much loss in that unsuccessful attempt, becomes a gainer as contrasted with the other parsnigraha of another king who had not much expectation of gain even if he had been successful in his operations against his enemy and has actually returned unsuccessful but has not suffered much closs in this unsuccessful attempt on account of the rear-attack. The point to be noticed in the two cases is that the former parsnigraha is a gainer, because he had as his neighbour a strong enemy who could have reduced the inimical king in the rear to a humble position if he had been allowed to grow stronger by defeating his frontal enemy without any hindrance being put in his way by a rear-attack. The thwarting of this powerful king is therefore a distinct gain to the rear-invader; while in the other case, the king out on an invasion upon his enemy's territory had not much expectation of gain even if he had been successful and could not therefore have added much to his strength. Hence, he had not been so much a menace to the security of position of the parsnigraha and therefore the rear-attack does not confer upon him a real benefit as it does in the case of the other parsnigraha.
- 6 Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on expeditions against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king who comes back successful in his expedition inspite of the rear-attack

but has lost much in men and money gains more than the other pārṣṇigrāha of the king who comes back successful from his expedition in spite of the rear-attack and has suffered a much lesser loss in men and money.

- 7 Of the two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings out on invasion against their respective enemies, the pārṣṇigrāha of the king whose enemy is able to cause him much harm becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not have this advantage.
- 8 Of two pārṣṇigrāhas of two other kings engaged in attacks upon their enemies, the one who possesses a larger and more efficient army, and is fighting with a fort as his base of operations, or has his kingdom situated on either side (pārśvasthāyin) of that of the king attacked and is therefore near the yātavya (i.e. the yātavya of the king whose territory is invaded from the rear) becomes a gainer as compared with the other pārṣṇigrāha who does not possess these advantages. The advantages enjoyed by a pārśvasthāyin rear-invader is that being near the aforesaid yātavya, he can easily combine with him and make a raid upon the capital (of the king whose rear has been attacked).
- 9 Of two kings attacking the rear of a Madhyama (a State of medium power within the mandala) during its hostilities with its enemy, and coming back successful after such rear-attack, the one who has been able to alienate from the Madhyama a State friendly to it, or to convert an enemy of his own into a friend becomes a gainer than the other.

This also applies to the rear-invader of an Udāsīna (i.e., the Super State within the mandala).

According to the Ācāryas, success in both frontal invasion and rear-attack is achieved through mantrayuddha, i.e., causing losses to the enemy through secret agents and informants. A face to face fight in the open field brings about such a loss of men and money that a victory turns out to be a defeat in reality. Kauṭilya is of a different opinion and holds that the enemy should be put down at any cost. He, however, suggests one or two aspects of the question which should be kept in view by the two parties engaged in a fight. If the losses of men and money sustained by both the parties be equal, then the one who has first fought with the help of the dūṣyabala (army composed of recalcitrant men) and has lost it, loses less than the one who has not done so. Should both the parties have taken to this course, the one who has lost the dūṣyabala stronger and more recalcitrant than that of the other is a gainer. The same is the

case in regard to fights with the help of the amitra-bala and the atavi-

The rear invaders are of three kinds, viz.

- (a) Sāmantas i.e., those kings whose kingdoms are contiguous to the territory of the king attacked from the rear.
- (b) Pṛṣṭhatovarga, i.e., those kings whose kingdoms are separated from the territory of the king upon whom the rear-attack is made by reason of the existence of one or more other kingdoms.
- (c) Prativesas are those kings whose kingdoms are situated on either side of the king upon whom the rear-invasion is made.

Antardhi is a weak king with its territory intervening between those of two other powerful kings. Weak as he is, he is unable to make a rear-invasion. When attacked, he can be only on the defensive by stationing himself in a fort or a forest.

From what has been said above, it will be noticed that a king can either be an abhiyoktr, a yātavya or a pārṣṇigrāha, i.e., an invader, the king invaded, and the rear-invader with reference to one who has already proceeded against his frontal enemy. The following suggestions for the guidance of the aforesaid kings are offered:

As an abhiyoktr, he can have recourse to causing a fight to take place between his pārṣṇigrāha (rear-enemy) and ākranda (rear-friend) and also between his pārṣṇigrāhāsāra (friend of the rear enemy) and ākrandāsāra (friend of the rear friend). In front, he can also bring about a fight between his ari-mitra (friend of the enemy) and mitra (friend), and also between mitra-mitra (friend's friend) and ari-mitra-mitra (friend of the enemy's friend).

As a yātavya, he can cause his mitra to attack the rear of his enemy, and his mitra-mitra to face the ākranda of the enemy.

As a pārṣṇigrāha, he can reduce his difficulties by bringing about a conflict between his pārṣṇigrāhāsāra and ākranda.

In conclusion, the Kautiliya recommends to every king the stationing of envoys and secret agents in all the States of his mandala and thus keep himself and his principal officials informed of what is going on in those States. It is also maintained in inter-state relations though inimical measures may have to be taken in secret.

NARENDRA, NATH LAW

I The amitra-bala is obtained from a former enemy and the atavi-bala is recruited from the forest tribes (see K., IX, 2).

## On Some Castes and Caste-origins in Sylhet1

The bulk of the sources of information about castes is of the nature of tradition. The epigraphic records constitute the most authentic evidence, but their number is very few and the references contained therein are indirect. The literary accounts, such as the Dharmaśāstras (specially, the Parāśara-samhitā, and the Vyāsa-samhitā), the Purāṇas (specially, the Brahmavaivartta and the Padma), the Kulagranthas or Kulapañjikās etc., are vitiated by partiality, fabrication of facts and lack of historical sequence and criticism. In the genealogical accounts (vaṃśāvalī) of some of the prominent families of Bengal and Sylhet we have another source of information, but these accounts too, in most cases, contain unauthentic history.

Castes and sub-castes are still in the process of formation, and confusion of castes is but a normal though slow phenomenon of present day social life. Two typical cases of caste-formation in the present generation are known to me. In the Jaintia perganah a Brāhmaṇa family from the Brahmanbaria sub-division of the Tippera district settled down some seventy years ago on a Brahmottara grant of the Jaintia rāj. Two brothers only now survive in the family, and as its habitat is situated in a very out of the way place, matrimonial relations cannot be easily effected with other Brāhmaṇa families of the same status. The elder brother set up sometime ago a sort of marital relation with a female member of the Kumār caste living in the neighbourhood. As a result of this the family is now reduced to the position of a Varṇa Brāhmaṇa. In the other case, a 'Brāhmaṇa' Manipuri of Srimangal has introduced

The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:

EI=Epigraphia Indica. IA=Indian Antiquary. IB=Inscriptions of Bengal (V. R. Society, Rajshahi). EH=Smith's Early History of India (4th Edition). PI=People of India by Risley. VK=Viśvakoṣa by N. N. Vasu. CR=Census Report. SI=Srīhaṭṭer Itivṛṭṭa by Acyuta Candra Tattvanidhi, BJI=Baṅger Jātīya Itihāsa. IHQ=Indian Historical Quarterly, SII=South Indian Inscriptions by Hultzsch.

the Bengali system of naming in his family, inasmuch as he calls himself a 'Chatterjee.' In course of the second or the third generation, I am sure, the family will merge itself into the Bengali Brāhmaṇa community, claiming descent from some mythical ancestor.

### Brāhmanas

The brāhmaṇas may be considered under four different sections viz., the Vaidika with its sub-group, the Sāmpradāyika; the Rāḍhi and the Vārendra; the Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas; and the Grahavipras or Gaṇakas. None of these sections with perhaps the exception of a few classes of Varṇa-Brāhmaṇa claims to have originated in the district. Most believe themselves to be settlers from outside.

The Vaidika-Sāmpradāyikas are regarded as the earliest of the Brāhmana settlers of Sylhet and the tradition goes that they migrated from Mithila (North Behar). As a matter of fact they follow the Smrti of the Mithila school in preference to that of the Bengal school. It is significant in this connection to mention that the Mithila school is the older of the two. Three Kulagranthas-Vaidika-samvādini, Vaidikapuravrtta, and Vaidika-nirnaya-written in modern times allege that a king of Tripurā named Ādi-dharmaphā brought five Vaidika Brāhmanas from Mithila in 641 A.D. in order to assist him in his performance of a Yajña ceremony. The king finally persuaded the Brahmanas to settle down in Brahmottaras granted by him. This gift, it is further alleged, was recorded in a copper-plate now lost. We are further told that in 1195 A.D. another migration from Kanauj followed and a king of Tripura granted by a copper-plate charter extensive lands to one Nidhipati.1 But there is no evidence to show that the copper-plate ever existed,2 although it is possible that a historical background lies behind this tradition. New light is however thrown on the problem of migration of the Vaidikas to Sylhet by the

I Banger Jātīya Itihās (Brāhmaņakānda) by N. N. Vasu, part II, 185-186; SI., bk. II, pt. I, pp. 56 and 64; Gait's History of Assam, 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> SI., bk. II, ch. I, 67; Vaidika-samasyā by Mahendra Chandra Kāvyatīrtha (Silchar).

discovery of a series of copper-plates in the Pancakhanda perganah of the Sylhet district. The students of Indian history are grateful to Mm. Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyavinod for publishing the inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indica. The Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions1 of King Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa, dated circa 650 A.D., record the renewal of the grant of an extensive Brahmottara to some 200 Brāhmaņas of different gotras and padavīs (family titles) by king Bhūtivarman, great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, about 500 A.D. For reasons stated in the appendix I take it that the inscriptions relate to the settlement of a big batch of Brāhmanas in and about modern Pañcakhanda in Sylhet about 500 A.D. and onwards.2 The kings of Kämarupa which included Sylhet (see appendix), seem to have adopted a systematic policy of inviting brahmanas to their kingdom. It is apparently for this reason that Kāmarūpa became a centre of Brahmanical faith, and the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang, writing in the seventh century A.D., informs us that the devas were worshipped there and Buddhism had no hold whatever.3 Now, wherefrom did the Brahmana settlers come? From an examination of the names of the donees we come across the following padavis: Ghosa, Deva, Datta, Dāma, Sena, Soma, Pālita, Kunda, Pāla, Dāsa, Bhatti, Bhūti, Nāga, Mitra, Nandī. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar tells us that most of these padavis are still to be found among the Nagara Brāhmaṇas of Gujerat and that the padavī Nāgara is to be met with in the name of a Sylhet Brāhmana of the 15th century A.D.4 We further note that the tutelary deity of the Nagara Brahmanas was, and still is, Hāṭakeśvara. It is highly interesting to note that in several places in Sylhet, e.g., at Churkhai, Pancakhanda and Gutatikar Hāṭakeśvara-śiva is worshipped.6 Hāṭakeśvara-śiva is also known as Hațța-natha or Hațțanatha-siva, and I have no doubt that the very

I El., XII, 65-79; XIX, 115-125, 245-250.

<sup>2</sup> After having written this paper I came across Mr. Ghosh's valuable contribution on the grant of Bhāskaravarman and the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas published in I. H. Q., 1930, No. 1, pp. 60-71. I am agreeably surprised to find out that our conclusions are materially the same; there are however certain new matters which I have tried to bring to light.

<sup>3</sup> Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> I. H. Q., 1930, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

name Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) is derived from the name of this sept-deity of the Nāgara Brāhmanas. The conclusion is irresistible that the emperors of Kāmarūpa pursued a systematic policy of colonising Sylhet with Nāgara Brāhmanas and thereby introducing orthodox Hinduism1 in the outlying parts of the empire. The original seat of the Nagara Brāhmaņas was the Sapādalakṣa (Siwalik) hills in the Punjab and it is likely that they were settled in Mithila about the time of Bhūtivarman.

As a matter of fact among the Maithil or Tirhutiya Brahmanas of Behar there is a section called Nagar.2 It is thus highly probable that the Nagar Brahmanas of Mithila colonised Sylhet. A section of the Vaidik Brahmanas of Sylhet calls itself Sampradayika. As far as I know there is no special significance of this expression. I have therefore a suspicion that it is only a modern literary infiltration of the long-forgotten significant term Sapādalakṣa. Sapādalakṣa Brāhmaņas, we note, are mentioned in the Karatoyā-māhātmya.3

The Rādhi Brāhmanas of Sylhet, as can be gathered from the genealogical accounts of some families, migrated to the district from Rāḍh (roughly Burdwan and Hooghly). The small community of the Värendra Brahmanas similarly migrated from Varendra-Bhūmi (North Bengal). No definite date can be assigned to these migrations. In a few cases genealogy takes us back to the 15th or 16th century A.D. But perhaps the Marhatta raids, popularly known as 'Bargir-hāngāma', of the 18th century caused these migrations. The Varna-Brāhmanas are those brahmanas who cater for the religious and spiritual needs of the so-called depressed classes. This group consists of two sections, one formed by the selection of certain persons by a particular caste, and the other is that of the brahmanas who have degraded themselves to the extent of attending to the needs of the low castes. This latter class is also known as 'Patita-Brāhmanas' or sometimes as Śrotrīya-Brāhmaṇas. The Nāthas or Yugīs (Yogīa) who at one time were regarded as a weaving caste, select even now amongst themselves their own priests whom they called Mahantas or Mahātmās. Some of the Yogī-Brāhmanas are now claiming themselves to be of a different origin and are assuming the padavis 'Sarma'

Cf. Avakīrņa-varņāśrama-dharma-pravibhāgāya in line 35 and prakāsitāryadharmālokah in line 37 of the Nidhanpur Plate of Bhāskara-varman (EI., XII, 75).

<sup>2</sup> PI., 163; VK., XV, 405.

<sup>3 1.</sup>H.Q., 1930, no. 1, 70.

'Cakravarti' etc. Similarly, a body of Mālī-Brāhmaņas are calling themselves simply brāhmaṇas and are trying to merge themselves into the higher caste.¹ The small community of the 'Gour-Govindi' Brāhmaṇas attached to the 'Pātar' caste of the Sadar Sub-division has been probably formed by selection. Most of the Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas are apparently indigenous. There is no evidence to show that they migrated here from some other place.

The Grahavipras or Gaṇakas or Ācāryas who pursue Astrology (including Astronomy) and kindred mystic lore for their main occupation claim to be brāhmaṇas, and are also known as Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, that is, Brāhmaṇas of Śaka origin. According to tradition Gaṇaka was born of a Śākadvīpī father and a Vaiśya mother.<sup>2</sup> The Śakas penetrated into India from the North-west from about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. onwards.<sup>3</sup> The route of migration followed by the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas from Western India to Sylhet was probably through Bengal. The Hindu society required and still requires their services for multifarious ceremonies and rites. In the caste-scale the Gaṇakas and Grahavipras occupy a low position among the brāhmaṇas. As they are claiming rank with high caste brāhmaṇas, their number is diminishing.<sup>4</sup>

### Vaidyas and Kāyasthas

The distinction between the two castes, however wide it may be in Bengal, is not at all noticeable in Sylhet, and free marital relations are established between them. This is very significant from the standpoint of history. The intelligentsia of the two communities are trying to establish claims to be regarded as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas<sup>5</sup>, and in their attempts to study history from their own particular view-point, important facts of social history have been either lost sight of or twisted. Thus, inspite of the fact that the

I CR. (Assam), 1921, vol. III, pt. I, 147.

<sup>2</sup> VK., V, 196-197; SI., bk. I, ch. 7, p. 71; Jāti-purāvitta by Paṇḍit Sūryakumār Tarka-sarasvatī (Silchar), 93; Sambandha-nirṇaya by Lalmohan Vidyānidhi (Calcutta, 1909), 657.

<sup>3</sup> B/I. (Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa), bk. II, pt. 4; IA., XL, 18.

<sup>4</sup> CR., vol. IV, (Assam), pt. 1901, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> VK., HI, 578 and XIX, 528, B/I., Kāyastha-kaṇḍu; Vaidyajātir Itihās by Basanta Kumar Sen-Gupta; Kāyastha Purāṇa by Sasibhusan Nandi.

Sena kings of Bengal call themselves 'Brahma-Kşatriyas'1, they are regarded as Kāyasthas by one class of writers2 and as Vaidyas by another class.3 Now, we note that all over the Punjab, Rajputana, Kathiawar, Gujerat and the Deccan there is a caste called 'Brahmakṣatra, which as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, was originally constituted of Nagar Brahmanas. We may thus regard a section at least of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas as belonging to the same stock, that is, Nagar Brahmanas. If the arguments put forth above are sound, the Brāhmaņas, Vaidyas, and Kāyasthas should be regarded as originally belonging to the same stock. It is very well-known that the terms 'Kāyastha' and 'Vaidya' at one time indicated only two functional groups of scribes or royal courtiers and physicians respectively. Speaking about Sylhet we thus note that in the Nidhanpur copperplate inscription the word 'Kāyastha' is used in the sense of a scribe or some royal functionary, and no caste is meant. It is also a matter of common knowledge that nowhere except in Bengal the Vaidyas are regarded as a distinct caste. The second Bhatera copper plate inscription, dated circa 11th or 12th century A.D. tells us of one Vanamāli-kar, "the light of the Vaidya-vamśa." The expression 'Vaidya-vamsa' does not necessarily imply 'Vaidya-jāti' or Vaidya caste, but apparently a family that produced physicians. Inspite of his family-tradition to be a physician Vanamāli, however, served the king as 'Rāja pattalika' (Keeper of Royal Documents), an office akin to that of a Kāyastha. In Sylhet thus no clear-cut distinction between Vaidyas and Kāyasthas grew up from historical times. Sylhet was also unaffected when in the twelfth century A.D. king Vallalasena of Bengal introduced 'Kulinism' to prevent confusion of castes. This accounts for the reason as to why the Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Sylhet are looked down upon by the Bengal castes.

4

The padavīs of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas are also to some extent the same. Thus, to mention a few instances, Sena, Gupta, Dutta, Nāg, Dās, Pālit, Candra, Kar, Nandī, Kuṇḍu, Pāl, Dhar, Deva, Som,

I Or, Karnāța-Kṣatriyas. 1B., III, 46, 110. 2 See p. 720, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 4 EH., 435-436; EI., XII, II.

<sup>5</sup> El., XII, 75, line 49 (Cf. Lekhayitā in line 50).

<sup>6</sup> PASB., 1880, 153, lines 24-25; Rājapaṭṭalikaḥ kṛti vaidya-vaṃśa-pradīpaḥ śrī-vanamāli-karaḥ. I intend to publish a revised reading of the inscription. For a discussion of the date of the Bhatera plates see EI., XIX, 278.

Raksit, Aditya, Indra, Adya, Biśvās, Rājavamsī and Guha are looked upon as both Vaidya and Kāyastha titles.1 It is noteworthy that most of these surnames with the additional common epithet 'Svāmī' were in vogue among the Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet of about 500 A.D.2 Even now the above-mentioned titles (without the epithet 'Svāmī') prevail among a certain section of the Vaidika Brāhmanas of Cuttuck Midnapur and the Deccan.3 This coincidence of padavīs or paddhatis among the Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas may be accounted for thus: originally the same caste, the Nagar Brahmanas, pursued the three respectable professions of priest-craft, medicine and government service. But the functional differences created a tendency towards a split specially when people of the Dasa caste (see below) began to be admitted into the ranks of royal courtiers. The situation was accentuated by the 'hypergamous' marriage-custom (anulomavivāha) that, I suppose, prevailed among the Nāgara or Vaidika Brahmanas of Sylhet. We notice that the males of the Maithil or Tirhutiya group of Nāgar Brāhmanas are even now allowed to marry the females of a lower caste under the 'Anuloma' custom.4 The issue of such marriages occupy a lower rank than their fathers 'but a higher rank than their mothers'. Such a sociological phenomenon may have slowly taken place through the centuries that passed between circa 500 A.D. and our own times. Movement of families or individuals from one place to another combined with the drawing up of faked genealogies easily covered up, as they do now, such caste-origins. The real padavīs, Sena, Datta, Soma, Pālita etc., were transferred from fathers to sons, while fathers themselves retained in contradistinction only the epithet 'Svāmī' or its equivalents Gosvāmī,

I VK., III, 578 (Kāyastha): Vaidya-jātir-itihās, vol. I, 233ff. See also Candraprabha quoted in vol. II, 3.

<sup>2</sup> EI., XIX, 121-125 and 248-250. Compare the state of things in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. In the Rampal copper plate of Śricandra the padavī of a Brāhmaṇa family is Gupta-Śarman (IB., 5, lines. 27-28). In the Belāva plate of Bhoja Varman, dated c. 11th or 12th century A.D. we find the name of a Brāhmaṇa family with the title Deva Śarman (IB., 21, ll. 43-45). See also I. H. Q., 1930, No. 1, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> VK., XIX, 487, 490; the titles, in vogue in these places are Kar, Dhar, Rath, Nandi, Dasa, Pati, Bhadra etc.

<sup>4</sup> PI., 215; VK., XV, 405.

Bhattācharyya, Cakravartti etc. It is exceedingly interesting to note that even now a section of the Kāyasthas (or Vaidyas) of Sylhet uses the padavīs, Svāmī and 'Gosvāmī.' In the padavī 'Purakāyastha' or 'Purkāit' (meaning the head scribe or chief courtier), which is so common among the Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Sylhet, there is probably a survival of the caste affinity described above. It is possible that the disciples of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nidhanpur plates, whatever their caste might have been, assumed the padavīs of their preceptors, who, in contradistinction to their clientele, called themselves 'Svāmī' or its variants.

Finally, we should note that the migrations of Vaidyas and Kāyasthas from Bengal as well as close association with Bengal have been accentuating the distinction between the two castes.

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#### Dasas and their sub-castes

It has been pointed out above that in early times (between circa 500 A.D. and 1100 A.D.) the distinction between the Brahmanas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas was not acute and was based more or less upon functional differences. The ranks of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, on account of their respectability and professional value, were swelled by accretions from the lower ranks through the adoption of certain. common padavīs, such as, Datta, Dāsa, Sena. In earlier times, I think, the humbler ranks went by the general name 'Dasa, i.e., of the 'Dāsa-kula' which stood in contrast to the Deva-kulas or Devas or the twice-born formed by the above-named three castes. In the 2nd Bhatera copper plate inscription we read of the 'conscientious Sri Mādhava the scion of the Dāsa-kula' and of 'Śrī-Vanamāli-kar, the light of the Vaidya-vamśa'.2 In these expressions it is noticeable that Srī-Mādhava does not bear any family surname. We only know that he belonged to the Dasa caste or clan. He was however an educated as the expression 'conscientious' (viveki) implies. In the

I The Purakāyasthas of Sylhet seem to correspond to the Jyestha-Kāyastha or Prathama-Kāyastha of the Damodarapur plates (EI., XV), or of the Pāla inscriptions (see Gaudalekhamālā). Compare also "Mahākāyastha" of the Ramganj Copper plate of Īśvaraghoṣa (IB., 153, l. 15).

<sup>2</sup> PASB, 1880, p. 153, line 31: Vivekī Śrī-Mādhavo dāsakulāvatamsah; and line 25: Vaidyavamsapradīpah Śrī-vanamālikarah.

case of Sri-Vanamāli-kar his family surname as well as his family-rank is mentioned. Evidently there is an indirect reference to their belonging to the two 'kulas, one to the Dāsa-kula and the other to the Deva-kula. An interesting survival of this broad distinction between the two kulas is still noticeable. In Hindu marriages or other religious ceremonies either of the expressions 'Deva' or 'Dāsa' is used according as the performer of such ceremonies is a twice-born or not, in connection with the uttering of sacred formulas (mantras). A Dāsa in Sylhet nowadays may be a Vaidya (with the additional padavī Gupta), a Kāyastha, a Kaivartta (or Jālika), a Māhiṣya (or Cāṣṣ̄-Kaivartta) or Hālika. a Sāhā, and a Sūdra. Under what category then shall we reckon an educated man like Śr̄-Mādhava of of the Bhatera plate? It is thus apparent that the Dāsakula or Dāsa clan or tribe or caste was sub-divided into a number of sub-castes whom we may consider under the following five groups:

I The wealthy and the educated among the Dāsakula sought rank among the Vaidyas, Kāyasthas or even among the Brāhmaṇas as Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas (e.g., the Dāsa-Brāhmaṇas). The padavī 'Dāsa' was and still is a convenient doorway to allow passage to these ranks. This also explains why a section of the Dāsas of Sylhet claims rank

above the Kāyasthas.

2 Sāhās and Śuṇḍis: The trading section came to be called Sāhās or Sāhus (Sāu) as well as Śuṇḍis. The words 'Sāhā', 'Sāhu' are connected with the words 'Sādhu (and 'Sārthavāha) implying tradesmen.¹ When the appellations Sāhā and Sāhu, so widely in vogue in Bengal and other parts of India from early times² were adopted by the Dāsas, it was not difficult for the authors of the Kulapañjikās to connect them with some ancient Indian caste or sub-caste. Thus a section of the Sāhās still carrying on trade call themselves Vaiśyas or Vaiśya-Sāhās, while others identify themselves with the Kāyasthas or even with the Vaidyas.³ The Śuṇḍis⁴ occupy a lower rank than the Sāhās, wine-distillation being their main occupation. There is however a tendency among them to use the padavī 'Sāhā' and to claim rank with the Vaiśya-Sāhās. According to tradition the Śuṇḍis were born of a Vaiśya father and a Tīvara mother or of a Kaivartta father

as well. See VK., XXI, 527. 2 VK., XXI, 526.

<sup>3</sup> SI., bk. I, ch. 7, 80; VII., Vaisya-Kānda, vol. I, 358-363.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently derived from Sunda, liquor (Jatipuratativa, 112).

and a Ganikā (harlot) mother. It is reasonable to think that this section received accretions from time to time from other parts of India through Bengal and Assam.<sup>2</sup>

- 3 Cāṣī-Kaivarttas or Māhiṣyas or Hālika or Hāluā-dāsas: The section that took to cultivation came to be called the Hālikas or Hāluā-dāsas or Cāṣī-kaivarttas or Māhiṣya-dāsas or simply Māhiṣyas. As Māhiṣyas, this section claims descent from the Māhiṣaka tribe referred to in the Mahābhārata; the Māhiṣakas however appear to be Mlecchas, that is, non-Aryans.2 Nevertheless they were a very powerful caste or clan, and so far as Bengal is concerned they are strongly represented in Midnapur, North Bengal (specially Rajsahi and Pabna), East Bengal (specially Mymensingh), Jessore and Nadia. From historical times the Mahisyas occupied an important position. Students of Indian history are well acquainted with the successful rebellion led by the Caṣī-kaivartta caste under Divya or Divyoka against King Mahipāla II of Varendra (North Bengal) about 1080 A.D.4 One of their royal lines ruled at Tamluk as late as 1654.5 Some of the leading families of Sylhet claim to represent the old Māhiṣya caste. It is quite possible that some migrations took place specially from Mymensingh which is so contiguous to the district. Some of the Patnis who happen to be cultivators are calling themselves Māhiṣya-dāsas to the considerable chagrin of the educated section. The Jalia-Kaivarttas are also adopting this padavi. The number of the Māhiṣya-dāsas are apparently on the increase. The decennial Census operations have been accelerating the speed of this upward movement.
- 4 Kaivarttas or Jālika or Jāluā-dāsa: The Kaivarttas or Kaivartta-dāsas have been following the profession of fishing and, to some extent, that of boatman. They have their counter-part in the Mahimāls or Maimāls among Muhammadans of the district. The Kaivarttas are mentioned in ancient Indian literature as of mixed origin; and in the Manusamhitā (X. 34) they are given the epithet 'Dāsa.'6 From their ethnographical distribution it appears that

I SI., bk. I, ch. 7, 80; VK., XXI, 527.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BJI., Vaiśya-Kāṇḍa, vol. I, 363.

<sup>3</sup> VK., IV, 497-498; XIV, 700.

<sup>4</sup> EH., 415-416; Gaudarājamālā, 48. 5 VK., IV. 498.

<sup>6</sup> VK., IV, 495-500.

along with the Namasūdras they were the earliest inhabitants of Bengal and of Sylhet. A section of the Kaivarttas of Sylhet are gradually becoming Vaisnavas, a sectarian caste. The Jālikas occupy a lower rank than the Hālikas.

5 Śūdras: A non-descript body under the name Śūdras or 'Śūdradāsas' may also be regarded at belonging to the Dāsa-kula. It is justly pointed out that the term "Śūdra" is now used 'to denote a considerable number of castes of moderate respectability, the higher of whom are considered 'clean' Śūdras, while the precise status of the lower is a question which lends itself to endless controversy'. In Sylhet 166,000 were reported to be Śūdras in the census of 1921. This large number, we note, was due to many Pātnis, Jāliā-Kaivarttas and others having assumed this caste-name. As far as I know some Namaśūdras are also assuming the padavī 'Śūdra-dāsa.'

A Śūdra group known generally as 'Golāms' (domestic slaves) owes its origin to a sort of concubinage between a high caste male and a low caste female employed as a maid-servant. These assume the padavīs Singh, Dāsa, De, Deb, Pāl, Pait, Sena, Dutta, Rakṣita, Bhāndāri etc. and often bear the family cognomen of 'Puti', 'Dādī' etc. They were known at one time as Śūdras, and though this epithet still survives, to some extent, the general tendency on their part is to call themselves Kāyasthas. With the progress of education and culture, the 'Golām' class is fast disappearing. As compared with the Sūdra-dāsas, Kaivartta-dāsas or Namaśūdras the Golām caste is considered 'clean'.

K. M. GUPTA

I CR., 1901 (Ethnographic App.). For their transformation from a tribe into a caste see PI., 126. Cf. the tradition preserved in the "Datta-Vamśāvalī" by Kavi Gopināth Datta of Sylhet (18th century):

জানহ শ্রীষ্ট্রনামে আছে পূর্ব্বদেশ। ব্রহ্মপুত্রের পূর্ব্বে স্থান আছে সবিশেষ। শ্রোব্রিয় না ছিল কেহ সকল কৈবর্ত্ত। শ্রীহট্টে বসতি করে এই লোক যত। চক্রপাণিদত্ত by বস্ত্তকুমার সেন (p. 82).

<sup>2</sup> PI., 114. 3 CR., 1921, vol. III, pt. I (Assam), 147.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Sūdra caste of Bengal and the Shagirdpesha of Orissa (PI. 84). See Sambandha-nirnaya (Lalmohan Vidyanidhi), 209.

### The Chando-Vedanga of Pingala

### I Identification of the Work

The date of the work on Sanskrit prosody which is ascribed to Pingala is uncertain. Weber who made a very thorough and extensive study of ancient Indian metres assigned it to 'a period simultaneous with the close of the Vedic Sūtra literature, or the commencement of the astronomical and algebraical literatures'. His principal argument for placing this work at such a late date seems to have been that Pingala treated of highly elaborated metres found in the post-Vedic Sanskrit poetry. After Weber had dealt with the subject the Bharata-Nātyaśāstra which deals with metres in one of its chapters came to light. The treatment of Sanskrit metres in this work is less developed than that of the extant Pingala-sutras. Both these works have metres under the three principal heads such as jāti, viṣama (ardhasama) and samavṛtta. But the number of metres which the two works have under these principal heads differs very much. Their number in the Bharata-Nātyašāstra is much smaller than that in the Pingala-sutras. A comparative table given below will make it clear.2

Kind of metre Num	nber in Bharata NŚ.	Number in Pingala
Jāti metres	alias Virginiais au b	30-1-
Viṣama (Ardhasama) metres	enemics of Continues of Continu	35
Samavrtta metres	on 38 model a Alexand	76

In view of these figures one can place Pingala after the Natyaśāstra. This brings down the date of Pingala to a time after 400 A.C.-700 A.C.<sup>3</sup>

I Hist. of Ind. Literature, London 1914, pp. 60, 231, and Indische Studien, viii, pp. 173, 178.

The Chowkhamba Edn. of the Natyaśastra has been used for this table as also the edition of Pingala-sūtras occurring in a work on ancient Indian prosody by one A. B. published in 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Bharata-Nātyaśāstra has been assigned to various dates by different scholars. Vide Winternitz's Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III, p. 8; and S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, pp. 23ff.

But such a late date for Pingala creates one difficulty. Of the six works which treat of Vedic metres, the treatment of the subject in the Pingala-sūtra and the Śānkhāyanaśrauta sūtra appears to be rather crude and inadequate when compared with the rest. Now such an inadequate treatment of Vedic metres at an age when works like the Nidanasutra, Rk-pratisakhya, and Anukramanis have already made more e'aborate studies of the subject cannot be satisfactorily explained. That the person who could make an exhaustive treatment of classical metres should have perfunctorily done his part while handling Vedic metres does not seem to be plausible. The degree of plausibility further diminishes when it is remembered that Pingala's sutras have been traditionally known as the Chando-Vedānga. One may therefore be inclined to surmise that the treatment of Vedic and non-Vedic metres in the Tingala-sutra is not by the same author. And indeed when Weber thought that Pingala's chapters II & III on the Vedic prosody were more ancient than the remaining parts and they might belong to the original Pingalasūtras, he probably lent support to such a view.2

A careful study of the extant *Pingala-sūtra* is likely to confirm one's belief in the possibility of the dual authorship of the work. The first thing that will strike a careful observer is that chapters II & III dealing exclusively with Vedic metres bear no organic relation with the rest of the work. If they are taken out, chapters I, IV-VIII (excepting the first seven sūtras of the chapter IV) will make a perfect treatise on metres of classical Sanskrit. The existence of these seven sūtras in chapter IV will be accounted for later on.

Writers on Vedic prosody without a single exception ignore the rules of sequence (i.e. the scheme of short and long syllables). The only thing which concerned them was classifying metres according to the number of syllables in a foot in a stanza and giving names to them. This latter characteristic is to be found in chapters II and III of the *Pingala-sūtras*. They do not at all trouble themselves about the quantity (shortness or length) of syllables in a pāda of any Vedic stanza. Thus the chapter I of the *Pingala-sūtra* which invents technical terms to designate different metres of three syllables, and describes measures used in scanning syllabic verses does not bear any organic relation to chapters II and III of this work. It may therefore be

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Indische Studien, viii.

Weber, Indian Literature, p. 60.
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concluded that these chapters II and III of the Pingala-sūtras constitute the original sūtra-work of Pingala on Chando-Vedūnga (Vedic prosody). It may be argued that sajnās and paribhāṣās are always placed in the beginning and hence these definitions of technical terms have been, as a matter of course, placed at the beginning of the work. But this argument probably does not apply here. For, Pāṇini, the author of the very type of sūtra-works, has definitions at the beginning, because they relate to all sections of the work. So it is to be expected that definitions placed in the beginning of Pingala's work will be related to all the following sections. But this is not actually the case.

There is, however, one difficulty in our taking the two chapters as a separate work; for there remain still seven sūtras (in the beginning of chapter IV) which deal with Vedic metres. But on a closer examination of chapter III one discovers that the six closing sūtras of chapter III bear unmistakable indications that the author has brought his subject of treatment (of Vedic metres) to a close with the last sūtra of the chapter. These six sūtras together with a translation of them (according to authoritative commentaries) are given below:

- 61. āditah sandigdheh—When a metre is doubtful, the first foot determines it.
  - 62. devatāditasca—Also the deity etc.
- 63. agnih savitā somo bṛhaspatir mitrāvaruṇā indro visvedevāh—Agni, Savitṛ, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Mitrā-Varuṇā, Indra and Visve-devāh are respectively the deities of the seven metres (such as Gāyatrī etc., vide II, I and I4).
- 64. svarāh ṣadjādayah—The seven notes such as ṣadja and the rest are respectively the notes of the seven metres.
- 65. sita-sāranga piśanga-kṛṣṇa-nīla-lohita gaurā varṇāh—White. variegated, brown, black, blue, red and golden are the colours of the seven metres.
- 66. āgnīvesya-kāsyapa-gautamā-ngirasa-bhārgava-kausika-vāsisthāni gotrānīti—The seers of the seven metres respectively belong to these seven families.

Now from an examination of the above six sūtras it is evident that the author ends the treatment of his subject (Vedic metres) with the close of the chapter III. Hence the sūtras (on the Vedic metres) coming after this may be presumed as spurious or later

additions. An examination of the first seven sūtras of chapter IV of the extant Pingala-sūtra also shows that they are not from the hand of the author of chapters II and III. These seven sūtras of ch. IV simply give the number of syllables that super-sized Vedic metres like atisakvarī and atyaṣṭi etc. contain. They, unlike sūtras of chapter III, do not give us any information regarding the length and number of pādas (feet). Hence, they may be regarded as later additions but still are much anterior to the work on classical prosody ascribed to Pingala.

Now in spite of all these facts it may be asked why and how the original Pingala-sūtras came to be dovetailed in a treatise on classical Sanskrit prosody.<sup>2</sup> The answer would probably be that the author of chapters I, IV-VIII of the extant Pingala-sūtra with a view to claim a greater antiquity and authority for his work and to give it a wider currency introduced the work of Pingala in his own work.<sup>3</sup>

I Assumption of the existence of new metres is not at all indispensable in dealing with Vedic poetry. An atisakvarī stanza can be called, according to chapters II and III of Pingala, the combination of Gāyatrī and Brhatī. Pingala (in chapter III. 61) says that when the metre is doubtful, the first foot determines it. Similarly an ātyaṣti stanza is a combination of Jagatī and Brhatī (vide Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students, pp. 4445). Thus the treatment of Vedic prosody in the Rk-prātišākhya and similar works, which deal with metres other than those mentioned in chapter II of Pingala, makes no real advance on Vedic prosody.

<sup>2</sup> Every one knows that the work— $s\bar{u}tra$ -work too—on  $Pr\bar{a}krta$  prosody going by the name of Pingala belongs to a different author and to a different period. If this work had not been on the prosody of  $Pr\bar{a}krta$  poetry we would possibly have found it along with the  $S\bar{u}tra$ -work on Vedic and classical metres.

<sup>3</sup> Instances of such joining together of works on the same subject written at different times were not at all rare in ancient India. Satyavrata Sāmāśrāmī is of opinion that the Nighantu and the Nirukta proper are two different works. See his Niruktālocana, Cal. 1907 p. 15. This has also been made patent by Prof. Sköld. And his suggestion that the Pūrva and the Uttara Satakas of the Nirukta were compositions of different times may not be dismissed lightly (vide his Nirukta: Its place in the old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies, 1926). CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Therefore it may be concluded that chapters II and III of the extant Pingala-sūtras constitute the original work of Pingala on the Vedic prosody. This view is further strengthened by the first sūtra of chapter II which is really the beginning of the work. For it reads 'chandah' which means that the work is to discuss Vedic metres. This is an additional reason why one should challenge the position of chapter I. For, will not the sūtra reading 'chandah' find a fitter place in the beginning of the whole work. That a pūda has been defined long after the word occurs in the beginning of ch. II, in the tenth sūtra of chapter IV, very clearly shows the separateness of the two portions of the work dealing with Vedic and Classical prosody. Thus it may be concluded that chapters II and III of the exta t Pingala-sūtras constitute the original Vedānga Chandah-sūtras of Pingala, while the chapters on classical metres a much later work.

### 2 The Date of the Work

The study of prosody began indeed very early in India. "The singers of the (Vedic) hymns," says Weber, "most naturally have been cognisant of the metrical laws observed in them." The technical names of some of the Vedic metres are found even in the later sūktas of the Rg-veda. And in the Brāhmaṇas the oddest tricks are played with them. The earlier portion of the Rāmāyaṇa (II-VI), which has been assigned to 400-300 B.C., several times mentions Chandas as well as the Vedāngas which included them. The mention of the Śikṣā, one of the six Vedāngas in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, enables us to trace the existence of a Chando-Vedānga even before 500 B.C.,—a date fixed by Prof. Macdonell as the lowest limit of the

In taking the word 'chandas' in the sense of 'Vedic metre' one has the authority of Pāṇini who metonymically used the word to mean the Vedas. That the word subsequently came to be applied to classical metres does not, however, invalidate this earlier sense. Also see Macdonell, op. cit., p. 436 f.n. I.

<sup>2</sup> This first sūtra introduces the subject. Similar phenomenon is observed in other sūtra-works

<sup>3</sup> History of Indian Lit., London, 1914, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Macdonell, op. cit., pp. 307f.

date of the Brāhmana literarure. For, there is every reason to believe that the study of prosody synchronised with, if not preceded,

that of phonetic studies.

But in spite of a very clear indication of the fact that the Vedic prosody came to be studied during the first half of the millennium before Christ we do not possess any definite knowledge about any work of any author of this period. Works (excepting Pingala and Sānkhāyana Sr. Sūtras) which deal with the Vedic prosody are in the opinion of scholars to be placed between 500 B.C. and 200 B.C. Rk-prātisākhya which treats of Vedic metres in much greater detail than Pingala, is evidently posterior in time to the latter. Vedānga Chandas-sūtras may be assigned to a period between 600 B.C. and 500 B.C., if not earlier. But fortunately for us the lower limit of the age of Pingala's Vedānga Chandas-sūtras can be pushed further back.

The Nirukta of Yāska explains the etymology of the word pipīlika-madhyā³ a word which is not to be found in the Vedas but has been used by Pingala as the name of an irregular metre. And this word is not to be found in the Rh-prātiśākhya. This makes it probable that Yāska deals with the very word of Pingala and in that case Pingala may be anterior to Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. This view seems to receive further corroboration from another fact which is discussed below.

The Nirukta of Yāska mentions 'Pārṣadāni' which evidently stands for Pārṣada Sūtras, alias the Rk-prātišākhya of the Saunaka school. Now the Nirukta has been placed in 500 B.C., i.e., a century earlier than Pāṇini who according to scholars has mentioned Yāska the author of the Nirukta. But as we shall see afterwards, Yāska mentioned by Pāṇini was probably not the reputed author of the Nirukta but a predecessor of his, belonging to the same gotra. Hence Yāska of the Nirukta did not probably belong to so early an age and his date might be fixed at 400 B.C., if not later by a century or so. This date for Yāska would place the Rk prātišākhya in 500 B.C. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1905, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Works like the Nidāna Sūtra, Rk-prātisākhya, Anukramaņis of the Rk and the Yajur veda are assigned to a period between 500 B.C. and 200 B.C., vide Macdonell—Hist. of Sanskrit Lit., chapter IX.

<sup>3</sup> Nirukta, ch. VII, 8-9, 6; ch. II, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Nirukta, ch. I, 6, 1. Jivānanda ed. Cal. 1891.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell thinks that the Prātisākhyas in an older form were known to Pāṇini, See his Hist. of Sanskrit Literature, p. 266.

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the Vedānga Chandas-sūtras of Pingala will tentatively have to be assigned to about 600, B.C. 1

The personality of Pingala is more obscure than his time. There is no means of knowing either his parentage or his native place. "The name of Paingya," says Weber, "belongs to one of the sages mentioned in the Brahmana (Satapatha) of the White Yajus and elsewhere, from whose family Yāska Paingī was descended, and probably also Pingala, the author of a treatise on metre."2 From all that has been said above about the date of Pingala this surmise of Weber seems to be plausible. The name Paingin which is undoubtedly connected with that of Pingala 'is frequently mentioned in early writings, and a Paingi-Brahmana must still have been in existence even in Sayana's time, for he repeatedly refers to it.' The Paingī-kalpa is expressly3 referred to by the commentator of Pānini. Besides this, Paingin appears in the Kāndānukrama of the Atreyi school where he is described as the pupil of Vaisampāyana and the teacher of Tittiri,4 and in a Sama Sutra (Anupada Sutra) Paingins are mentioned as one of the schools of the Rg-veda.5 All these facts make it very probable that Pingala, the author of the Vedūnga Chandas-sutras, did flourish at a time in the latter half of the Brahmana period when names like Paingya and Paingin were common. Thus no serious objection can probably be raised against a tentative date of 600 B.C. for Pingala. The difficulty which the mention of Yāska by Pingala creates may be explained by the fact that there is nothing to show that this prosodist Yaska is to be identified with the author of the Nirukta, and moreover, this later Yaska was already shown to be posterior in time to Pingala.

There is still one objection against the antiquity of Pingala. That in his  $S\overline{u}tras$  Pingala has expressed numerals by words has been considered by Weber to be the reason why the work should be of recent origin.<sup>6</sup>

I Ṣadguruśiṣya (1200 A.C.) the commentator of the Anukramani records a tradition to the effect that Pingala was either a younger brother or a descendant of Pāṇini. This appears to be impossible. But 700 B.C. has been the date of Pāṇini according to R. G. Bhandarkar. In spite of this it is not safe to rely on this very late tradițion.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 41, f.n. 30. 5 Weber, op. cit., pp. 80 81.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 60

But such a reason seems to be futile. For, though he has admitted that this manner of expressing numerals was peculiar to Indians, yet he could not cite any positive proof to the effect that Indians were incapable of developing this art at a very early date. That eight Vasus, eleven Adityas and twelve Rudras were mentioned in the earlier portion (iii 22, 15) of the Aitareya Brāhmaņa¹ (circa. 800 B.C.) makes it extremely probable that at about 600 B.C. Indians were in a position to use rtavah, rṣayah, vasavah rudrāh and ādityāh in the sense of 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12 respectively. There being nothing within the view to bar this probablity, one may place Pingala in 600 B.C. at the latest.

L water was

MANOMOHAN GHOSE

I See p. 22 of Haug's adition.

#### MISCELLANY

### On the origin of the Aryan word Istaka

"Brick" is of great importance in the history of Indian civilisation on account of its use in the architecture and the ritual. To search for the origin of the word 'brick' would therefore result in throwing some light upon the origin of Indian civilisation. S. C. Sarkar in his work, Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India", has tried to prove that the word is of Dravidian origin. This opinion has recently been criticised by Otto Stein.<sup>2</sup> My object here is first to give an exposition of the two contradictory opinions, and then to suggest a new solution.

In the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, I, p. 324, S.K. Chatterji gives " $int\bar{a}$ ," intha, "intha," iit(h)a = ista-ka. In Hindi, there are the forms int, ith and inth. In consequence of this, S. C. Sarkar sees in ista-kā a Sanskritisation of it, it-a, which he connects with the Dravidian root it(d)a, signifying "to dig, scoop out, hollow." From the same root, he derives the Dravidian name of brick, it-tikā. To the word it-a in the Ath. V., v, vi, v, vi, v, vi, v

The arguments of O. Stein are as follows: The Dravidian etymology must be rejected, because a root signifying "to dig" could not have given the name of 'brick.' Dravidian ittikā is without doubt a loan word from the Indo-Aryan. Lastly, the Indo-European character of iṣṭakā is undoubted as is proved by its comparison with the Avestic iśtya.3

I London, Oxford University Press, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Neuere Forschungen zur altindischen Sozialgeschichte, Rechtsund Staatsrechtsliteratur, in Archiv Orientalní, III, i, pp. 67ff.

<sup>3</sup> The diversity of the etymologies proposed shows the difficulty of the authors. According to PW, istakā is derived from yaj; others connect it with °aidh (cf. Walde, Lat. Etym. Wb, s.v. aedes; Johansson, IF, 19, 1906, 136). When beck tries to explain it by the root \*ais.

I admit with Sarkar the non-aryan origin of the name of "brick" and I am disposed to see in *iṣṭakā* the Sanskaitisation of an ancient word. In regard to the origin of the word *godhūma*, I have tried to establish that the presence of forms comparable in Vedic and in Avestic is not sufficient to prove the Indo-European character of a word. On the other hand, O. Stein appears to have reason for his not accepting the derivation of *iṣṭakā* from a Dravidian root meaning "to dig." It is therefore necessary to search for the origin of the word in some other direction.

In Pāli we have leddu and ledduka, "a clod of earth", to which corresponds Sanskrit leştu. After proving the absence of aspiration in Pāli, Geiger (Pāli, Literatur and Sprache, § 62) gives "letthu, "lettu=leṣtu. The Prakrits offer a large variety of forms: letthu, letthuya letthua, ledhukka, ledu, ledua, ledukka, lelu (Pischel, Gr. Pkt. Sp., § 304). On the side of Sanskrit leṣtu, we find again neṣtu. The words loṣṭu|loṣṭa have, in any case, the same sense, and the Prakrits further present us with a series of words loḍha, loṭṭhaka etc. (Pischel, ibid.). I have often observed that the mutability of forms is an index to the non-aryan origin of words; in this case, their multiplicity is really amazing.

The Santali, one of the well-known Munda languages, has exactly an adjective letko, "sticky, adhesive, as some kinds of clay" and a verb letkom, "to stick to, to adhere.' To these, one can add lete lete "soft, mudlike, moist"; leta "dusty, covered with mud or dust, to plaster, to smear" (Campbell, Santali-English Dictionary). The existence of a root common in Munda, viz. let, accounts for the Indo-aryan word lestu, etc. signifying "clay, clod of earth."<sup>2</sup>

It is well-known that the drop of the initial is frequent in the Indoaryan words of non-aryan origin. The change from lestu to lesta can be regarded as regular and by aphæresis it becomes esta. Ista- can be a Sanskritisation made upon a Middle-Indian form with e (cf. letthu, etc.). Lastly, the transition of "clod of earth" to "brick" semantically does not present any difficulty.

I Rocznik Orientalistyczny, VII, pp. 125ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the compound lostumaya, "made of clay, earthy."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Les Udumbara, JA., 1926, 1, pp. 26ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bul. de la Soc. de Linguistique, XXXI, ii, pp. 47ff. Lesta is to lestu as losta to lostu.

# AN INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA DISCOVERED AT YERRAGUDI 737

There can be no doubt about the nonearyan origin of the root let, if we compare Santali leta "to plaster, to smear," Mon let "to plaster, to smear," and Semang lit-lut "smeared"; Santali lete lete "soft, mudlike, moist," Malay hat "soft, malleable"; Semang te' liat "soft earth, clay," Malay tanah hat "clay"; Khmer dei ét "clay" and Khmer &t "brick." One may, however, raise the objection that the modern Mundas are not aware of the use of bricks. To that my answer would be that it is due to the fact that these people, impoverished as they were being driven back by the Aryans, have been in decadence for a long time. Nothing prevents us to hold that the degenerated Santals are the descendants of the people who built Harappa and Mohen jo Daro. In Indo-China, the Chams are in an analogous situation. They have also a word akiak for designating brick, but they have forgotten the art of manufacturing those large and solid bricks, with which their ancestors constructed so many admirable monuments. Here and there, however, through impoverishment resulting from foreign invasion, the ancient technique has disappeared.

If one admits that Sanskrit istakā is non-Aryan, it is undoubtedly necessary also to assign the same origin to the Avestic istya. The conclusion that may be drawn therefrom is that we must suppose the existence of a common linguistic substratum both in India and in a part, at least, of Iran. I hope to show later on that this hypothesis can account for a large number of facts.

JEAN PRZYLUSKI

# An Inscription of Asoka discovered at Yerragudi

More than two years ago, we learnt of the discovery of an inscription of Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor of India, at a place named Yerragudi in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. Since then, I have never seen it edited. Some days ago, I found a photograph of the inscription in the Telugu Magazine Bhāratī (September, 1929). published from Madras. There were some notes by Mr. Mallampalli Somašekhara Šarmā on the find and the findspot of the inscription.

r Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University kindly lent me a copy of this issue.

# 738 AN INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA DISCOVERED AT YERRAGUDI

This inscription is not altogether new. It is only another version of the so-called "Minor Rock Inscriptions," which have been found at seven different places in Northern and Southern India. The three copies found in the north are at Sahsaram in the Shahabad District, Bihar, at Rupnath in the Jubbulpore District, Central Provinces, and at Bairat in the Jaipur State in Rājputānā. In the Deccan they have been found at Siddāpur, at Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvar and at Brahmagiri, all close to one another, in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. Another Southern version was discovered in 1915 at Maski in the Raichur District of the Nizam's dominions. So, our version found at Yerragudi, not very far form Maski, is the eighth version of the "Minor Rock Inscriptions." At Maski and the three places of Northern India, however, only the first part of the epigraph, i.e., the so-called "Minor Rock Edict I", is engraved.

The left side of the first part of the inscription is in an extremely poor state of preservation; but the second part is in a much better condition. Unfortunately the letters are so carelessly engraved that it is extremely difficult to follow the lines, which are at some places hopelessly confused. (cf. 1l. 8-12). There is the other great difficulty that after one line is finished, sometimes the next line is not begun from the usual place, but from a place below the middle of the preceding line or from about the end of it. Now, the letters of these sub-lines are sometimes hopelessly mingled with the letters of the "next" line, begun from the usual place (cf. 1.8, where "Tā" of "Amtā" is engraved below "Am"; the sub-line beginning with "cakā" etc. should, I think, be the continuation of the line ending with "Amtā.")

I have deciphered the lines as follows :-

T

- r Devānam piye [hevamāha] (sa kā nā?)
- 2 \* \* \* \* vasān [i] kho tu \* si sa pā u ka ha pa?)
- 3 husa | Sātirekam [tu kho] Savachare yam mayā Samghe upayi...
  - 4 misā1 manisā \* \* (le ka ca \* mā ite kapame vadhathite?)

I From a comparison with the words of the other versions it is clear that the word should be "asmisa"; the missing "a" seems to have been the last letter of the preceding line,



THE YERRAGUDI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA
(By kind permission of the Editor, Bhārati, Madras)

I.H.Q., December, 1931

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# AN INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA DISCOVERED AT YERRAGUOI

- 5 \* \* \* \* \* devehi te dāni misibhūtā || Pakamasa hi
- 6 \* mī \* \* (dhatame e khuyeki savane apamayā?)
- 7 \* \* sakiye vipule svage ārātāyeva | Athāya iyam
- 8 [sā] vane sāvi [te] || Atha khudakamahadhana imam pacaka mevū || Amtā,
  - 8a (cakā gi thi ravivunajame?)
- 9 Iyam pakama ho [tu] vipule pi ca vadhasitā aparadhiyā diyadha...
  - 10 \* ke anapitaviye hevam Devanam devanam piyane vasavuya...

#### H

- 12 .....mātāpitūsu...
- 13 sitaviye || Hevam garusu sususitaviye || Prānesu dayitaviye<sup>2</sup> || saca vataviye || Na?
- 14 susuma | Dham mā [gu] nā pavatitaviyā | Hevam tuphe ānapayātha Devānampiya vacanena he
- 15 ° tha hathi ° rohāni kāranakāni ygayā cariyāni Bambhānāniva tuphe hevam...
- 16 tha añavāsīniyā ° sā porānā pakiti | Iyam sususitaviye apacāyanāya vā ācarisa va me...

I The word, used in other recensions relatively with "Khudaka," is "mahat" or "mahatpa," has been taken by some scholars to mean "superior officials." As "mahādhana" (wealthy) cannot possibly mean "superior official," the reading of this version, I think helps us in understanding the passage correctly.

2 In l. 18 I have read "Prānesu dayitaviye" (one should be kind to living creatures) where Drs. Hultzsch and Bhandarkar always read "Prānesu drahyitavyam." (respect for living creatures should be made firm). In this photograph "dayitaviye" is quite clear and Hultzsch' plates support this reading. (cf. Plates in the Corp. Inscr. Indicarum vol. I) The duplication of the word "devānam" in l. 10 is I think, due to the engraver's inattention. Another interesting feature of the epigraph is that almost in every line we find reversed forms of letters, like "la" "pa", etc., which are thought to be reminiscences of the old practice of writing Brāhmī also, from right to left like her sister Khā osthī.

740

17 Yasa yathācāraņa ācariyasa nātikāni yathāraham nātikesu pavatitaviye || Hosā pam ?

18 (am) tevāsisu yathāraha pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti |

Yathāraha-yathā iyam

19 ārokam siyā || Hevam tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca || Amte vāsīni hevam de (-?)

20

tiya pana āyapi °cā ॥

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

# Bodhicitta vivarana of Nagarjuna

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt has published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (VII, p. 259ff.) the 'Bodhisattva-Prātimokṣasūtra' with an interesting study on it. His editon of the text is based on a manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Dr. Dutt has rightly pointed out that the last leaf of the text has no bearing on the Prātimokṣa-sūtra and seems to contain the beginning of a new text.

The opening line bears testimony to such a hypothesis—Namo Buddhāya Bodhicittavivaraṇaṃ vakṣye. The title of the text was evidently Bodhicittavivaraṇa. It is preserved in the Bstan hgyur in two Tibetan translations. There is besides the Tibetan translation of a commentary attributed to Smṛtijñānamitra. The work is attributed to Ārya Nāgārjuna (klu sgrub).

(i) Byan chub sems kyi hgrel pa zes bya ba—Bodhicittavivarana nāma, composed by Ārya Nāgārjuna and translated by Guṇākara of India. Cordier—Catalogue II, p. 135; Rgyud hgrel, 142, 5.

(ii) Byan chub sems kyi hgrel pa, Bodhicittavivarana, composed by Nāgārjuna, and translated by Jayānanda of Kāśmīr. Rgyud hgrel, 142, 6; Ibid, p. 135.

(iii) Byan chub sems kyi hgrel pa'i nam par bsad pa—Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa-ṭīkā, commentary on the work of Nāgārjuna composed and translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti, Rgyud hgrel, 142, 34, Ibid, p. 141.

The first translation, that of Guṇākara, is not a literal one and is oftentimes only explanatory while the second, that of Jayānanda closely follows the text. As regards the date of the text it is for the present impossible to say whether the author is the same as the great

founder of the Mādnyamika philosophy or a later personage of that name. The style and the quality of the Sanskrit in which the text is written would not go against its attribution to the authorship of the famous Nāgārjuna. But the absence of any reference to it in the works of Sāntideva, particularly in his chapters on Bodhicitta, may go against such an antiquity of the text.

The commencement of Jayananda's translation is as follows:

Da nas byan chub kyi sems sgom pa'i 'grel pa bśad par bya'o | bcom ldan 'das kyis chos thams cad sems kyis rnam par brtags pa'o źes | gsuńs pas ri zig sems ni de ñid kyi ran bñin ci zig źes ńes par rtog pa rcan | dňos pa thams cad dan bral ba phun po khams dan skye mched dan gzuń dan 'jan ba rnam par spańs | ches bdag med par mñam ñid pas | ran sems gdon nas ma skyes pa | ston pa ñid kyi ran bzin no | źes gsuńs so | smras pa 'di yi don ci yin ze na | brjod pa dňos po 'dan bral zes te |

वीधिचित्त-विवरणं वन्छे। चित्तविटिपिता सर्वधर्मा दूत्युक्तं भगवता। देवताविच्चतं निरुष्यते (?)। किं सभाविनिति आह-सर्वभाविवगतं स्कन्धधालायतन-ग्राह्मगाहकवितं धर्मनैरात्मग्रसमतया [स्र]चित्तमायनुत्पन्नं गुल्यता स्वभाविनिति। कोऽस्य वचनस्रार्थः --सर्वभाविनगतिमिति।

This is sufficient to point out to the close agreement of the text and the translation of Jayananda. The text deals with one of the most impotant Mahayana doctrines. The discovery of the complete manuscript of the text will, therefore, be eagerly looked for.

P. C. BAGCHI

# On the antiquity of the name "Kasthamandapa or Katmandu"

According to the Nepalese Vamsāvalīs the ancient name of Kātmandu was Kāntipura. It was founded by king Gunakāmadeva who ascended the throne in the Kali year 3824=72‡ A.D. Later on in 1595 A.D. the name of the city was changed into Kāṣṭhamanḍapa during the reign of Lakṣmī-Narasimhamalla. The legendary portion of the tradition says that a certain citizen had cherished the desire of building a temple with the wood of a single tree for the use of the wandering ascetics. During the procession of Matsyendranātha he suddenly discovered the Kalpavṛkṣa in person, got hold of him and asked for the boon. The Kalpavṛkṣa became pleased with him and he thus

succeeded in building the temple with the wood of a single tree. The said temple is still shown in front of the old palace of the Mallas at Kātmandu. It is still used by wandering ascetics.

Though it is a pure legend the date 1595 A.D. had to be retained for want of further information about the name of Kāṭmaṇḍu. During my last stay in Nepal I came across a manuscript in the Darbar collection which contains some information about the name of the city.

It is the ms. of the Laksahomavidhi of Saivācārya Tejabrahma. Its

colophon runs thus:

यैयोऽन्तु, सम्बत् ५३१ वैशाख शितनवस्यान्तियौ लिखितं इदम् श्रीकास्तममन्डप नगरे श्रीभीमदत्त सोमशर्मणा लिखितमिदं ।2

The city of Kāstamaṇḍapa is no other than Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, the confusion made by the copyist being a very common one in the Nepalese manuscripts. The name Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, therefore, had come into use already in the Nepal era 531 i.e. 1411 A.D., 200 years before the time of Lakṣmī Narasimha Malladeva.

The name Kāntipura was also in use at that period as is evident from the colophons of mss.<sup>3</sup> Thus it seems probable that both the names, Kāntipura and Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa were simultaneously in use during a certain period and subsequently the former became more popular and the latter fell into disuse.

P. C. BAGCHI

S. Lévi, Le Nepal, I, pp. 52-54.

<sup>2</sup> The Late MM. H. P. Śāstrī in his Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belongining to the Durbar Library, Nepal II, p. 48 has also described these mss., but the colophon as given there contains a number of mistakes—"Śrīyāstu samvat 531 Vaiśākhasya Śitanavamyām tithau likhitamidam Śrīkāstamandapa nagare Śrī-Bhīmadatta somaŝarmāno-alikhit.

<sup>3</sup> See Sāstrī, ibid., p. 190 Pārthivārcana Cudāmaņi (copied in 1715) Nepāle bahupīthamaņditasive Kāntipurī rājate; p. 196 Pūjākalpalatā (copied in 1669 A.D.)—"Kāntapurīr rājā Pratāpamaller Guru Nārāyaņa Bhāhuker puthi"; p. 233 Pitrbhakti Taranginī (copied in 1674 A.D.)— Kāntipur nagare likhitaiṣā.

### Identification of Brahmottara

(mentioned in the Nidhanpur plates)

As the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions form an important landmark in the early social and political history of Sylhet and the editor is disposed to believe that the donated land lay not in Sylhet but somewhere in North Bengal, a discussion on the issues raised seems necessary. The Brahmottara was situated in the Candrapuri-Visaya and was named Mayūra-sālmalāgrahāra. In the description of the boundaries we come across the names, Gānginikā or Gānginī and Kosikā. For reasons stated below we are convinced that the grant relates to a place in and about modern Pañcakhanda where the plates were discovered.

First, it is well-known that the find-spot of a copper plate charter is almost invariably the locality of the grant made therein.

Secondly, it is true that the charter was issued from the Maharajadhirāja's camp at Karņasuvarņa and the word 'Gānginī' occurs in another inscription, referring to a locality in Karnasuvarna, but it does not follow from this that the grant under consideration should therefore belong to a region near Karnasuvarna. It is noteworthy that in North Sylhet which includes the perganah of Pañcakhanda, there are at least nine or ten places named Candpur (Candrapur) within a radius of about 20 miles from the headquarters station. This raises a presumption that the ancient Candrapurī-Viṣaya, that is, the division or district of Candrapuri included a portion of the modern district of Sylhet. The river 'Kośikā's is very likely represented by the modern Kuśīyārā which passes by Pañcakhanda, the findspot of the plates. There is also a place called 'Gangini' (colloquially, Gāngṇī) on the river Kuśiyārā in the same perganah and near Nidhanpur. About six or seven miles from Pancakhanda there is also a watery marsh called 'Gangni-vil.' The inscriptions nowhere state that

I See ante, pp. 718 ff. 2 El., XIX, 118. lines 5 7.

<sup>3</sup> EI., XII, 75, lines 45 and 47 with footnote 19. I accept the reading Kosika. EI., XIX, 120, lines 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The name Kuśiyārā may have resulted from a combination of the names Kośika and Barak, names of the same river at two different places (Kośi+Barā = Kuśiyārā).

I,H,Q., DECEM界路向id **9**新ain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Gāngiṇī was a river and not a 'vil'. During the rainy season such 'vils' (also called locally 'hāor's, if sufficiently big) become vast sheets of water. When the water recedes at the end of the season, considerable quantity of land becomes available for cultivation. This is apparently referred to in the expression gāngiṇy-upacitaka kṣetraṃ.¹ As to the name of the village 'Mayūra-śālmalāgrahāra' it is well-known that in making an 'agrahāra' grant (i. e., grant to Brāhmaṇas) a new name was sometimes given to the village or villages alienated.² Such a name is, therefore, likely to exist in documents only. But even then analogous names are still to be met with in North Sylhet. Thus in the Bhatera copper plate inscription we read of Mahurāpura (modern Maurāpur).³ A village named 'Śimuliā' also exists here. On the strength of similarity of place-names thus we may take it that the grant relates to a locality in Sylhet.

But why should Mahārājādhirāja Bhāskaravarman issue the edict from Karņasuvarņa (part of North Bengal)? It appears that while the emperor was camping here very possibly about 650 A.D.4, Mahārāja-Jyeṣṭhabhadra,5 the local governor who had apparently the Candrapurī-viṣaya under his control, informed his suzerain about the loss of the charter granted by Bhutivarman.6 The emperor accordingly issued his commands to the Viṣayapati or Viṣaya-nāyaka Śrīkṣi-kuṇḍa and other officials (adhikaraṇas) of Candrapurī to renew and execute the grant in the then prevalent scripts which were different from those of Bhūtivarman's time.7 This interesting picture of an well-ordered administration (where the official gradation was Mahārājādhirāja, Mahārāja, Viṣayapati or Viṣayanāyaka and the Adhikaraṇas which included the Nyāyakaraṇika, Vyavahārī, Kāyastha, Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta, Mahāsāmanta, etc.) shows us that the emperor

I El., XIX, 120.

<sup>2</sup> EI., XV, 70ff. (pt. II); SII., III, 307 note I; SII., II, no. 76; SII., III, no. 205. This subject is discussed in detail in my forth-coming work, 'Land-system in South India between c. 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D.' (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot).

<sup>3</sup> EI., XIX, 281, line 30. 4 EI., XII, 66.

<sup>5</sup> Bhāskaravarman as Jyeṣṭhabhadra's sovereign had the title 'Mahārājādhirāj' (EI., XIX, 118, line 4).

<sup>6</sup> El., XIX, 118 lines 7 and 8. I accept the reading Mahārājā Jyesthabhadravijnaptyā (Ibid., 121, footnote 2).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. El., XII, 76, line 54.

need not have been present on the spot of the grant, especially as it was a mere renewal of an old grant and it could have been carried out from anywhere. Thus the order issued from the camp at Karnasuvarna does not signify that the locality of the grant should be sought there.

Thirdly, was Sylhet included in the empire of Kamarupa? Apart from the evidence of the find-spot of the copper plates there is a tradition widely prevalent about the inclusion of Sylhet, Tippera and part of Mymensingh and Dacca in Kāmarūpa, and people point to certain places in these districts as king Bhagadatta's place.1 The boundaries of the empire of Kāmarūpa as given in the Yoginī-tantra,2 a work of a very late date no doubt, seem to include Sylhet. To explain it away as indicating the scriptural region of Kāmarūpa is not sufficient. There is every likelihood of the tradition having historical and political background. I fail to find the mention of Srihatta in the Yogini-tantra as an 'independent political entity' as the editor would have us believe.3 The name occurs in the Yogini-tantra, Uttarakhanda, Pațalas I (p. 112), 2 (p. 119), 6 (p. 179) and 9 (p. 215), but in none of these places any political entity is implied. The contention that Hiuen-Tsang. by referring to Shihlichatolo meant the independent kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭas has to be given up as being absolutely devoid of reason in view of Mon. Finot's revelations. From a ninth century Tantra Manuscript we learn that Matsyendranātha (Mīnanātha) was an inhabitant of Candradvīpa (Eastern Bengal) and from an 11th century commentary on a Tantra we note that the Saint came from Kāmarūpa (I.H.Q., 1930, no. 1, pp. 178-181). This discrepancy can be explained by taking Eastern Bengal (Candradvīpa) as belonging to the Empire of Kāmarūpa. It should be remembered that Matsyendranatha lived much earlier than the 11th century A.D. (probably in the 9th century A.D.).

As to Pañcakhanda belonging to the kings of Tripurā in 641 A.D.6 it is to be noted that the copper-plate grant that is alleged to have been issued never saw the light of day.7 Even if we take it

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EI., 68; SI., Bk. II, Ch. I, 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> Jivānanda (Calcutta) edition, 30. Cf. XII, 68, footnote 1. Jivānanda reads Kunjagirih in place of Kanjagirih. 3 El., XII, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 188-189; EI., XII, 67; JRAS., 1920, 1-6.

5 See JRAS., 1920, 451-452.

<sup>6</sup> El., XII, 67; SI., Bk. II, Ch. 4, 56 note.

<sup>7</sup> Vaidik-samasyā; SI., Bk. II, Ch. 5 notes pp. 67-73; Indian Historicai Quarterly, 1930, No. 1, 64-66.

for granted that a king of Tripurā made a grant in 641 A.D., it does not preclude the possibility of the emperors of Kāmarūpa possessing Paūcakhaṇḍa about 500 A.D. (the time of Bhūtivarman), losing it about 640 A.D. and regaining it a few years after. As to the argument that the name 'Śrīhaṭṭa' is not to be met with in the Nidhanpur plates, all we may say is that Śrīhaṭṭa was not yet an independent State, and the name, if existent at all, did not signify much. The first mention of Śrīhaṭṭa as an independent state, as one may say in the existing state of our knowledge, probably occurs in the Bhatera copper-plate inscription of about 1049 A.D.¹ It is also to be noted in this connection that the name 'Śrīhaṭṭa' apparently originated from the name of Haṭṭa-nātha-Śiva or Hāṭakeśvara-Śiva, the sept-deity of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇa settlers of Sylhet. The Nidhanpur plates need not thus mention Śrīhaṭṭa. For other points of interest see Mr. J. C. Ghosh's paper in the Indian Historical Quarterly, 1930, No. 1 (pp. 60-71).

K. M. GUPTA

#### Merada

Merada means the fire proof earthen superstructure of ordinary thatched houses in rural tracts in Orissa. A temple of this structure was constructed in a certain village in the Atagada Zamindari of the Ganjam District in the midst of forests. The temple was constructed with such huge stones that one wonders how such huge stones could be raised to such a height. As the temple was constructed like merada or fire proof earthen superstructure of an ordinary thatched house, it was known by the name of Merada. There are three big pedestals in the temple. The temple was occupied temporarily by the three idols from the celebrated temple of Jagannath of Puri, during the time of the Musalman invasion. The Musalman invader was Muhammad Taki Khan who was the deputy governor of Orissa. He interfered greatly with the worship of the temple of Jagannath at Puri during the time of Ramacandra Deva, the Raja of Khurda, who ruled from 1732-1743 A.D. The idols were therefore removed temporarily from Puri to Merada. The removal of these idols entailed a loss of nine lakhs of rupees per annum from the revenue of Orissa, this being the amount collected from the pilgrims visiting the shrine. During the

I El., XIX, 280, lines 5 and 29.

time of the Musalman invasion, Rāmacandra Deva not only removed the three idols from Puri to Merada, but himself took shelter in Rummagoda (fort) in the Atagada Zamindari for 31/4 years under the Atagada king Jagabandhu alias Jagannātha Hariçandana who was the Nawab of Northern Ganjam under the Mughals collecting the land revenue from Khallikote, Dharakote, Shergad, Bodogad, Surada Mohuri, Biruli, Palur, Aska etc. of the Zamindari parganas. On the death of Muhammad Taki Khan in the year 1734 Murshid Kuli Khan succeeded him as the deputy governor of Orissa under Muhammadans. At the instance of Raja Jagabandhu alias Jagannath Haricandan the ruler of Atagada, Murshid Kuli Khan induced Rājā Ramacandra Deva to bring back and reinstate the three idols at Puri. Thus the three idols were brought back to Puri and were reinstated in the Jagannath temple at Puri. Though the idols were removed from Merada temple yet the seats of the three idols are still worshipped regularly up to this day by the priests appointed by Rājā Jagabandhu alias Jagannātha Haricandana of Atagada. A hamlet known by the very same name of Merada was carved out from the neighbouring forest and its income was set apart for the conduct of worship in the Merada temple. Rājā Jagannātha Haricandana was the 19th ruler of the Baghale dynasty of the ancient Atagada Zamindari ruling from 1732-1748 A.D. For his act of extreme piety in thus offering shelter to the glorious Orissan idols as well as the king of Orissa or Khurda, the Rājā of Atagada was honoured greatly by the kings of Orissa, or Khurda.

Mr. Sewell in his list of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, vol. I, p. 3 mentions Merada and gives a very short but incorrect note thereon. The temple is thus of some antiquarian interest.

LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB

## Origin of the Lotus-capital

I have read carefully Mr. Mitra's reply to my note on this subject, but am not convinced by any of his arguments. I will discuss here only a few points, as the problem will be taken up in relation with the whole environment in my contribution to the forthcoming Survey of Persian Art.

First to make a few corrections. I did not say that "the lotus supports of (the chamfer reliefs) at Bharhut had been meant

to represent pillars" (p. 215 of Mr. Mitra's paper), but that both the pillars and the chamfer reliefs illustrated the use of the lotus as a support. As to the variations from the standard, form, I am very far from denying that the Maurya architects "were fully alive to the decorative significance of the bell capital"; decorative variations on the simpler themes of the Plant style are fast developing in early Indian art, and such subordination of meaning to ornament is a part of the normal development that takes place in any art. I did not say that the Vedic lotus symbolism had a direct bearing on the animal standards, but only that the lotus must have been used as a general supportsymbol in and before the Maurya period; I think it is only in connection with Śrī-Lakṣmī that the early use is definitely iconographic. My view has nothing to do with a "world lotus." As to the fact that the lotus is not mentioned in connection with any of the dhvaja-stambhas, or the military standards, this is only what we have to expect on my theory, which regards the lotus capital as simply the termination of a shaft, and not as a cihna. My view would rather lead one to suppose that such a termination may have been found on all or any of the Epic animal standards carried in a battle; and this is precisely so in the case of the two garuda-standards borne by equestrian figures at Bharhut.

I did not say that the lotus capital was a form "of west Asiatic origin" at some pre-Achæmenid period; lotus motifs may have been common to India and Assyria before the fall of Babylon, without necessarily being of Assyrian origin in India. Incidentally I may remark that M. de la Vallée Poussin not long since expressed views which coincide with mine to this extent, that "the differences between the Aśokan and Persian capitals are sufficiently marked to exclude idea of direct imitation," and though the prototype may have reached India from the west, it had already assumed in India "an Indian form destined to become (qui sera) that of the Aśokan period."1

The differences between Indian and Persian columns and capitals, just alluded to have been emphasized elsewhere;2 here I shall refer only to one aspect of this side of the question. The practice of building up tall stone columns by the superposition of cylindrical sections shows that in Persia we are dealing with a mason's, not a carpenter's tradition; this method had been practised long ago in Egypt, but it

L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Chanda, The Beginnings of Art in Eastern India, Mem. ASI., 30.

never reached India. On the other hand, the two dominant types of the early Indian column, viz. the smooth cylindrical monumental form and the octagonal (Chamfered) constructional type with square base, are immediate reproductions of wooden forms, and show no knowledge of masonry technique, such as could have been learnt from Persia.

Thus the masonry tradition of Persia in the fourth century B.C. represents an art technically far in advance (aesthetic judgments are here beside the mark) of the carpenter's tradition in India in the third century B.C. Are we to infer that India was taught by Persia to work in stone, explaining the absence of direct imitation by an invocation of Indian "originality"? No doubt Maurya India may have been well aware that stone had been used for building purposes in other countries, let us even suppose that the idea of using stone at all proceeded from this knowledge. We are forgetting our material. Persian masons may have been expert in the working of limestone, but how could they have handled the sandstones of the Ganges Valley, which are so hard as to put even the best modern tools to a severe test, and yet in early India were wrought with exquisitely finished surfaces, and sharpest detail? It is far more plausible to connect the early use of stone in India with the discovery of steel; there is good reason to think that steel may have been invented in India; archæological evidence takes us back to the second century B.C., and literary evidence to the fourth, when Alexander, amongst other valuable gifts, received from the Malloi and Oxydrakai of the Pānjāb, a hundred talents of steel. Thus provided with the necessary tools, the Indian vaddhaki, who had been hitherto a tacchaka or woodworker, and sometimes a bricklayer, itthaka-vaddhaki, now began to function also as a mason, silā-vaddhaki. There is nothing to show that he had reason to, or actually did, adopt new formulæ or methods of construction; on the contrary, all the architecture shows the clearest signs of its immediate origins in carpentry.

Finally, I present one a priori consideration. Alexander had destroyed Persepolis in 331. Under the Seleukids new Hellenistic fashions came into vogue. Asoka came to the throne in 272. The contradiction consequently found in the current theory has been neatly stated by A. W. Lawrence in the new Encyclopedia Britannica, under Persia, Archaeology, as follows:

"the Achæmenian palace was imitated (in India) during the Hellenistic age, while in Mesopotamia and Persia it was ignored in the fashion for Hellenism."

Mr. Mitra's theory requires, apparently, that Aśoka should have sent his architects to the ruins of Persepolis, burnt down more than sixty years earlier, there to obtain material for the construction of "period architecture" in India. On the other hand, if an architecture related to the older art of Western Asia had already been current in India before the Maurya period, it can be well understood that it might have survived there, longer than in Persia.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

# The Gudimallam Lingam

Attention was first called to this magnificent and in some respects unique example of Indian stone sculpture by the late T. A. Gopinath Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, 1914.15, (see also Indian Antiquary, XL, 1911, pp. 104.114) In my History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 39, I endorsed Mr. Rao's view that it should be dated in the first or second century B. C. Now Mr. A. H. Longhurst, in his Pallava Architecture, III (Mem. ASI.), 40, p. 24, dates it not earlier than the temple in which it is now enshrined. i.e. eighth or ninth century A.D. A difference of nearly a thousand years is rather serious, especially in the case of such an important figure, and one with such strongly marked characters.

There can be no doubt that the earlier dating is approximately correct. I will first ask the reader to compare the Gudimallam lingam with the pillar relief J2 in the Mathura Museum; the two sculptures are respectively figures 66 and 59 in my History. Not merely are both figures stylistically related in the closest manner, but both are supported by a crouching dwarf Yakşa vāhana like that of the well-known figure of Kupiro Yakkho at Bharhut. The Mathura figure has, in the lunette above, a representation of a scene from the Mahabodhi Jātaka, and this fact alone would suggest a pre-Gupta date. In any case, the Sunga style of both figures is unmistakeable; not only is the treatment of the folds of the drapery still archaic, as at Bharhut, but nothing is more characteristic of late Sniga art than the peculiar manner of representing the sexual organs as if nude, though really covered by the dhoti, cf. figs. 54, 57, 58, 60 in my History. The fact that the lingam rises directly from the earth, without any definite representation of a yoni, is an additional evidence for the early date.

Ananda Coomaraswamy

## Gopala

The chronology of the Pāla kings is a knotty question, and has baffled the skill of many scholars. Our object here is simply to state a few facts for the consideration of scholars.

Gopāla is the founder of the Pāla dynasty. His grandfather is described as 'the progenitor of the foremost line of kings'. His father Vapyaṭa is said to have 'embellished the earth with massive temples, and became famous as the destroyer of adversaries'. He himself is described as 'the crest-jewel of the heads of kings'. He was made king by the people to put an end to the lawlessness under which the people of Bengal were then groaning. He married Daddadevī, 'a daughter of the Bhadra king' (Ep. Ind., vol. IV, pp. 243-254).

It appears that Gopala was no common man, nor his family a common one. As Daityavisnu is said to be 'the progenitor of the foremost line of kings', we may presume that kingship commenced with his son Vapyața. He was, perhaps, a samanta king. Gopala seems to have succeeded his father before he was made by the people the king of Bengal. He must have given some proof of his capacity to govern a country, otherwise, the choice of the people would not have fallen on him. In the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla, mention of only two names of the predecessors of Gopāla, the founder of the Pala dynasty, led Mr. R. D. Banerjee to the hasty conclusion that the family must have been of humble origin, as they could not remember more than two names of the ancestors of the founder (A.S.B. Memoir, No. V, p. 45). Vijuanesvara in his commentary on the verse 318, chap. I of the Yājñavalkya-Samhitā writes :- "kārpāsike pațe phalake va atmano vamsiyan pra-pitamaha-pitamaha-pitrn bahuvacanasy-arthavattvāya vamsa-vīryasrut-ādi-gun opavarņana-pūrvakam abhilekhy ātmānam ca &c." i.e. in the grants only the exploits of great-grandfather, grand-father, father, and of self are to be recorded. This, I think, makes Mr. Banerjee's remark unwarrantable.

We have seen that Daddadevi has been described as 'Bhadrāt-majā.' Kielhorn translated it as the daughter of the Bhadra king meaning thereby that the queen's father was the king of the Bhadra country. Mr. A. K. Maitra objected to this translation, saying that it had no historical allusion. It simply means that Kuvera's wife Bhadrā was the daughter of Bhadra (Gauḍa-lekhamālā, p. 2011), but he did not

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refer to any Purana or Itihasa. It may, however, also mean that Daddadevi was the daughter of a person whose name or surname was Bhadra. And that the latter was the case we shall presently see. In the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant of Bhaskaravarman (Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 79) we find an officer named Gopāla as the 'issuer of hundred commands and the receiver of five great sounds' (ājñā-sata prāpayitā prāpta-pañca-mahāsabdah Śrī--Gopālah). Generally the sāmantas are honoured with pañca mahāśabdas (I.A., vol. V, p. 354), so this Gopāla was a sāmanta under Bhāskaravarman. The occasion for the mention of Gopāla's name in the charter seems to be that he was the samanta of the district to which the donated land belonged. In another portion of the same grant (Ep. Ind., vol. XIX, p. 118), we find in line 8-'Mahārāja Jyesthabhadra vijnapya. As the construction is faulty, the editor of the plate, suggested two alternative readings: (1) 'Mahārājena jyesthabhadrān vijnāpya' i.e. Mahārājā having informed senior respectable persons; (2) 'Mahārāja-Jyesthabhadra-vijnaptyā' meaning at the request of Mahārāja-Jyeṣṭhabhadra (p. 121, n. 2). The editor seems to have preferred the first reading. But we are inclined to think that the second one is more appropriate. Firstly because, it necessitates a small change in a letter only, while the other reading requires changes in the case-endings of two words. Secondly, the officers who are to be informed according to custom had already been so notified in the previous lines. It was unnecessary, therefore, again to inform the Jyesthabhadras. The fact seems to be that while Bhāskaravarman was at his camp at Karnasuvarna, the applicant Brahmins approached Mahārājā Jyesthabhadra, who was, as the epithet Mahārājā indicates, the Sāmanta of Karņasuvarņa, and requested him to bring to the notice of Bhāskaravarman their grievances. And it was at his intercession that Bhāskaravarman ordered the renewal of the grant.

Can this Gopāla be the founder of the Pala dynasty, and his queen Daddadevi, a daughter of this Jyesthabhadra? It is not at all, unlikely that Gopāla, himself a Sāmanta, married the daughter of another Samanta, under the same overlord. That there existed a Bhadra family of Samanta kings in the sixth century also at Karnasuvarna is proved by the Bappaghosavata grant of Jayanaga. The object of the grant was to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vappaghosavāta granted to Brahmavīrasvāmin Sāmanta Nārāyaṇabhadra. The record is of the reign of Mahārājā-

# EARLY CAPITAL OF THE GURJARA PRATIHARAS OF MAHODAYA 753

dhirāja Jayanāga who was then residing at Karņasuvarņa. On palæographic grounds it has been ascribed to about the latter half of the sixth century A. [P. [Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, pp. 60-64].

It may be presumed that Bhāskaravarman occupied Karņasuvarņa after the death of Harṣa and after the usurper Arjuna was defeated. So the grant was made some time after 650 A.D. If our identification of Gopāla is correct, he was perhaps the chosen king of Bengal after the death of Bhāskaravaman, when probably the kinglessness (mātsyanyāya) prevailed. This may help to fix an approximate starting date for the Pāla dynasty.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHCSH

## Early Capital of the Gurjara Pratiharas of Mahodaya

Where was the capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Mahodaya before they established themselves at Mahodaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhoja I? Some scholars thought that it was at Bhinmāl in south Rājputānā. But Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and with him Dr. R. C. Majumdar hold that it was in Ujjain. In coming to this conclusion they have relied on the following two verses:—

- (I) Hiranyagarbham rājanyair-Ujjaya(i)nyām yad-āsitam /
  Pratīhārīkṛtam yena Gurjar-eś-ādi-rājakam //9
  (Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 243)
- (2) Śākeṣ-vabdaśateṣu saptasu diśam pañc-ottareṣūttarāṃ
  Pānt-Īndrāyudha-nāmni Kṛiṣṇa-nṛpaje Śrī-vallabhe dakṣiṇāṃ /
  Pūrvām Śrīmad-Avanti-bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādi(dhi)rāje' parāṃ
  Śauryā(rā)ṇām-adhimaṇḍale (laṃ) jayayute vīre Varāhe' vati //
  (Jinasena's Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa, 66, 52)

Commenting on the first verse Prof. Bhandarkar writes:—"Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by Dantidurga, who, as the next verse says that when in Ujjain the various Kṣatriyas performed ceremony, namely, of the great gift of Hiranyagarbha, made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (pratihāras). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed or took a prominent part in this Hiranyagarbha ceremony

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I J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 57; Smith's Early His. Ind., p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, pp. 238-9. 3 Ibid., p. 102.

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in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Dasavatara Cave temple inscription at Ellora. This inscription gives Mahārāja-Sarva as another name ar arently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a mahā-dāna worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony. Secondly verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a Gurjara dynasty called Pratihara. There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratihara dynasty that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahodaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahodaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhoja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhilmal or Bhinmal in South Rajputana. Our grant, however, enables us to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Harivamsa of Jinasena. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr. Fleet's translation, which makes Vatsaraja king of Avants. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, and the Jaina Harivamsa may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratiharas were established at Ujjain and not Bhilmal before they transferred their capital to Kanauj".

Now let us see how far Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his conclusion that the Pratihāras were established in Ujjain before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. He admits that 'Dantidurga either performed himself or took a prominent part in' the Hiranyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain. But from the Ellorā inscription referred to above it is clear that he himself was the performer of the mahā-dāna. This being so, is it not natural that he would perform it in his own dominion? This receives confirmation from the same Ellorā inscription which states that Dantidurga among other countries conquered Sindh and Mālava. Ujjain was the capital of the latter. If he himself was not the performer of the mahā-dāna, the fact that he made the other kings his door-keepers loses its force. Further it should be remembered

I Arch. Surv. West. Ind., vol. V, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 102.

that the verse was written to eulogise the exploits of Dantidurga and not of other kings. We may also point out that if Ujjain was the capital of the Gurja-a-Pratihara king, it is difficult to believe that he should be made a coor-keeper in his own capital. Taking Ujjain to be not within the dominion of Dantidurga, does it prove that it was the capital of the Pratihara king? It may, in that case, be the capital of any other king present at the ceremony. So the verse relied on by Prof. Bhandarkar does not at all help us to arrive at the conclusion that Ujjain was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihara kings before they established themselves at Kanauj. On the other hand pratiharikritam and Gurjaresa indicate that the Gurjara-Pratihara king was prominent among the invited royal guests. And Gurjaresa means not only the lord of the Gurjaras but also of the Gurjara country, which included the present Rājputānā and also a portion of modern Sindh. In fact the earliest inscription of this dynasty, viz. the Buchkala inscription (V. 872) was found in Rajaputana but not in Malava (Ep. Ind., vol. IX, pp. 199 ff).

Prof. Bhandarkar relied on the Harivamsa of Jinasena as a confirmatory proof. Although he now accepts the translation of Dr. Fleet, he gave a different interpretation before. Dr. Fleet translated it as follows:-"In the north, Indraudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avantī (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas." According to this translation Vatsarāja is the same person as Avanti-pati. If so, why nipe has been used after bhubhrte. Both the words mean king, and therefore one is redundant. This alone is sufficient to show that two different persons were meant. Now we shall give Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation wherein he differs from Dr. Fleet:-"In the east, the illustrious king of Avantī; in the west king Vatsarāja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha." Looking at the construction and the order of the stanza, Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation seems to be preferable. It appears that the poet after naming the kings which ruled in the four directions from the place of his residence at Vardhamānapura (modern Wādhāwan in the Jhālāvād division of Kathiāwār), lastly named the king and the country of his seat, where he wrote the book. It was formerly in Saurāstra (Bomb. Gaz. vol, I, pt. I, p. 176). This country of the Sauryas is perhaps Saura-rāṣṭra i.e. Saurāṣṭra. This Varaha might be a

I Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 102,

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predecessor of the Capotkața prince Dharanivaraha, who issued a charter from Vardhamāna in Saka 836. (Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 193). The country to the west of Saurāstra, which was aruled by Vatsarāja, is perhaps Sindh, which is though not exactly in the east, is in the north-east. We need not be precise about the directions given by Jinasena, for Kanauj, the country of Indraudha was not exactly in the north but in the north-east. And it is corroborrated by the fact that Vatsarāja was driven by Dhruvarāja to the deserts (Marumadhyam).1 This Maru has been interpreted by scholars to be Marwad. But we think 'Maru-madhyam' here means 'into the deserts'. He was perhaps driven to the deserts of Sindh, a continuation of the deserts of Rajaputana. That it was at one end of the quarters is corroborated by the words-'Kakubhām prānte sthitam.'2

Even if the interpretation of Dr. Fleet is accepted, it proves at best that Avantī was temporarily occupied by Vatsarāja. Any how the evidence adduced is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that Ujjain was the early capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras.

In conclusion, we would bring to the notice of the scholars that the word pratiharikrtam in the first verse might have a second meaning, besides the ordinary meaning given by Prof. Bhandarkar. Among other meanings the word pratihura has the meaning, 'an agreement for return of assistance, alliance, confederacy.' (Wilson). So it may be that Dantidurga formed a confederacy with a view to withstand the Arab expeditions from Sindh, which he most probably apprehended as he conquered that province also. There are evidences to show that the Arab raids took place before and after Dantidurga (753 A. D.). Dr. Majumdar has shown that the Arab expeditions mentioned in the Nausari plates of the Gujarāt Cālukya Pulakeśirāja took place between 731 and 738 A. D.3 We also know that the overthrow of the Valabhi dynasty was due to these Arab expeditions some time after 766 A.D., the last known date of this dynasty.4 It is not at all likely that the Arabs remained idle during the intervening period. It can, therefore, be presumed that Dantidurga assembled the princes at Ujjain with the main object of forming the confederacy, under the plea of the Hiranyagarbha mahā-dāna.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

I Ep. Ind., vol. VI, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 93, 4 Gupta, Inscr., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

# The St. Thomas Tradition and Recent Discovery in Travancore

Scholars have been divided in their opinions as to the scene of the evangelistic labours of St. Thomas the Apostle, in India; and numerous attempts have been made to demonstrate, beyond possibility of question, that, if the Apostle came to India at all, he could not possibly have avoided Malabar; and the Christian community of the west coast claims St. Thomas as its founder; and its existence can be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era. There is the evidence of an early Muhammadan writer that Mani, the founder of Manichæism (born 215 A.C.) visited India to spread his rival creed and succeeded in winning some Christians over to his faith: and the suggestion has been put forward recently whether there cannot be some association of the well-known Manigramakars with the Malabar Christians and the Manichæans. Apart from the strongly-rooted Malabar tradition of the Apostle himself having propagated the faith on the west coast and founded seven churches in the neighbourhood of Cranganore, there is another tradition that St. Thomas himself set up stone-crosses for worship in the above seven churches and that when the Saint was actually praying in front of one such stone cross, he suffered martyrdom from the enemies of his faith. The Cross came to be popularised as a symbol of Christian salvation only in the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and representations of crosses are not found in the Roman catacombs older than the fourth century A. D; and stone-crosses could not consequently have been fixed by the Apostle himself about the middle of the first century A.D. There have been discovered, till now, three altar-crosses bearing an almost identical Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription, viz., one which was discovered by the Portuguese on the St. Thomas' Mount in 1547 and fixed up in the wall of the church on it; and the other two originally belonged to the ruined church of Cranganore and have been set up on either side of the entrance into the sanctum of St. Gabriel's Church at Kottayam. According to the Travancore Archaeological Series, VII, i, which was recently published, a similar bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription, was discovered recently at Kadamarram, a village in the Kottayam Division, embedded in the wall of the sanctum of the Jacobite-Syrian Church of that place. This new tablet resembles the cross on St. Thomas Mount and the bigger one at Kottayam in its sculptural

details, being of the Greek type, with fleur-de-lis extremities, equalarmed and standing on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters with two couchant maka. It is flanked by their capitals and supporting a semi-circular belt arching above the cross. The portion containing the Pahlavi writing, is a narrow ribbon of stone rising from either extremity of the base and enveloping in an arch the top of the cross and its halo-circle. The inscription has been deciphered by Dr. Sir J. Modi of Bombay, thus—

I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh (have come) to this (country).

Written Mar Shapur.

I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn (affliction).

The reference to the bird, appropriately agreeing with the sculptured detail of a dove hovering, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, over the upper limbs of these crosses, and the reading of Mar Shapur in the middle short sentence are the two new departures in Dr. Modi's reading from the previous readings of the inscriptions on the other crosses. If accepted, this reading will become an important landmark. Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, the Editor of the Travancore Archaeological Series, in this part, says that this Mar Shapur who is said to have landed in Quilon in 825 A. D. and erected churches, may be identical with Maruvan Sapir Iso who has been prominently mentioned in the Kottayam Copper-plate Charter of the time of King Sthanu-Ravi (cir. A. D. 870). The date of the Kadamarram Cross thus becomes definitely computable as the end of the 9th century, i.e., about two centuries and a quarter later than the earlier Kottayam and St. Thomas' Mount Crosses which have been assigned to about the middle of the 7th century; and it might well be possible that the cross was the one set up by Maruvan Sapir Iso in the Tarisaipalli Church, which is mentioned in the Kottayam Plates. Possibly owing to some vicissitudes, the cross drifted into the Kadamarram Church at a later date.

The orgamentation of the Cross, as well as that of the St. Thomas Mount and Kottayam Crosses was evidently designed by Indian sculptors who were permeated with Hindu architectural traditions; and the Pahlavi inscriptions were also engraved by them under instructions from their foreign Christian employers. The sculptural

### THE ST. THOMAS TRADITION

background of these crosses is consciously Hindu in character; and "in their familiar setting these crosses did naturally evoke a readier acceptance from the converts, recent or otherwise, for whose adoration they were perhaps consecrated at the time." The discovery of this Kadamarram Cross may be regarded as indicating an important landmark in the history of Christianity as it grew up in the Malabar Coast.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

### REVIEWS

INDICES AND APPENDICES TO THE NIRUKTA by Lakshana Sarup, M.A., D. PHIL. Pp. 76+393. Published by the University of Punjab, Lahore, 1929.

The work under review is the last of a series of volumes by the same author on Yāska's Nirukta, the oldest Indian work on etymology, philology and semantics. Professor Lakshan Sarup undertook the study of the Nrikuta more than fifteen years ago in Oxford and published in 1920 his 'Introduction to the Nirukta'. In the same year appeared for the first time his complete English translation of the work with exegetical and critical notes. Constant and diligent work by the Professor has resulted in the publication of three other volumes on the same subject: (i) an edition of the Nighantu and the Nirukta, (ii) Fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, and (iii) the present volume—Indices and Appendices. We are promised that other fragments of the commentary of Skanda-Maheśvara will be published in due course.

The value of the Nirukta in the history of philological speculation in ancient times is admitted on all hands. Its importance from the point of view of exegesis and grammar is much greater. Its worth as the oldest specimen of Sanskrit prose of the classical type is also by no means negligible; yet until recently Yāska's Nirukta failed as an independent subject of study to attract the attention of a sufficient number of competent scholars who could concentrate their mind and energy on this particular subject. No doubt the editio princeps of the Nirukta without any sanskrit commentary but with valuable notes of the editor was published at Göttingen as far back as 1852 by that great Vedic scholar Rudolph Roth, and since then there have appeared various editions of the work including those of the Bibliotheca Indica (edited by Satyavrata Sāmaśrami with the commentaries of Devarājayajvan and Durgācārya on the Nighantu and the Nirukta respectively), the Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series (edited by Rajwade with Durga's commentary), the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series (only first seven? Books edited by Bhadkamkar with Durga's commentary) and the Venkațesvara Press Series (edited by Sivadatta with Durga's commentary). Besides the edition in the Bibliotheca Indica, Sāmaśramī brought out a dissertation on the subject called the Niruktālocana dealing with various topics connected with the date, contents, authorship and commentaries of the Nirukta. This was the condition of the Nirukta literature when Professor Sarup was engaged in its study. At present the works of Dr. Sarup together with that of Professor H. Sköld who has recently published his work. The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies, form a comprehensive study of the problems connected with the Nirukta.

Dr. Sarup's edition of the Nighantu and the Nirukta is certainly an improvement upon those of his predecessors including Roth who had to work with scanty materials at his disposal at a time when the modern Vedic scholarship itself was in its infancy. Dr. Sarup has adopted the text of the shorter recension in his edition instead of the longer one accepted by Roth and others, and has adduced evidences to prove that his text represents the original work of Yāska. Durga seems to have followed this recension; but as there are passages in Durga's commentary which lend support to the opposite view, the text of this commentary should have been critically edited along with the Nirukta.

Dr. Sarup has brought out for the first time the fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta. He thinks that Maheśvara's notes are a  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  (sub-commentary) on the  $bh\bar{a}sya$  (the commentary) of Skanda. But these notes are too fragment, ary to enable one to come to a definite conclusion.

The volume of *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta* contains an elaborate Introduction dealing mainly with the dates of various scholiasts; three Indices—Index to the Nighantu, Index to the quoted passages occurring in the Nirukta, Index Verborum to the Nirukta; a list of Etymologies of the Nirukta; six lists of passages of the Nirukta quoted in six different works and two lists of quotations occurring in the Nirukta.

As to the dates of the scholiasts it must be stated that in some cases the conclusions reached by Dr. Sarup can in no way be regarded as final. With the growth of our knowledge consequent on the new discoveries of Mss., dates of some of the commentators are expected to be fixed with more precision. Even now some of the conclusions of Dr. Sarup are being controverted. Skandasvāmin, about whom Dr. Sarup (p. 28) could only make a general statement that he was earlier than the first half of the 12th century A.D., is now assigned by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (see Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 325) to about 600 A.D. on good grounds. Since the publication of Dr. Sarup's work, a portion of the Rg-veda with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and

Venkațamādhava has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Another recension of Skandasvāmin's commentary as also a second commentary by Mādhava (other than Venkaṭaṇādhava) is expected to come out shortly.

As a result of the publication of these new materials we have now at our disposal definite proofs showing that Mādhava who is taken for Venkaṭamādhava by Devarāja in his commentary is really a different person.

The indices appearing in Dr. Sarup's work betoken a good deal of labour and are very useful. As regards the list of etymologies, the one appearing in Prof. Sköld's work is more helpful to the Vedic students on account of its exhaustive character covering not less than 180 pages.

In conclusion, I want to refer to a passage in the Nirukta which has been made the basis of some divergent inferences by scholars. This passage relates to Kautsa declaring the meaningless character of some of the Vedic Rks. From this it has been concluded that the volume of heterodox views was large in Yāska's time, and therefore it had to be given a place in the text (vide Dr. Sarup's Introduction to the translation of the Nirukta, pp. 71ff.). In regard to this inference it may be said that the introduction of purvapaksa and uttarapaksa was a common practice in Sanskrit literature in order to put before the readers all the aspects of a question. Hence the existence of a large volume of opinion adverse to the Rks does not necessarily indicate the existence of a large number of people holding the same opinion.1 Another inference that has been drawn from the same passage is that a long time intervened between the Rsis and the early interpreters of the Vedas. This also does not stand on a solid footing as has been pointed out by Dr. Sarup (Ibid.).

The Nirukta with its commentaries is a store-house of materials from which many a gap in the history of the stages of Vedic interpretation can be filled up. Much work has been done in this direction by European scholars like Roth, Ludwig, Pischel and Geldner. The indices and appendices provided in Dr. Sarup's work will prove helpful to those who will be willing to utlise the text further for this purpose. This, we hope, will be attractive enough to scholars to turn their labours to this field from which additional valuable results may be expected.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

I See "Was Kautsa a Sceptic?" by K. M. Shembavnekar in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Ociental Research Institute, vol. XII, pt. 1.

SĂMKHYA OR THE THEORY OF REALITY (a critical and constructive study of Iśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyakārikā) by J. N. Mukherji, M.A. Published by S. N. Mukherji, M.A., .5/1, Nepal Chandra Bhattacharya Lane, Calcutta. xii +6+102 pages.

In this thought-provoking treatise on Samkhya philosophy, the author presents an able exposition of a school of thought, which is a bold departure from the traditional Samkhya. At the outset, the author falls foul of the commentators Gaudapada and Vācaspati Miśra who, he thinks, have in many places, sacrificed reason at the altar of tradition and religion. The author asserts that the first 52 Kārikās of Isvarakrsna contain the essence of Sāmkhya philosophy, while the remaining Kārikās 53-70 are later additions because the themes in the two portions are inconsistent. The traditional Samkhya as expounded by Gaudapada, Vacaspati Misra and others, and followed by the present day writers is based rather on the last 16 Kārikās than on the first 52. The object of the author is to give a logical interpretation of the philosophy embodied in the first 52 Kārikās untrammelled by the influence of the ancient commentators, who were, according to him, Sanskritists rather than philosophers. He wants to show that the outlook of the true Sāmkhya philosophy is logical, and not naturalistic, psychological, theistic or dualistic. A systematic explanation of the world of everyday experience is its object and not to propound a theory of the origin of the universe or ascertain the means for attaining salvation.

In this new interpretation of Sāṃkhya philosophy, pessimism (duḥkha) has no place, and hence, according to the author, the original Sāṃkhya teaches us to welcome worldly life and not to seek retirement from the world. In the 1st Kārikā, the author suggests that duḥkha should be replaced by bandha which means "erroneons view of the reality" (p. 6).

The Reality, according to the author, is not the Purusa or the Prakṛti alone but the unity of Vyakta, Avyakta and Jña, the three constituting a dynamic order. This dynamic order comprises innumerable units, each of which is an individual with his world. The Reality is, therefore, a "world of man-worlds." The author distinguishes Jña from Puruṣa, taking the former to signify the Vyaktāvyaktajña or the 'system of man-worlds' and the latter a linga-puruṣa or an individual with the world of his own. To the author, therefore, Jña is one while Puruṣas are many. Avyakta, according to him, cannot exist without

Vyakta, and Jña though virtually one, becomes many by combining with Avyakta when each of which should have the appellation of Purusa or Linga-Purusa.

Unlike other schools of Indian philosophy, Sāmkhya, according to the author, does not teach that Avidyā, Māyā, or Vāsanā is the cause of the evolution of the world, and hence knowledge in Sāmkhya does not mean the removal of Avidyā. Knowledge, he says, consists in Puruṣa's (i. e., Lingapuruṣa's) capability to construct the personal-objective order and ultimately to distinguish Jña from Avyakta, i.e., to ascertain the differences in a unity and not the complete separation of Puruṣa from Pradhāna as the traditional Sāmkhya asserts.

Coming to Satkāryavāda, the author rejects the interpretation of Vācaspati that the effect pre-exists in the cause, and explains it as the causal-objective process. He means to say that Vyakta is real as much as its cause the Avyakta, and Satkārya signifies that "the Pāñcabhautika causal-objective order is real." The author really strikes a new key when he says that real, according to Sāṃkhya, is not the unchanging and unchangeable but that change, if it be systematic, is real.

In Chapter III, he disapproves the comments of Vācaspati on the Kārikās dealing with Pramāṇa, on the ground that Vācaspati "has been totally misled by the Nyāya phenomenology of knowledge". This he has tried to show in the course of his explanation of Perception, Inference and Āptavacana. To him, Pramāṇas are "modes by which the necessary and universal objective order is constructed".

The twenty-three tattvas, according to the author, are not so many elements into which a being is analysable but constitute the individual and his world. Each individual in Sāṃkhya (as it is in Vijñānavāda), is a man-world, an instance of subject-object or unity in continuity. The distinctive feature of this philosophy is that there are as many worlds as there are men-worlds and it is this feature which, he says, has given rise to the common erroneous notion that the Puruṣas are innumerable. The author has substantiated his new interpretation of Sāṃkhya by commenting on the Kārikās from his new standpoint. In this, however, he has laid himself open to the charge that in his comments he has been more a philosopher than a Sanskritist.

The author has tried to draw support for his own theory from conflicting comments of Gaudapāda and Vācaspati Miśra on tathā ca in Kārikā II. Gaudapāda while commenting on these two words writes "anekam vyaktam ekam avyaktam, tathā ca pumanapyekah". But

the same Gaudapāda again writes while commenting on Kārikā 18: tasmāj janmamaranakaranānām pratiniyamāt puruṣabahutvaṃ siddhaṃ". The auther wants to make Gaudapāda consistent by holding that Gaudapāda means by 'pumān', in kārikā 11, the Jña which, according to the writer, is the "transcendental unity" while by puruṣa in kārikā 18 Gaudapāda means 'Linga-Puruṣas' which is an 'empirical instance of unity' (p. 60). The distinction the author wants to draw between 'Pumān' and 'Puruṣa' is, however, unwarranted by any of the Kārikās.

We appreciate the author's independent way of thinking, and not following, without any question, the comments of persons who were certainly not infallible. The commentators might have been great Sanskritists, but at the same time, it is a fact that their minds were so moulded by the influences of their time, e.g., an unquestioning respect for tradition, that it is on most occasions futile to expect from them a radically new view-point. It is difficult to see eye to eye with the author about the meaning of the Sāṃkhya Kārikās, but, in any case, we welcome efforts to make interpretations that may be bold departures from the traditional groove but are kept within the bounds of reason and probability.

N. D.

BHĀVA-PRAKĀŚANA of Śāradātanaya, edited with an introduction and indices by Yadugiri Yatirāja Svāmī of Melkot and K. S. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī Śiromaṇi. Pp. 77, 21, 410. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Baroda 1930.

Although a late work, the Bhāva-prakāśa or Bhāva-prakāśana of Śāradātanaya, who belonged probably to the middle of the 13th century, is by far the most exhaustive and remarkable of later treatises on Dramaturgy, Rasa and kindred topics. The work has been edited with great care and scholarship from four South Indian manuscripts. Although a commentary on this work appears to

I The present reviewer possesses a copy of the ms. of this weak through the kindness of K. Rama Pisharoti of Cochin State. It agrees, substantially with the manuscript B of the edition. A careful collation could not yet be done, but the present reviewer hopes to publish such material differences of reading as he may notice in the ms. in his possession.

exist, no commentary is given here with the text. One of the editors. His Holiness Yadugiri Yatirāja Śvāmī of Melkote (Mysore), is already well-known for his Sanskrit scholarship and for his learned editions of the Tapasa-vatsaraja (from the imperfect Berlin ms.) and of a part (chs. 22-24) of Bhoja's Śrigāra-prakāśa. The value and accuracy of this edition of the Bhava-prakasa are thus guaranteed by the names of its editors, but this value is also enhanced by the addition of full indices and a fairly comprehensive introduction in English on the author and his work, his date, his indebtedness to earlier authors, special points of interest in his work, and its place in the history of the Rasa school. The work consists of ten Adhikāras, treating respectively of Bhava (I), Rasa (II-III), the Hero, Heroine, their adjuncts etc. (IV-V), Sabda and Artha (VI), Nātya and Itivrtta (VII), the ten varieties of the drama (VIII), Nrtya (IX) and Nrtya-prayoga (X). There are references to a very large number of dramas and dramaturgic works, some of which are now lost. dramas cited are Amrta-mathana (Samavakāra), Indulekhā (Vīthī), Udātta-kuñjara (Ullopyaka), Kalikeli (Prahasana), Kusumasekhara (Īhāmṛga), Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa, Keli-raivata (Hallīsa), Gangā-bhagīratha (Utsrstānka), Tārakoddharana (Dima), Tripura-mardana (Prekṣaṇaka), Devi-parinaya, Vāli vadha (Prekṣaṇaka) Devi-mahādeva (Ullopyaka) Nandimāli (Bhāna), Nala-vikrama, Nṛṣimha-vijaya (Prekṣanaka), Padmāvatī-parinava (Prakarana), Pāndavānanda, Manikya-vallikā, Taranga-Madalekhā, Gangā-tarangikā, Rāmābhyudaya, Menakānahuşa (Toţaka), Rāmānanda (Śrīgadita), Śakti-rāmānuja (Utsṛṣṭānka), Vīņāvatī (Bhānikā), Vrtroddharana (Dima), Śringāratilaka (Prasthāna), Sugrīva-kelana, Mārīca-vañcita, Vakula-vīthī (Vīthī), Sāgara-kaumudī (Prahasana), Sairandhrikā (Prahasana) and Stambhitarambhaka (Totaka). Among the authors and works on dramaturgy, we find the names of Ānjaneya, Kohala, Drauhini, Padmabhū (Brahmā? as the creator of Natyaveda), Matrgupta, Sadasiva, Subandhu and Harsa. A Svapna-vāsavadatta is also quoted, but the passage has been already discussed in connexion with the Bhasa-problem by K. Rama Pisharoti in BSOS, iii, p. 639. While the latter half of the Bhavaprakasa deals with the topics of dramaturgy, the first five chapters are devoted to the more general subject of Rasa and Phāva, and are therefore interesting for their bearings on general pretic theories. Although the work borrows very freely ideas and passages from earlier treatises, and is always careful in stating previous opinions, there is yet considerable independence of treatment,

even if marked originality is rare except in matters of detail. As some of the previous works utilised by the author no longer exist, and as there is an attempt to present the subject in a clear and comprehensive form, the work deserves a close study and occupies an important place in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

S. K. DE

MEGASTHENES EN DE INDISCHE MAATSCHAPPIJ by Barbara Catharina Jacoba Timmer, pp. 325, H. J. Paris, Amsterdam 1930.

The importance of Megasthenes for the history of India cannot be overestimated, and yet little has been done to clear up the mist which shrouds the person and writings of that Greek ambassador since the days of Schwanbeck, who collected all the scattered fragments of the writings of Megasthenes. Almost every writer on the subject has tacitly taken it for granted that the text of Megasthenes as handed down by later historians is in every way dependable. The authoress of the volume under review has, therefore, earned the gratitude of all Indologists by this penetrating study, the purpose of which is to determine in which way Megasthenes collected materials for his book on India and how far we can rely on the text as it has come down to us.

The first part of the book is wholly devoted to text criticism.

The authoress has collected all that is known about the person of Megasthenes. The few passages that she has brought together relating to this point, however, do not yield much information of value. Excepting Arrian, Anab. v. 6, 2, no other passage gives any new information about Megasthenes. Here Arrian suggests that Megasthenes came to Ind ia several times and our authoress seems to favour this idea, although neither Megasthenes himself nor any other later author has spoken of such a thing.

In the second chapter of the first part, which is very important for the purpose of the whole study, the writer has tried to find out which authors have had direct access to Megasthenes and which of them have quoted him only indirectly. Our authoress comes to the conclusion that Diodoros, Arrian, and Strabo have used Megasthenes directly and are therefore more or less dependable. However, here too, in our opinion, a more critical attitude should be taken, e.g., Arrian Ind. v. 3 says of Megasthenes, that he has been with Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and also with Porus, who was still more powerful.

I.H.Q., DECEMBER 1931

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Such a statement is wrong because Porus could never have been more powerful than Candragupta Maurya. The Schwanbeck reveals another difficulty viz., that even the text of Arian has not been handed down to us in its original form. Moreover, we shall have to consider that Megasthenes' text might (or must) have undergone much mutilation and distortion during the period separating him from the later historians.

In the third chapter of the first part, our authoress has tried to reconstruct the original arrangement of the contents of Megasthenes' work and in the fourth she has given some very fruitful general ideas regarding the criticism of Megasthenes. By comparing Megasthenes with contemporary Indian sources, the writer rightly points out that in the latter, the Indian society is represented as it should be and not as it actually was. Megasthenes too is not free from this foible, but his idealisation is more in the nature of uncritical generalisation.

In the second part of the work, which covers by far the greater part of the volume, our authoress is on fairly familiar ground. Here she has dealt in detail with the fragments of Megasthenes about the customs and the social organisations of India. Fragments relating to the magnitude and nature of India as well as those on divine service and mythology have been left out of consideration. On every point falling within the plan of the work, the writer has collected the fragments of Megasthenes as handed down by Greek and Roman writers and has added to each a Dutch translation. Then follow detailed discussions on the point in which all relevent Indian sources have been used. Naturally, the Kautiliya and the Smrtis have been very much requisitioned and the Buddhist literature too has been given all due consideration.

In short, this book is hard to beat "in übersichtlichkeit" and a glance at the mass of foot-notes in almost every page will convince the reader that the writer has spared no pains to bring the work into line with the latest researches. It ought to be carefully studied by every student interested in the social history of India.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

# Select Contents of Oriental Journals

# Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. xiii, pt, i (Oct., 1931)

- PRALHAD C. DIWANJI.—Kṛṣṇakutūhala Nāṭaka. This analysis of a manuscript of the Kṛṣṇakutūhala Nāṭaka shows definitely that the work is not a composition of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the famous author of the Advaitasiddhi as has been believed up till now. The poet of the same name who wrote this drama was a son of Arundhatī and Nārāyaṇa of the Śâṇḍilya, Gotra and a disciple of Kṛṣṇa Sarasvatī, while the author of the Advaitasiddhi is known to have been a son of Purandarācārya Miśra of the Kāśyapa Gotra and a disciple of Viśveśvara Sarasvatī.
- K. B. PATHAK.—The Text of the Jainendra-vyākaraņa and the Priority of Candra to Pūjyapāda.
- A. N. UPADHYE.—Subhacandra and his Prakrit Grammar.
- B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA,—An Attack on Śrī Madhvācārya in the Saurapurāṇa. The scurrilous description of Madhvācārya and the adverse criticism of his systems as found in the 39th and the 40th chapters of the Saurapurāṇa have been regarded as spurious interpolations showing historical blunders and metaphysical untenability.

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI.—Buddhist Logic (an introductory survey).

A. N. UPADHYE.—An Old Prefatory Gloss on Istopadesa.

.—Authorship of Svarūpasambodhana. The Svarūpasambodhana, a short discourse on the Jaina concept of the path of Liberation, is here fathered upon Mahāsena against its traditional ascription to Akalanka.

P. K. Gode.—The Bharata-Ādibharata Problem and the Ms. of Ādibharata in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Some data bearing on the Bharata-Ādibharata problem have been recorded here and the information has been given that the manuscript described to be a copy of the Ādibharata deposited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental Library is really a fragmentary copy of Bharata's Nātyaśāstra.

# Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,

London, vol. vi, pt. 3

S. K. DE.—Bhāgavatism and Sun-worship. Without denying the influence of the solar myths or solar cults on the Pāñcarātra religion or Bhāgavatism, the writer opposes the arguments put forward by Grierson in favour of his theory that the Monotheistic Bhaktidoctrine of the Bhāgavata religion is a direct development of or was originally connected with the Sun-worship.

T. N. DAVE. - Notes on Gujrātī Phonology.

## Indian Antiquary, October, 1931

W. H. MORELAND.—Notes on Indian Maunds. The Southern maund forms the subject-matter of this instalment.

KALIPADA MITRA.—The Gāydānr Festival and its Parallels. This continued paper begins with a description of a cattle festival held in Bihar every year on the day following the Diwālī in the month of Kārtik. The principal item of the festival is the killing of a pig (tied with cords) by setting cows on it.

ANAND KOUL.—Lallā-vākyāni (the wise sayings of Lal Ded.)

HIRA LAL,—Place Names. This is an attempt to unravel the mysteries surrounding some names of places in the Central Provinces of India. In this portion of the article, it has been shown that some placenames are related to the names of trees or a combination of names of trees and animals coupled with some terms indicating water. The names noticed here owe their origin to Gondi, the principal language of the Dravidians living in the Central Provinces.

## lbid., November, 1931

- W. H. MORELAND,—Notes on Indian Maunds. Delhi Maunds have been dealt with in this instalment of the article.
- A. BENKATASUBBIAH.—Athabhāgīre. This continued paper concludes with the suggestion that the word athabhāgīre occurring in the Rumminder cillar Inscription of Asoka may have a reference to the

possession of the following eight objects of enjoyment viz., nidhi, nikṣepa, jala, pāṣāna, akṣiṇī, agāmi, siddha and sādhya. That they may be the meaning is inferred from a scrutiny of a few later inscriptions, containing the expression aṣtabhoga-tejassāmya.

HIRA LAL.—Place Names. This part of the article deals with the names of the villages derived from a variety of causes, e.g. the nature of the sites they occupy, the temples of gods they possess, and the names of castes of the people dwelling there.

### Ibid, December, 1931

- W. H. MORELAND.—Notes on Indian Maunds. It treats of Agra Maunds.
- KALIPADA MITRA.—The Gavadang Festival and its Parallels. This is the second instalment of a paper continued from the October issue of the Journal. It contains a description of the Soharai festival of the Oraons and mentions some other instances of festivals held in different parts of India in which the pig-sacrifice forms an important item, similar to that of the Gavadang Festival of Bihar.
- JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—Padihārs. The author is of opinion that the Padihāra clan of Rajputana is of foreign origin.

## Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,

vol. VI, pt. i (July, 1931)

- C. NARAYANA RAO.—A Study of the Telugu Roots.
- M. RAMA RAO.—Political History of the Kākatīyas. This portion deals with the reigns of Rudra, Mahādeva and Gaṇapati (1158-1261 A.D.).
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Dravidic Word-Studies.
- A. Subbaraya Chetty.—New Light on Tippu-Sultan. The writer expresses the opinion that Tippu was a "broad-minded benevolent ruler, animated with the noble ideals of religious toleration and national unity" and was not a religious fanatic as some have described him to be.
- K. VENKATAPPAYYA.—Education in Ancient India. This is a small portion (2 pp.) of a continued article dealing with the system of education prevalent in the Buddhist period and showing that the curriculum of study adopted at the Buddhist seats of learning, as described in the early historical records, did not differ much from the curriculum adopted in the Brāhmanical inactutions.

R. SUBBA RAO.— The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. Continued.

# Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 51, no. 3 (September, 1931)

GEORGE W. BRIGGS.—The Indian Rhinoceros as a Sacred Animal.

It has been shown that the rhinoceros is known in India from very early times, and the literary references and the customs current even now suggest the sacred character of the animal.

# Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XVII, pt. IV (December, 1931)

- JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.—Śakastān, the Country of the Śakas: Its Possession by the Ancient Persians. From references to the name of Śakastān in the ancient literature of Iran as also the occurrence of the word Śaka in the Behisstān inscription of Darius (d. 445 B. C.), the writer reaches the conclusion that Śakastān or Seistān on the frontiers of the ancient Hindustan "was under the sway and influence of the ancient Iranians for a long time anterior to 160 B.C."
- JADUNATH SARKAR.—A Contemporary Picture of the Mughal Court in 1743 A.D. Nineteen sheets of news-letters (containing 36 days' occurrences) of the Imperial Court of Delhi, 1743, during the reign of Muhammad Shah have been translated here into English. These letters deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris furnish us with a vivid picture of the lifeless condition of the Mughal Court of the time and contain details of some important events connected with the Maratha history.
- SARAT CHANDRA ROY.—The Effects on the Aborigines of Chota-Nagpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation.
- SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—Further Notes on the Kolarian Belief about the Neolithic Celts.
- K. P. JAVASWAL.—Purāna Coin and the Date of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra. It has been suggested that the Purāna coin mentioned in Manubut unknown to the Pāli Buddhist canon and the Kautiliya was so called from the time when a new style of coinage with royal names on the coins was introduced in Magadha and the Midcountry under the Sungas. So the term indicates indirectly the time of the Magadha Pharmaśāstra,

- "—Kumārāmātya. The object of the note is to show that the expression Kumārāmātya occurring in the Hindole Plate refers to the position of the grantee on whom the dignity of a kumāra (prince) was conferred, though he did not come of the royal stock.
- .—An Exact Date in the Reign of Asoka. A traditional account of the redistribution of Buddha's relics by Asoka is recorded by Yuan Chwang. He says the relics were redistributed all over India at a time when the face of the sun darkened. M. Robert Razy (Journal Asiatique, 1930) suggests that the darkness of the sun indicates a solar eclipse. T. R. Von Oppolzer calculating the dates of solar eclipses for over thirty centuries in his Kanon der Finsternisse points out the 4th May, 248 B.C. as the date of a solar eclipse. So the writer of this note takes 248 B.C. as the year when the relics were distributed by Asoka throughout his empire.
- S. PATNAIK.—Additional Notes on the Sobhaneswar Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanātha.
- R. CH. PANDA.—Note on an Oriva Copper-plate Inscription of Ramachandra Deo, Śaka 1728.
- A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Two Brāhmī Seals from Buxar. The legends of these two private seals in Māgadhī Prākṛt read Śadaśanaśa and Hathikaśa, their script suggesting, according to the writer, a pre-Mauryan date for the seals.
- UMESA MIŚRA.—Mīmāmsāśāstrasarvasva of Halāyudha. This instalment of the edition begins with the last portion of the 3rd Adhikaraṇa of Book II, pāda ii and ends with the beginning of the 4th pāda of the 2nd Book.

## Journal of Indian History, vol. X, pt. ii (August, 1931)

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.—Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. An analysis of the historical data of the time of Abul Hasan, the last Sultan of Golkonda, who appointed two Brāhmaṇa brothers as his chief minister and controller of the military administration, shows that neither was the ruler incompetent as ordinarily supposed nor was the ministers guilty of maladministration as hitherto believed. The overthrow of Golkonda resulting in the absorption of the kingdom into the empire of the Mughals under Aurangzeb was, according to the

writer, due to "the machinations of a greater power, fanatic in the extreme in regard to a Shiah sovereign and his Brāhmaṇa ministers".

- K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR.—A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy. expression Malavaganasthiti occurring in the Mandalsor Inscription has been given here a new interpretation. It signifies 'the system of reckoning (time) prevalant in the Malava country', The authority of a kośa has been cited in support of the writer's view that gana in the expression means ganana (reckoning) and has no reference to a tribe or clan with its republican constitution of government. In the light of this new interpretation of the word gana, the theory that the Vikrama Era was founded by Malava clan in commemoration of its republican form of government has been opposed. Evidences have been adduced to prove that king Vikramāditya of the Hindu legend was an historical personage with his capital at Ujjayanī and founded the era which bears his name. Arguments have been put forward against the view that the era, because of its mention in the earlier inscriptions without the founder's name, can be taken to have been adopted and designated by Candra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty.
  - C. S. SRINIVASACHARI,—The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ānanda Ranga Pillai (1736-61).
  - SAILESWAR SEN.—The Historical Origin of the Distinction between Svārthānumāna and Parārthānumāna.
  - GEORGE M. MORAES—Sindābūr of the Arab Writers. The object of this paper is to show that the identification of the town of Sindābūr (mentioned by the Arab writers of the Middle Ages) with Candrapur as suggested by Colonel Yule is confirmed by facts now brought to our notice in connection with the history of Konkan.

## Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. iv (Oct.-Dec., 1931)

- K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER.—Some More Nyāyas, Four 'popular maxims' not included in the Laukikanyāyāñjali compiled priviously by Colonel Jacob have been explained here.
- N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—A Note on Śrī Virūpākṣa. Regarding the reason why the emperors of Vijayanagara used to affix the words Srī Virūpākṣa to their dānānuśāsanas instead of their names, the writer thinks that because Harihara and Bukka fought a battle and save kingdom from an external invasion with the help

of the money belonging to the temple of Virūpākṣa, the god was supposed to have become the legal owner of the state and therefore the name of the god was affixed to every document.

- N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI.—Bhavasamkrāntisūtra. This Mahāyāna text is restored from the Tibetan version with an English translation. It deals principally with the transitoriness of Karman and its
- T. R. CHINTAMANI. Some Minor Works of Śrī Citsukhācārya. Citsukha's Adhikaranamanjari a short compendium of the adhikaranas (sections) of the Brahmasutra is edited here for the first
- P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit.
- T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—The Banas. The paper deals with the history of the people called Bana or Vanarayars who played an important part in South Indian politics either as officials or as feudatories of the ruling powers.
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—Mādhava: an unknown Bhāsyakāra for the Rgveda. The Adyar Library of Madras possesses a fragmentary Rg-veda-bhāṣya by a Mādhava, who is different from both Sāyaṇa-Mādhava and Venkaṭa-Mādhava, two other known commentators of the Rg-veda. As pointed out by Dr. Raja, Devarāja quotes from this Mādhava in the Nighantu-bhāṣya, but wrongly identifies with Venkata-Mādhava. The writer inclines to assign this new Mādhava to a date anterior to 600 A.D., and expresses the intention to bring out an edition of the available portion of the bhasya.
- M. HIRIYANNA.-Ista-siddhi: an Old Advaitic Work. This is an account of the Ista-siddhi, a Vedānta treatise in eight chapters referred to by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The limits to the date of the work have been fixed between 850 and 1050 A.D. It is being edited in Gækwad's Oriental Series.
- T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—Note on the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja.

# Obituary Notice

The death of Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji has removed one of the leading figures in the field of Indian Archæology. He was born on the 13th April, 1885, and educated in the Presidency College, Calcutta. When studying for the B. A. degree he came under the influence of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastrī, C. I. E., then Professor of Sanskrit, and was later on introduced to Dr. Theodore Bloch, then Superintendent of Archæology, Bengal Circle. Mr. Banerji attached himself to Dr. Bloch as an honorary worker and accompanied him in his tours of exploration and co-operated with him in his excavations. Mr. Banerji obtained his B. A. Degree in 1907 and was appointed to compile a Catalogue of the Archæological specimens in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. His researches in the Lucknow Museum enabled him to make important epigraphical discoveries that formed the basis of his first two important papers, -(I) "Scythian Period of Indian History" published in the Indian Antiquary, vol, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 25-75; and (2) "New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period" (Epigraphia Indica, vol. X, pp. 106-121). Soon after the death of Dr. Bloch, Mr. Banerji was appointed Excavation Assistant to the Director General of Archæology in India in February, 1910 and attached to the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum. The Archæological Section was placed under the control of the Director General of Archaeology in India in December, 1910. In November, 1911, Mr. Banerji was promoted to the grade of the Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, In this capacity Mr. Banerji worked in the Indian Museum till he was appointed Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle, Poona, in August, 1917. During his service in the Indian Museum he contributed a large number of papers to the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Epigraphia Indica and the Annual Report of the Archaological Survey of India. Two of his most notable publications of this period are "The Palas of Bengal" published in the series of Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. V, No. 3), and his "History of Bengal"in the Bengali language in two volumes. It was also while working in the Indian Museum that Mr. Barerji collected materials for his Monogran's on "Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture" now in the press.

As Superintendent of Archæology of the Western Circle, Mr. Banerji began the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkana District in Sind in 1922-23. The story of the excavation is thus told by Sir John Marshall in his monumental work Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization (pp. 10):

"The site had long been known to district officials in Sind, and had been visited more than once by local archæological officers, but it was not until 1922, when Mr. R. D. Bonerji started to dig there, that the pre-historic character of its remains was revealed.

"His primary object was to lay bare the Buddhist remains, and it was while engaged on this task that he came by chance on several seals which he recognised at once as belonging to the same class as the remarkable seals inscribed with legends in an undecipherable script which had long been known to us from the ruins of Harappa in the Panjab. As it happened, the excavation of Harappa itself had at my instance been taken up in the year previous by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and enough had already been brought to light to demonstrate conclusively that its remains, including the inscribed seals, were referable to the Chalcolithic Age. Thus, Mr. Banerji's find came at a singularly opportune moment, when we were specially eager to locate other sites of the same early age as Harappa. Mr. Banerji himself was quick to appreciate the value of his discovery, and lost no time in following it up.

"With the hot season rapidly approaching, Mr. Banerji's digging was necessarily very restricted, and it is no wonder, therefore, that his achievements have been put in the shade by the much bigger operations that have since been carried out. This does not, however, lessen the credit due to him. His task at Mohenjo-Daro was far from being as simple as it may now appear. Apart from the discoveries at Harappa, which he had not personally seen, nothing whatever was then known of the Indus civilization. The few structural remains of that civilization which he unearthed were built of bricks identical with those used in the Buddhist Stupa and Monastery, and bore so close a resemblance to the latter that even now it is not always easy to discriminate between them. Nevertheless, Mr. Banerji divined, and rightly divined, that these earlier remains must have antedated the Buddhist stuctures, which were only a foot or two above them, by some two or three thousand years. That was no small achievement! Naturally, some of his conclusions have required odification-it could hardly have been otherwise—but in the main they have been proved by our subsequent researches to be remarkably correct.

"For another reason also Mr. Banerji's work at Mohenjo-Daro is deserving of special recognition; for it was carried through in the face of very real difficulties, due in part to lack of adequate funds, in part to the hardships inseparable from camp life in such a trying climate. With the comfortable quarters for the officers and staff which I took steps to have erected at Mohenjo-Daro between 1925 and 1927, exacavation there has become a very much easier and more pleasant task than it was in the first three seasons, when Mr. Banerji and his successors were living under canvas. The fact that two out of these three officers—Messrs, Banerji and K. N. Dikshit—completely broke down in health before their labours were finished is proof enough of the many privations they had to endure."

Ill health compelled Mr. Banerji to leave the Western Circle in May, 1923 on long leave. During his tenure of office as Superintendent that circle, he compiled two important monographs, Basreliefs of Badami that has been published as one of the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India (no. 25) and The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments (M.A.S.I, no. 23). In June, 1924, Mr. Banerji was placed in charge of the Eastern Circle of the Archæological Survey of India and held charge of the Circle for over two years till his retirement in August, 1926. His most notable Eastern Circle is the clearance of the great work in the Buddhist temple at Paharpur. The excavations at Paharpur were inaugurated by the Director General of Archæology in India in 1923 at the instance and with the financial assistance of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya, President of the Verendra Research Society, and the work was placed under the charge of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Prof. Bhadarkar worked for one season only and cleared a part of the rampart of the old fortified city.

After his retirement Mr. Banerji was appointed the Nandi Professor of Ancient Indian History at the Benares Hindu University and held this appointment till his death in 1930. His comprehensive History of Orissa in two volumes written during this period has appeared after his death. All the writings of Professor Banerji are informative and singularly free from bias. His memory will ever remain associated with the epoch-making discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Paharpur.

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  - The Dabhades and the Conquest of Gujarat. 12.
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# The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

### WITH AN APPENDIX

(containing extracts from the Sumerian and Indian literature throwing light upon the words occurring in the Inscriptions of the Indus Valley, Elam and Crete)

BY

DR. PRAN NATH, D. Sc. (London), PH. D. (Vienna)

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# The Scripts on the Indus Valley Seals

I

### PREFATORY

The paramount importance for the history of ancient Indian civilization of deciphering the signs, or scripts, engraved upon the large number of seals found at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro in Sindh, as also in Iran and Sumer, had long impressed itself upon my mind. I made up my mind to try and see whether I could discover a clue. I was encouraged from the beginning by my old English friends, and received much help from them. Messers. Sidney Smith and Gadd of the British Museum were good enough to give me advice, and Prof. S. L. Langdon kindly allowed me to go through a manuscript in which he had already pointed out that the Indus script appeared to be in some way connected with the Brāhmī script of the Aśokan period. This view encouraged me greatly because I had come to the same conclusion though working on different lines. My researches have convinced me that what have previously been regarded as pictographs or ideographs are actually letters or monographs based on characters (Aksara). I published my first note in the July (1931) issue of the JRAS. As I proceeded with the work I found more and more grounds for the view that the signs on the Indus seals as well as on the inscriptions of Elam and Crete, are merely monograms and could be deciphered if we knew the language in which they are written and the phonetic value of the syllables. As I gained further experience of the signs, I gradually began to improve my readings of the inscriptions. If I venture to suggest a system for deciphering these inscriptions, my only excuse is to invite the co-operation of other scholars. There is for solution a good number of technical questions regarding the monosyllabic nature of the language, phonetic complements, dingir (god) signs, and the order in which the different syllables in a complicated monogram should be combined as well as others concerning the monograms and the symbols of gods and goddesses which appear to have been borrowed by the Indus people from their neighbours. Inough the latter are few, still their origin may prove to be great value,

I am confident that the Brāhmī script, as far as its origin is concerned, has nothing to do with the Phœnicians. Nor was it imported from Asia Minor. Similarly, the scripts of different parts of India cannot all be traced to the Brāhmī of the Asokan period. It would be as absurd to do this as to derive all the Prākṛta languages of India from the Prākṛta of Asoka's time. The origin of the Brāhmī script current in the different provinces of ancient India probably dates from pre-historic times. Some of the characters appear to be closely connected with symbols which were used as far back perhaps as 4,000 B.C. They are closely connected with the proto-Elamite signs, and their phonetic values would not appear to differ very much.

II

# THE SIGNS ON THE INDUS SEALS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ON A SYLLABIC BASIS\*

A close examination of the Indus signs discloses that they may be much reduced in number, provided the radical signs and the strokes are indexed separately. When this is done, the strokes show a remarkable resemblance to the vowel signs used in the earliest Brāhmī writing of southern as well as northern India. We find the same type of resemblance between the Brāhmī consonants and the radical signs of the Indus script. In my paper in the JRAS., I have attempted to show that the signs on the Indus seals could be classified on a script basis, and when reduced to their simple forms they showed a remarkable similarity with the characters known as Brāhmī. I prepared a key also for the guidance of scholars interested in the decipherment of the Indus script. For the last six months I have been struggling to identify the signs on the Indus seals with the help of the proto-Elamite inscriptions. During this interval about 500 punch-marked coins were also examined. One of them contains in pure Indus seals script an inscription reading ni-(na)-Rāma-Raghu-Dusuluda, and one of much later date, an inscription which reads Śrī-Rāma-

<sup>\*</sup> I am thankful to the publisher Mr. Arthur Probsthain for kindly giving me permission to publish the hand-sketches of scripts and other prices of the illustrations contained in the Mohenjo daro and the Indus Civilization.

Jānikī. Symbols or monograms of the Lord Kṛṣṇa are numerous.

The sign occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. On the Nāl pottery we also find a somewhat similar sign, . In Babylonia a like sign in a reversed position, like , was considered one of the most sacred symbols of the Earth-goddess. Prof. Langdon writes in his Semitic Mythology that "the supreme importance of this goddess is obvious by the place and nature of her symbol among the emblems of the gods. On Fig. 51 her throne follows those of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and supports a curious object, a broad band shaped like the Greek letter Omega inverted. On one throne, where it follows the sym-

bols of Marduk and Nebo (first two symbols in third register here), this band lies flat on the throne with ends coiled inward, not outward as here. On other monuments, the Omega symbol stands alone without a throne, and in a position exactly like Omega. This symbol is called markasu rabu, 'the great band' of the Esikilla, 'holy house.' The word markasu 'band,' 'rope' is employed in Babylonian philosophy for the cosmic principle which unites all things, and is used also in the sense of 'support,' the divine power, and law which hold the universe together. It is employed more often of the god, the first principle, water, Enki-Ea, and of his sons Marduk and Nebo". (p. 109).

In the Minoan inscriptions the symbol is given the pictorial form of a cow's head [see ME, p. 168 (p. 89 G)]. A similar symbol, like occurs widely in the Vedas. The old Vedic school pronounces it gum. This pronunciation has no direct connection with any known script of modern times. It led me to take the radical sign as ga, and the remaining two circles as representing the vowel sign u. A careful examination of the northern script of the early period seemed to support the conclusion. The following table may give an idea of how far the identification of the Indus sign with go is borne out by the Brāhmī scripts current in different provinces. The reference numbers within brackets refer to Bühler's Tables, and the other numbers to the Tables given by Burnel,

in his South Indian Palæography.

TABLE I

Showing how the Indus sign may be identified with ga.

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The identification of na with three lines is also based on a comparative study of different scripts current in India. The same method was applied in finding out the values sa, ja, ra, la, etc. Besides the identification of consonants, I have done my best to identify the vowel signs; but here there is much still to be done. Further it may be noticed that the sign E occurs frequently on the Indus seals, but there it does not give satisfactory results if taken as ja, whereas in the case of the punch-marked coins this value seems to be applicable. I still have to solve this difficulty with the help of the proto-Elamite inscriptions. Comparative tables upon which the identification of certain

5

Indus signs is based are given below. The numbers in brackets refer to Bühler's Tables, the other numbers refer to the plates in Burnell's South Indian Palæography.

### TABLE II

Showing how the Indus signs  $\wedge$  and  $\cap$  may be identified with s, and the signs  $\wedge$  and  $\wedge$  with sa.

### TABLE III

Showing how the Indus signs be identified with r and l.

AAITUUOAU 双近了 XII 7 7 P 2 IMX [1] 7 13 म म १६ [1] [17]

INDUS: 7,

TABLE IV

Showing how the sign E found on the punch-marked coins may be identified with ja.

> A Ā I I V Ū O AV 王五名 I EE II IN & E1 A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

### TABLE V

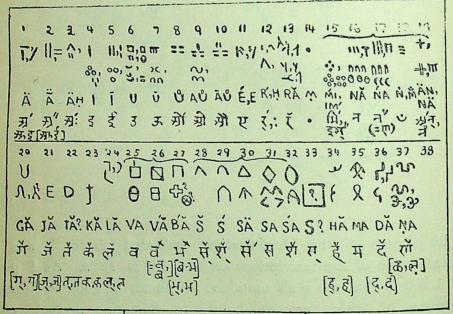
Showing how the three big lines and the three small lines found on the Indus seals may be identified with na (?) and na respectively.

By means of the identifications indicated above, I was able to read some of the inscriptions on the Indus seals. As I proceeded I found that the seals contained the names of gods and goddesses, some of which are well-known in Sumerian mythology and some in the Paurāṇika and the Tāntrika cults of India. The application of these identifications to the reading of the signs on some of the punch-marked coins convinced me that the method I was following could not be altogether wrong. The progress made in this direction may be seen from the following tables. The work is, however, still far from being complete, owing chieny to the paucity of

materials available. It takes much time to examine the punchmarked coins thoroughly, as they have to be cleaned carefully before an accurate facsimile can be prepared. The syllabary and the system of indexing or classifying the signs upon which my decipherment of inscriptions on the Indus seals is based are given in the following tables (Tables VI and VII). For purposes of transliteration, the Sumerian and Sanskrit equivalents have been noted beneath.

TABLE VI

Indus vowels, consonants and 'god signs.'



## TABLE VII

Indus signs, with components and decipherment suggested.

- Notes.—(I) The small Roman figures in the first column represent my serial numbers.
  - (2) The large Roman figures in the second column refer to the numbers in the sign-list in Sir John Marshall's volume Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.

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					XXVIXCYII	B	99	4+32+	(CCC )
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TIE	Èn	0	0=	32+18	CXXIA			5+31+	टटाए मामा प्याप १६+५+१६
XIV	LX	8		32+32		V	Λ=	30+	ट्टार मा मा १६+४+१६
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#### III

# ANCIENT INDIAN PUNCH-MARKED COINS

Before discussing the decipherment of the inscriptions of the Indus basin as well as those of other countries it is desirable to note a few facts regarding the punch-marked coins which have been found throughout India in considerable quantities. These coins are many thousands in number. The British Museum alone has a collection of more than two thousand. For the history of India they are probably as important as the finds in the Indus basin. My researches lead me to assign these coins to different, and probably widely separated, periods of history. Some of them appear to contain monograms prepared from the syllabic signs current in the later period in Elam. There is a good number of punch-marked coins which bear signs found in the Indus script. The following table will show how the sign gu or go in the Indus script has been preserved on the punch-marked coins.

### TABLE VIII

BrmcLINOI BrMCLINO.2 BrM.CL. INO.3 BrMCLINO.4

The state of the s

Br.M.C. II NO. 5 Br.M.CL. II NO 6 Br.M.CL. II NO 7-8 Br.M.CL. NO. IV. 1-4

STA 334 FAC

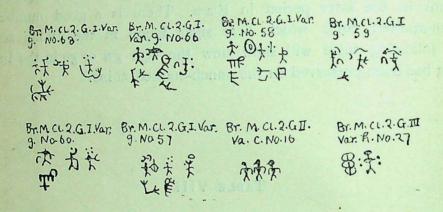
Br. M. CL TINa13. see also. No. 19-13.

Br.M. CL. 2. G. II. V. e. 21 Rev. 7500 97 III- 3812 ft?

Br. M. CL. 2.G. I Var. a. No. (1) There is a large number of coins in the British Museum which bear the 'homo-sign' found in the Indus script; and one homo-sign on a punch-marked coin is exactly the same as those on some of the Indus seals. The following table shows some examples of such signs.

TABLE IX

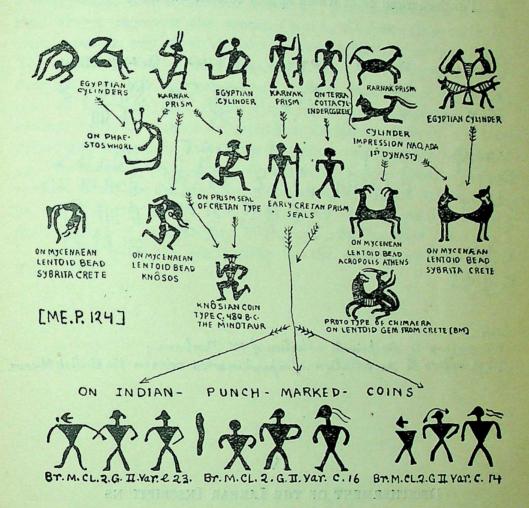
Homo-signs as found on the punch-marked coins



A certain number of punch-marked coins appears to suggest intercourse between India and the western world. Sir Arthur Evans has discussed in his work on the Minoan script a peculiar type of homosign which he found to be a popular item on the Egyptian pottery as well as on that of Asia Minor. The following comparative table will give an idea of the importance of the punch-marked coins.

### TABLE X

The homo-sign as found in Asia Minor compared with similar signs found on punch-marked coins



14

The following punch-marked coins contain what I read as inscriptions,

### TABLE XI

Punch-marked coins which appear to contain inscriptions.

P.T. (I)	P.T. (2)	P.T. (3)	P.T.(H)	Br.M.CL. VII. No.
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P.T. refers to the private collection of M. Thorburn; Br.M. refers to the collection of spunch marked coins in the British Museum.

#### IV

### DECIPHERMENT OF THE LINEAR INSCRIPTIONS

## (a) Decipherment of about eighty Indus Inscriptions

Before taking up the decipherment of the Indus inscriptions it may be pointed out that there are a few signs, the phonetic values of which have yet to be ascertained. In some cases the Indus inscriptions do not help because the sign occurs only once or twice in them. The method usually followed by me hitherto in identifying doubtful signs has been to compare them with the signs found in the proto-Elamite inscriptions. Fortunately the script of the Indus

basin is not wholly isolated. It appears to have characters derived from the proto-Elamite script.

It may be added that wherever a is given in the decipherment, its value is uncertain. Similarly the value of r is doubtful. If the sign in question were read as h it would give a known word. Signs formed by either one or two big lines sometimes seem to represent i or  $\bar{\imath}$  respectively, and sometimes a and  $\bar{a}$ . When these lines are small they always represent the sounds i and  $\bar{\imath}$ . Similarly there occurs in some cases a very small stroke. I have taken this to represent h. The sign occurring in seals Nos. 199, 188, 135, etc., which has been deciphered as sarr or sarra would be more intelligible if it could be read as sri. One bent stroke would in that case represent rand another i; but I cannot be sure about the latter. Difficulties of this nature will have to be cleared up by future workers. Much depends upon the values to be assigned to the small strokes. Other technical points I shall discuss in a subsequent article, in which I shall attempt to edit the rest of the Indus inscriptions hitherto published. The decipherment of some eighty inscriptions now proposed will serve, I hope, to show the practicability of the system adopted. (See Table XII).1

I The numbers in the Table refer to the numbers on the plates in Sir John Marshall's Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization.

# TABLE XII

Selected inscriptions on Indus seals and sealings, with proposed decipherment in Roman characters.

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[I] SA	RISA[ISAR]MA	SAR.	SINI- TSAR	ISA-NAGESA
97 天 (	Y " 1 1 1 143	Q IIV 2: - Q 75	3 F\$16 11 \$ 10	8"2" X Y Y 2" 8
GU-RI-NINI-MU.	SI-NI-ISAR	ISAR-NAGESA-	GU-ISAR-ILA.	G C. LISAR-NI
15年151		I-MAHISAR		N-RISANFISANA
	GU-LISAR-MA		是以此野田 24	
	AIM-WIA	I SHI MINISAR	d Gu.TLUTH =	GU LISAR-MA
		[SIMA-NI-ISART	GU-VAPATIL	TAHT-MA-GAU.
		[SIMA-NI-TSAR]	G8-VARATUN,	LAHJ-MA-GAU.

The decipherment of the Indus inscriptions given in the above Table contains only the names of gods and goddeses worshipped by the Indus people. It seems that in Sumer, as in India, a god was hardly ever named without some particular epithet. Even in modern times we always say Lord Kṛṣṇa, or Bhagavān Buddha, etc. Removing the epithet, we have the actual name of the god or goddess left. The tradition in this respect seems to have been much the same in Sumer as in India. For instance, the god Lila that appears in the Sumerian pantheon under the name Entil, appears in the Indus inscriptions as Go-Lila. If we understand the words go and en to be epithets we can identify the god. The following words often appear before the names of gods and goddesses:—

(1) go; (2) nin, ni; (3) nun, nu, no; (4) nana, nanar, na; (5) en, ena; (6) isa, isar, isara, isana, isan, isi, isani; (7) gur, guru; (8) ma; (9) gula. (For the meaning of these words see Appendix, Extract No. VIII).

If the meanings of the words as given in the Appendix be taken into account it will become easy to recognise the proper names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions. The following comparative table may give some idea of the links between Indian mythology and that of the western countries.

Indus dec	ciphered by me godde	esses probably Sumer		ames as found Indian litera- ture
	result.	mines 2000 Self.		
123	d. Gu-nin-sina	Nin-sina	Ninsinna	Nicīna
229	Sini-isar	Sini	Sin	Sinī-vali
3	Isal-Nagesa-	Nagesa		Nageśa
	ma-ninini-isar	Ninini	Innini	· · · · ·
7	ninisar	Ninisa		
80	Sissnah-suresar	Sissna		Śiśna
465	Gu-nina-isar	Nina	Nina	(Nainā)
217	Gu-sasi	Sasi	•••••	Śaśi
460	Gula-ni	Gula	Gula	Gula ^
405	Gu-nura-si3ci-isana	Gunura		(Gunura)
479	Ni-isa-sarra(srih)	Sarrà?	Sara '	Sara .

Indus inscriptions as deciphered by me	Names of gods and goddesses probably referred to	Names as found in Sumerian mytho- logy	Names as found in Indian litera- ture
No. xlix Gu-sam	Sa or G		Saigo
46 Ni-isar-no (G	ana) Nisa or	Gana	Gaṇa or Naga
243, 249 Sinna	Sinna	Sin	Sina
H, 1926 Ni-gu-sinis	a- Sini Nini	Inni	Sini-vālī (Nainā)
541 Gu-issa-nag	esa go-issa Nagesa	·····	(Gorīsa, Go-isa-
	ivage a		Nageša)
97 Guri-nini-m	u- Guri		Gaurī
isisih			Gaurr
Ninisa-isara sanbhu	-ila-i Ila-isa Bhu	Ś	anbhu, Sambhu
76 d. Sini-isana	Sini	Sin	Sini-vālī
246 Sini-isar	Sini	Sin	Sini-vālī
84 d. Bau-san-isa	r-isar Bau	Bau	Bhu, Śa
	Sa		Bhuṣa
201 Gu-si <sup>8</sup> vah	Siva		Siva
224 Gur-lila-sasi	Lila, S	asi Lil	Śaśi, Lila
208 d. Gu-lila-mah	Lila	Lil	Lila
91 Isana-isar	Isana	ong establishing the attenuation of the con-	Īśāna, Īṣāṇa
96 Diu-(Du)-sa mu-isar	rra- Diu-(D	u)-sarra Dusar	Anti-10 X 101
411 Ena (Ea-na	) Ena	Ea	Ena
202 Ma-gah-i	? (Mag	a, Ge	Māghi
395 Sini-isa- <sup>2</sup> d.	Ma-Ge magur Sini, M		
245 Gu-sar-isarr	a Isarra	Sa Isar	Maghona Śrīśa Śiva,
556 Gu-siva-gu-i	isah-ma Siva, (	Guisah	Gorīsa, Go-īsa
157 Sini-isar	Sini'	Sin	Sinī-vālī

	inscriptions as Names of	gods and Name	s as found in	Names as found
decipn	ered by me goddesses referr	probably Sume	rian mytho- logy	in Indian litera-
I	Gu-lisar-mama-?	Gulisa		Conina
	THE REPORT OF			Gorisa, Gaurīša
	o Si-na	Sina	· Sin	Sina
154	Gu-sarra-ma	Sarra (Sri)	Sara	Sara
414	Gu-ninini-nagesa-mah	Ninini, Nages		Nageśa
211	Gu-bu-ninah-mara-isa2	Bu, Nina, Ma	ra Nina, Bar	
71	Isi-ninih-ma-nagesa	Nini, Nagesa	or Ini, Nina	Ninī,
	(ganesa)			Nageśa
006	Gu-se(sah)	Ganesa	NAME OF TAXABLE PARTY.	Gaņesa
236 188	Gula-sama-sarra-	Sa		Sa, sa
83	Gu-Ninsara-Ninsala	Sama-sarra	Samasa	Camasa
03	Qu'iviisala-iviisala	Ninsara, Ninsala	Ninsar	Sara-ņi
158	Du (Deva, Dyu)-sarra		D	
130	(sri)-me (mah)-isar	Du-sarra (Dvu-sri, Deva-sri)	- Dusar	
472	Ilamma	Ilamma		(T1
	Isar-ga-ga	Gaga		(Ilamma)
4/~,4//	rsur-su-su	Caga		Gargara,
5	Gu-Lila	Lila		Ga, Gagana
		Dila		Lila
14	Gu-d. Bu-mu (a)-mi-(a)-	Bu-mami		(Līleśa) Ma-bhū,
7	isar	Bu-ma		Bhūmi,
				Bhūma
19	Isa-ma-na-isar	Na		Na Na
143	Isah-nagesah-mah-isar	Nagesa		Nageśa,
	A unital suc	ufficience But Gu		Maheśa,
				Mahişa
537	Sisnna (Isa-sina)-gu-	Sisnna		Siśna
	sura (sri)-isar	gratual suc-		
7	Sinna (Sinnisa)	Sinna, Sinnisa		
	Mah (Ni-Mah, Mah)	Mah	Mah	Mā .
466	Gu-nin-sina-isar	Nin-sins		Nicina
	Gira	Gira	Gir	Girijā, Gir
433	Gu-sivah-mah-isar	Siva		Siva,
Tar	Are the death of the second		3.6	Maheśa
135	Ni-sarra-mah (me) ni	Mahni		Meni, Mana
			Mena 🐪	

Indus decipl	inscriptions as nered by me Names of goddesses preferred	robably Sumeri	as found in ian mytho- logy	Names as found in Indian litera- ture
269	Du (Ud)-sarra-mah	Udsarra	Udsar	Mah (Can dra-mas)
383 447 382	Risi Du-sarra-mah-mu-sarra d. Nini (Ninisi, Sinini)	Risi Dusarra-mah Nini, Sini Sinni, Sasi	Dusar Inni, Sin	Riși Mah, Doșa Sinī (Nīṇā) Sinī
126	Gu-sinni (sinini)-sasi- isana Gu-Sesa-isa-sini-isar	Sesa, sini	Sera, sin	Seşa, Sinī
22 78 122	Gu-isar-ila-isar [Gu-anu (nu)-iluih (luhh	Ila	El Ilohi	Ila, Ilā Guru, Anu
199	gu-nu? or d. Gu-d. luh gunu?] Gu-sarra (sri)-mah	Sarra	Sara	Śara
468	Gu-nura-ma-ma (i)-i-ana	Mami	Gunur	(Gunūrā)
374	Gu-ri (si)-nini-mah	Gori, Nini	Inni	Gaurī, Nīnā, Nainā
160	Gu-si <sup>3</sup> (Nin)-gu-Ela	Ela or Ila	El	Ila
168	Isa-na-ge-i	Gei, Naga	Ge	Gir, Naga
234	Gu-Ninnin-gur (h)-Ela	Ninnin, Ela	Inni, El	Ila, Nīnā, Nainā
	Nu (sini) *ra-sarra	Nura	Nur, Sara	Śara
350	Nin-du-sarra-ma-mah	Nindu, Sarra	, Dusar	Indu, Mah
169	Issu (va) ra	Issura, Issvara	Isar	Iśvara
244	Du-va (u)r-Sinna	Duvar, Sinna	Duvar, Sin	Sina, Sina
440	Bu-Gur-Nu (Guruna)	Bu, Gurnu, Na	Bu, Gurnu	Bhū, Guru- Ņa
107	Gu-sarra (sri)-ma- gu-risa	ecrafe -ng		100
30	Gu-i-sa-isa-ah-nagesa	Nagesa		Nageśa
10	Gu-lisar-Nin-nirisa-	Gulisar,	Inni	Gaurīśa,
	isana	Ninnirisa		Go-ișa
24	Gu-lisar-mah-ma-gur- ila-lu	Golisar, Magur, Illlu	Magur, Illu	Gaurisa

Note.—For details in connection with the above names, see Appendix.

The names of gods and goddesses occurring in these inscriptions have been arranged according to Sumerian and Indian mythology, and the references bearing on these names have been appended. What relation the language represented by the Indus seals inscriptions bears to Sanskrit must be left to competent scholars to decide.

# (b) A glance at the proto-Elamite and Minoan inscriptions

As far as my researches go, I am inclined to regard the script of Elam as having been the original source of the Indus as well as of the Minoan script. There is no doubt that the proto-Elamite script is more complicated than that of the Indus valley and of the Minoan seals. Want of time has prevented me from devoting more attention to the decipherment of the proto-Elamite inscriptions, which appear to be very important. These inscriptions appear to be written according to a syllabic form of writing, in which each character represents a syllable. According to this system the name Visnu would be written Va-i-sa-na-u. It must be clearly stated that the proposed decipherment of the proto-Elamite and the Minoan inscriptions given in the tables below is purely tentative. I have added in another column some Sanskrit words which seem to bear a resemblance to some of the proto-Elamite and the Minoan words as deciphered by me. It would be quite premature to suggest that a linguistic connection has been disclosed; but if such connection is shown to exist as a result of further research, no documents could be more important for the cultural history of the ancient world than those discovered by the French mission in Elam and by Sir Arthur J. Evans in Crete.

#### TABLE XIII

Proposed decipherment of certain proto-Elamite inscriptions

OU-VÃ-1- SĂ-NU-SESAM BU-MĀMĀ-SINI-BARRĀ-7

A-IAM भ-भ् आ: - स्व: - वरे-लम् [ दिकीं Rymn: मुर्नेव: स्व: - वरेण्ये]

門 雪島 門 の EU-BU-A-BARRAM भू - भूव - बर्म, [ब्रह्म] MP. PL. II. 15, F 1 M 00 BU-BARRĂHMM भू- बर्सिम् [बहार] MP. PL.W, 30

MINI-ISA-NIMINING ISA-NINI-ISA-NINI-NINI निनीश-निनिनिनीश-निनीश-निनी नि नि

INP.PL.W, 442.

CINJAN-MM NAMA-LILA-ISASRI-SRI BARRA-MM-NOH BU-BUAH-SVAH-BARR मू-मागा [ मीभी ] सिनी- ज्यम सी [ब्रह्मसी?]।नम-लीलेश मीं श्रीबरमशेगः[ब्हार्गा ]

> 日尚可能為 BU-BUA-NA-NI-GANA NI-MI-MA NA-NI-SINNA भू-भुमा नृ (ण) नी-गन् (ण) नीनीम न[एग] नी सिन्ध्यमी 1 0000 00 HU M- MIMI - 8-W. NE. नी- निनि-इंनी MP.PL.III, 19 01760 BARRAHM-NILLAM वर्स (ब्स)-नीहं (नीलं) MP. PL. IX, 65 9 11 (( C) में, ईला [मं- ईला(का)] MP. PL. VIII, 54 Z

TABLE XIV

Proposed decipherment of certain Minoan inscriptions

Reference Inscription	Tentative Suggestions
	decipherment Roman Devanāgarī
2 - 0 0 3 2 2	door
PL.I. P. 1, C. VS	d Gurrent Gurners The met, wall
PL.I. P. I. C 360	? GA-IŚA ? GEŚA m(m)? nin /
PL.I.P.2, a. TILL	SAILLI-1 SILI AA, AA, AA, AA
PL.I.P.2, C.	SAILERI SIRI AR, A
PL.I.P.2, C. >>14	SI(A)SA-I-SAR SISA-ISAR सीतेशः ; प्राशेशः
PLIPIA E 24	VIETSARŮ VI-ISARŮ [fatt, dat, fatt]
PI.I.P.b.a. 型 X 🐧	.VARANI-(VISNI) VARA (VIS) NI- वि(र् ) व्यक्तिशः सुर
PL.I. P. 6, 8. 7 8. 1	Li-SASI-BU Li-SASI-BHU माडलाशामिम
PL. I. P. 7, 4. 数头险	d. SOMA- ISSA? d. SOMA-ISSA. सोम-ईया-ईवाराः
404	-? ISSANAH?
PL. I. P. 14 9	SURA.U SURO सुरो; सुर-उ
PL.I. P. 11. c + 7 月	SISA-LA.VI SISA-RAVI सीस-रवि।शाह्री.
PL. I, P. L. 5 🕺 +	कित्ता मम ANAN ANAM ANAN AMAM
ME. P. 163 □ 🖔 🕏	Bu-SuRA-IM-WBHUSURA-IM मू सुरेम्म, भूसूर.
	HÁ CAMBMJAM CAM-IMJA
ME. P. 163	SASI SASI राशि
ME.P. 163 ※ 台木	LIILA-VI-ISA LILA-VISA ZAHAM
	LILI-VI-ISA [ILLI-VISA ]
ME. P. 163 + 1 M	NA-I-NA NINA तिन,नेन
ME.P. 163 _ 3 _	ISSAR-VU-DA र्रश मृर्बुद ; ईशः
	बुप;उर्धर्बुध

Reference	Inscription	Tentative	Suggestions		
Keierenee	d	ecipherment	Roman	Devanāgarī	
ME. P. 163			ISI-GULA-?	ईारी-गुल-नीनि	
to the sp	The same wife	6次·64 外,元为		म- <u>दूल</u> ९, <sup>१</sup>	
ME.P.164	X EN E	NA-SINENI-NISA	-NIZ-CINJAN	एा-चीन-वसु।	
LANGE CO.		VA-SU	VA SU[VI-ISA]	निधिन विश्र	
ME. P. 164	四次の美		Part 14	लीलेयाः,	
ME. P. 164	A Contract	SI-NA; SANI	SINA[SIHI]	शिन; शाने, सिनी	
1	A UL .		Production of the	English Property	
ME.P.164	å Ø Ei×	SARRA-BA-NI	SARRA-BHA-	श्रास्मः नी	
ME . P. 164	Ö	SALL[RR]A		यार, प्रार	
ME. P.164	THE THE	RISA ALLA	- LILA-LI-ILL	तील-लि-इल्लांश्ली इल्लं, विश्वरतीलेश	
	00 711/40	BISA-ALLILA.	RISA-LILA-	इस् विश्लेश	
		ISALLU	ILLISA	्लील-इल्लीश्रा 🕽	
ME.R.165 (P.688)	XABL	INI-SI-VULVAD	NA SI-VA-LĂ	ती शिवला तीशिवः राग-ारीवः	
ME.R.165	YK.	SASA-M			
(P. 69 C.)		204		राशं। द्वराष्ट्रिं	
ME.P. 165 (P.70 fl)	Ti. & AY	NI[NA]-M-		ति'सिन ईशानी ।ते' शिन ईषारंगा	
ME. P. 166	OXA	SINA[I]-MA	SINI-MA	क्रिजि-मं। क्रिनमं।	
(P. 80a)	1 2	[Was]			
,,	XLXDAD	MINI-ILA-NI	-CINIM]-INIM-	मेनि इलानीशः । निनी	
n(P.828)	11108	NA MEITSASI	EM-ANJ IN	नी-शारी। ए मुँ(इ)	
ME. P. 171	On const.	[A]	SASA ESASI	, (1)	
[P-101(c)]	00/1 x 8.0 1/2	MAMA-1-SHMI MIMILA-GO	NANA-1-SINI-	ममी(नन-द्र)-पिनी - भिभिल[नीनील]	
ME-P.174	x. + +.	NIR-KUR-KUI		गा।	
[P-108,(e)]	· , J, r,				

#### V

# THE INDUS CULTURE

The question naturally arises, what new light would be shed by the decipherments proposed in Table XII? It appears that a new era in the whole field of research will be started if the system of decipherment suggested can be established to be on the right lines. As illustrating my meaning I may cite the following few points, further research in regard to which is likely to yield far-reaching results.

(1) In the Appendix it is shown how some of the Indian gods like Sina, Sini, Nina, Bhu, Lila, Ila, Isara, etc., bear names similar to certain Sumerian gods and goddesses. This opens a new vista.

(2) The Vedic as well as the Paurānika pantheon will have to be re-examined. When the decipherment of the proto-Elamite inscriptions is accomplished, we shall be in a better position to understand the origin of the Indo-Aryan languages and of the system of writing which has been handed down to later generations.

- a part in building up the history of our motherland. This is a field in which the Archæological Department of India can help much. It is for consideration whether an officer conversant with the details of the proto-Brāhmī script should not be deputed to prepare a correct and complete sign-list, which could be circulated among scholars interested in the work of decipherment. On examining the punchmarked coins in the British Museum, I was much impressed with their value and the important part they may yet play in elucidating the early history of India and the development of the Brāhmī scripts; and I hope the few examples I have cited in this paper will suffice to justify this view. My researches have tended to convince me that the history of the Brāhmī script goes as far back as 3000-4000 B. C., and that its origin is ultimately connected with that of the proto-Elamite script.
- (4) The cults of Siva and the Mother-goddess had already been shown to be very old. It is interesting to find them current as far back as 3000 B. C. In the Puranas it is clearly mentioned that the worship of Siva at one time extended throughout Jambudvipa: but this statement was little credited. Sir Aurel Stein, in his Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia, referring to figures of humped bulls (the vahana of Siva) which he discovered in large numbers at several prehistoric sites in southern Baluchistan, writes as follows:—"Consider-

ing the numbers of these representations of the humped bull and the uniformity of the type throughout all Chalcolithic sites of Markan and Jhalawan it seems difficult not to believe that this animal was, like its Indian counterpart, the 'Brahmani' bull, an object of popular reverence, if not of actual worship. If this assumption is right the temptation is obviously great to seek some connexion between that prehistoric worship of the population which occupied the extreme western marches of India before the 'Aryan' invasion of Vedic times, and the great rôle played by Siva's bull in the Indian cult from a very early period. There is scarcely any indication of such a cult to be found in the oldest Vedic literature. This might lead us to infer that it was an inheritance from much earlier times to which the autochthonous population of northern India with its deeply rooted archaic bent has clung notwithstanding the great transformation brought about in its civilization, racial constitution and language by the triumphant invasion of its northern conquerors. But the subject touched upon is too wide and at present still too speculative to be pursued here further in what is meant for a plain record of antiquarian facts". Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 43 (1931), p. 161.

That the Indus inscriptions when deciphered according to the system evolved by me should present the names of gods and goddesses well-known to Sumerian mythology was a matter of astonishment to me, specially to find many of these names in the Vedas. (See the extracts from the texts given in the Appendix). The connection between the Indus basin culture and those of countries much further west seems to be corroborated to some extent by the view expressed by Mr. Ernest Mackay in a paper published in the Antiquity. He writes: "The close association of the dove with the cult of the Mother-goddess in Crete, Sumer, and elsewhere in the Near and Middle East, in Sardinia, and even further west, together with the fact that so many models of this bird are found at Mohenjo-daro, leads us further to believe that the goddess whose semi-nude, bejewelled pottery images are such a feature of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa was also a Mother-goddess. The great respect in which the dove is held even at the present day in Northern India by Muhammadans and Hindus alike is quite possibly a survival of this cult. Perhaps there was a closer connexion than we at present know of between the Sumerian goddess Ninkharsag and the goddess of the Indus Valley people". (Antiquity, Dec. 1931, p. 467).

# APPENDIX

I

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

I Gu-nin-sina (123); Gu-nin-sin (466)
Sina (220); Sina (270); Sinna (243);
Sinna (249); Sinna (7);
Sin (12); Sin (91);
Sini (537); Sini (76); Sini (395);
Sini (229); Sini (382); Sini (22); Sini (126)
Sasi (217); Sasi (224)
d. Ma-Gur (3); Gur-Ma or d. Sin-Gur-Ma (3)
d. Sin-Gur (3); Sin-Gula (459)
I UD-Sarra (95); Du-Sarra (158);
UD-Sarra (350) Du (UD?)-Sarra (447);
Du-Wara (244)
I(b) El (40)
E (I?) Loih

#### EXTRACTS

( 1 )

Sin

with the worship of the Hebrew gods Yaw and Elôhim, must have been an ancient North Arabian centre of Moon worship, and the name itself is taken from the Sumero-Babylonian Sin, after the name had been transmitted to Arabia, and replaced some older Arabic name for 'moon' as the name of these mountains. In any case this Sumerian name of the Moon-god was known to the Hebrews; for it occurs in the names Shenazzar (sixth century) and Shinab, king of Admah; and the Canaanitish cult of the moon was actually favoured by the kings of Judah before the reign of Josiah". (L. S., pp. 5-6).

#### 2 )

# Innana, Nanna, Nannar, Ma, Magur, Magula-anna

"The Sumerian Moon-god, Sin, originally Zuen, 'Knowing lord,' belongs like Utu to the Enlil pantheon. The original and oldest name was Nanna, or Innana, "Lord of Heaven," and written ideographically ses-ki, 'brother of the earth.' The Accadians by false etymology with their word nannaru, 'light,' always called this god Nannar. Besides these two titles, which are based upon the moon as a luminary and on his character as god of divination or deity by whose appearances and relations to the stars, omens were derived (Sin), there are other titles, of which the following are of most importance: Udsar, 'the crescent,' the 'new-moon,' hence also 'god of the Boat,' Ma, Magur, and Magula-anna, 'Great boat of Heaven.' 'As god of the new moon the title Asimur is common.'—(L.S., p. 152); for further information, see L.S., pp. 153-154.

# (3)

# Dhusarā, Esh-sharā, Dusurā

"Babylonian influence becomes particularly prominent in the great Nabatæan kingdom whose principal capitals were Petra and Damascus and whose history can be traced from their first mention by Ashurbanipal in the middle of the seventh century B.C. to their absorption into the Roman Empire in 106 A.D. They were a North Arabic race who used the Aramaic script, and their principal male deity is Dusurā, rendered into Greek as Dousares, and identified by the Greeks with Dionysus. The name means 'he of Shara' (dhu ŝarā), i.e., "he of the mountain range esh-sharā,' at Petra, and he is a Sungod according to Strabo,"—(L,S., pp. 15-16).

(4).
Dusares

"As an Arabian Bacchus, Dusares is a Greek and Roman deity; as a god of Fertility, represented by a bætyl, he is a local Arabic Earth and Sun deity; and, as son of virgin Earth-goddess, he is a Babylonian deity."—(L.S., pp. 17-18).

(5)
Ishtar

See L,S., 'Maid of Sin, as cow,' 97, 395 n.25. "Symbol, a star with seven or more rays, 150. As female principle of Anu in founding government, 167 and in the highest heaven, 173. Weeps for destruction of men, 220. Story of her love for Gilgamish, 256 ff."

( 6 ) Sin

See the myth concerning the birth of divine calf Amarga from the cow or the Maid of Sin the Moon-god.—L.S., pp. 96-97.

(7)
Ilāh, Il, El, Elōhim

"According to D. Nielsen the South Arabian deity Ilāh, or II, which is also the common Semitic word for 'god,' and corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic deity EL; Elōhim is one of the names of the Moon-god."—L.S., p. 5.

(A)

### सिनीवाली

(I) According to Böhtlingk und Roth 'सिनीवाली f. I) N. einer Göttin, welche fruchtbar macht und die Geburt erleichtert;...प्रिपिनी वाली जनयित TBr. I. 7. 2, 1.......या पूर्वामावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुड्ः..... सिनीवालीकुड्शान्ति...' See also in the same dictionary the words सिनवन्त, सिनीपति, सिनीवाक !

(2) According to Monier-Williams "银司电讯 Sinīvālī, f. (of doubtful derivation) N. of a goddess (in RV. described as broad hipped, fair-armed, fair-fingered, presiding over fecundity and easy birth, and invoked with Sarasvatī, Rākā etc.; in AV. she is called the wife of Viṣṇu; in later Vedic texts she is the presiding deity of the first day of new moon, as Rākā of the actual day of full moon), the first day of new moon when it rises with a scarcely visible crescent, RV. &c.; N. of a daughter of Angiras, MBh.; of the wife of Dhātri and mother of Darśa, BhP.; of Durgā L.; of a river, Mārk P.—Kuhūśānti, f. N. of a religious ceremony (for averting the evil effects of being born on Sinīvālī and Kuhū days), Saṃskārak." [A Sanskrit English Dictionary]. He writes about Sina "银豆 2. Sina,.....provision, store.....f. = Sinīvālī, Kāsikh;"

(B)

# शिन, शिनि

(1) See Böhtlingk und Roth for शिन, शिनिवासुदेवाः, शैनेय, शैन्य, शिनिवाहु, शिनिवास, शिनीवास, शिनेयु etc.

(C)

#### Sinīvāli

सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा।
जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिइ दिनः ॥१॥
या स्वाहुः स्वङ्गिरिः स्वपूमा बहु स्वरी।
तस्यै विशुपत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्ये जुहोतन॥२॥
स्रथवंवेद।

(D)

# Śina

वैन i.e., शिनाय स्वाहा विन i.e., शिन श्चान्त्यायनाय स्वाहा.....। यजुर्वेद । श्च० ६। मन्य २०।

(E)

# Māghī.

माघी "the day of full moon in the month of Magha" [M. Ws.] see also माघ पूर्णिमा, माघ माहात्म्य, माघ मा, माघवत, माघवन, मघा, मवागू।

(F) : Dusarra [ = दोज-र ]

दोजः "दोजा dosha, m. evening, darkness (only Bhp., where personified as one of the 8 Vasus and husband of night, vi, 6, 11, 14)" [M. Ws.] र:— 'Raz-ra, min. ( $\sqrt{r\bar{a}}$ )—n. brightness, splendour" [M. Ws.]

(G)

Nananam Nana Nanamdari.

नानानं वा उ नौ—ऋग्वेद ६. ११२. १. कारुदहं ततोभिस गुपलप्रज्ञिणी न ता !—ऋग्वेद ६. ११२. ३. ननांदरि सम्राज्ञी—ऋग्वेद. १० ८४. ४७.

II

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

II Bu (211); Bu (14); Bau (84)

Ma (374); Ma (199); Ma (414);

Ma (374); Ma (433); d. Ma (316);

Ma (158; 269); Ma (202)

Mama (468); Ma-Ma-a (14);

Mama (350)

Mar (208); Maar (211)

Ninini or Innini (3);

Nin-Nin (234)

Gail (202);

Gu-Lila (224)

#### EXTRACTS

( I )

"The order in the official Assyrian theogony places the Earthmother-goddess dingir-Mah immediately after the Earth-god Enlil, and she was in fact his sister. The supreme importance of this goddess is obvious by the place and nature of her symbol among the emblems of the gods. On Fig. 51 her throne follows those of

the trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and supports a curious object, a broad band shaped like the Greek letter , Omega inverted. On one throne, where it follows the symbols of Marduk and Nebo (first two symbols in third register here) this band lies flat on the throne, with ends coiled inward, not outward as here. On other monuments the Omega symbol stands alone without a throne, and in a position exactly like Omega. This symbol is called markasu rabū, "the great band", of the Esikilla, "holy house". The word markasu, "band", "rope" is employed in Babylonian philosophy for the cosmic principle which unites all things, and used also in the sense of "support", the divine power and law which hold the universe together. It is employed more often of the god of the first principle, water, Enki-Ea,

(2)

and of his sons, Marduk and Nebo. Ninlil, wife of Enlil, frequently identified with Mah, ruled the constellation Margidda, Ursa Major, the wagon star, which was also called the "band of the Heavens", because it remains fixed at the pole of the Heavens". (L.S., p. 109).

Ninanna, Nininni, Innini, Aruru, Ninasianna, Ninsianna, Ninsinna, Ninisinna, Gula

"The Earth-goddess, as female principle of An, received the title Ninanna, Nininni, Innini, but, as goddess of child-birth, Nintud, Aruru, Ninhursag, Ninkarraka, and as the planet Venus, Ninanasīanna, Ninsīanna, Ninsinna, "Heavenly lady, light of heaven"; as patroness of medicine she was Gula." (L.S., p. 91).

( 3 ) (180) ARTUS

# Ninanna, Innini, d.Mah

"In religion and mythology of even greater importance than these three heads of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, and Enki, is the Sumerian Mother-goddess, whose character was so manifold that she became many distinct goddesses. The great and ubiquitous cult of the virgin Earth-goddess in Canaan, Phœnicia, and Syria seems to have been entirely borrowed from Babylonia. As already suggested, the primitive name of this Sumerian goddess seems to have been Ninanna, Innini, "Queen of Heaven", but the pictograph first used

to write her name represents a serpent twining on a staff. The name probably rests upon the primitive identification with the planet Venus, and upon the theological principle that she was created by Anu, the Heaven-god, as his female counterpart. Three main types of the Earth-goddess, together with their minor manifestations, are clearly recognizable, Innini, the Semitic Ishtar, Mah, "the mighty goddess," Accadian Belit-ili, "Queen of the gods," and the underworld goddess Eresh-kigal.

The order in the official Assyrian theogony places the Earth-mother goddess dingir-Mah immediately after the Earth-god Enlil, and she was in fact his sister." (L.S., pp. 108-109).

#### (4)

Gula, Bau, Nin-mah, d. Mah, Ninhur-sag, Ninmea, Nunu sesmea, Nesu

"After the multifarious activities of the Earth-goddess were apportioned to the three major types, for Mah or Belit-ili was reserved in particular the protection and increase of animal life. It was she who, in the teaching of the great theological school of the cult of Enlil and Ninlil of Nippur, created man from clay, and her salient character is the goddess of child-birth. Under a minor form (Gula) she became the patroness of medicine. Essentially an unmarried goddess, her minor types, Bau, Gula, became wives of the sons of Enlil, Ningirsu Ninurta, as Erishkigal became the wife of Nergal, son of Enlil. The official pantheon gives forty-one names for dingir-Mah, among which the scribes indicate five as the most important, These are Ninmah, "Mighty queen", Ninhursag, "Queen of the earth mountain", Nintur (dialectic Sentur), "Queen, the womb", Ninmea, or Nunusesmea, "Queen who allots the fates," and Ninsikilla, "the pure Queen." Under the last title she was the wife of her son Nesu (dialectic Lisi). The god Nesu is known almost entirely by his star Antares in Scorpio, which was also identified with Nebo." (L.S., pp. 109-110).

(5)

## Aruru, Mama, Mami

"Among other titles which appear in the myths are Aruru, Nintud, "Queen who bears," Amatudda, "Bearing mother," Amadubad, Mother who opens the lap (womb)," and Mama, Mami." (L.S., p. 110).

# (6) Mar, Ninmar, Bau

"The Sumerian Earth-mother is repeatedly referred to in Sumerian and Babylonian names as the mother of mankind—Ninmar-ama-dim, "Ninmar" is a creating mother; Amanumunzid, "the mother legitmate seed (has given); Bau-amamu, "Bau is my mother." (L.S., p. 12).

# (7) Aruru, Gula, Ishtar, Asdar

According to Professor Langdon the doctrine of Mother-goddess is thoroughly accepted in Babylonian religion. "A poem has the line: 'All creatures with the breath of life are the handiwork of Aruru,' and a prayer begins: "O Gula, the mother, bearer of the dark-headed people." In early Accadian, this mythology is already firmly established among the Semites, although it does not appear to belong to their primitive religion. Ummi-tabat, "My mother is good," Ummutabat, "the mother is god" occurs in the fifth century in Babylonia. Asdar-ummi, "Ishtar is my mother"; the latter name is common in Babylonia. Belit-umma-nu, "Belitis is our mother", has the same meaning as "Sarpanit is our mother." Istar-ummi-sarri-ni, "Ishtar is the mother of our king"; Mannu-ki-ummi, 'Who is like the mother?" (L.S., pp. 12-13).

(8)

"In West Semitic this mythology is apparently almost unknown. In Canaanitish there is only the Phænician name 'Am, 'Ashtart, "the mother is Ashtoreth." In Hebrew there is no evidence at all. But names of deities in Phænicia like Melk- 'Ashtart, at Hammon near Tyre, Eshmun-'Ashtart at Carthage, 'Ashtar-Kemosh, of the Moabites, clearly prove that the mother-goddess of the West Semitic races held even a greater palce in their religion than the local gods of their most important cults." (L.S., p. 13).

(9)

Inini, Enlil, Lil, Aruru, Gula, Bau, Ilani, Ninlil, Zamama

"The entire mythology of Astarte goes back to the Sumerian Ininni-Ashdar-Ishtar, goddess of Venus and mother, wife, and lover

of the Sumerian dying god Tammuz. This is inextricably united with the other fundamental Sumerian mythological concept of the Earth-god Enlil, father of mankind, and his sister the Earth-goddess Aruru, Gula, Bau, Ninhursag, Nintud, commonly called in Babylonia Bêlit-ilāni "Queen of the gods". In certain cults she is also the wife of the Earth-god, as Ninlil, wife of Enlil, at Nippur, or Bau, wife of Ningirsu, son of Enlil, at Lagash, or Zamama, son of Enlil, at Kish". (L. S., p. 14).

(10)

# Innini; Ninsianna; Ge; Uranus

"In Western Semitic religions 'Ashtart represents the Sumero-Babylonian Mother-goddess, Gula, Bau, Aruru, etc., rather than Innini-Ninsianna-Ishtar, who is both Venus and the Mother-goddess.' In Canaanitish religion 'Ashtart is not the planet Venus. That is clear by the Greek identifications of this goddess with Gê, the earth, sister of Uranus, in Sanchounyathon, and the regular identification of Astarte with Aphrodite, who is never identified with the planet Venus". (L. S., p. 15).

(A)

 $M\bar{a}$ 

<sup>3</sup> उमाहिर्भुम्मो पृदाकुः.....। यजुर्वेद । श्राध्याय ८ । मन्तू २३ ॥

Mākī

माकी "heaven and earth" [M. Ws.]

 $Bh\overline{u}$ 

भूर्भुवः स्वः [Gāyatrī hymn]

Bau-mā

भीम is one of the nine Grahas

(B)

Ni-ma-iṣā, Ni-r-ni-ma-iṣā, Mā-na-gī

मातङ्गीशतनामानीदानीं कलिमते श्र्या । १। निमेषा निर्निमेषा व मानगी.....॥ ६॥ श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् । 37-38।

5

(C)

Bhuma, Bhumi, Bhusa

भूम, भूमि, भूष all these words occur frequently in the Rgveda. For भूष compare the following verses:

भ्रग्ने देवाँ इहा वह सादया योनिषु त्रिषु । परि भूष पिब ऋतुना ॥ ऋ. १. १४. ४॥

See also ऋग्वेद, ७ ६२, १। ८, ६६. १२।

Bhusan

See Rgveda, १,१४०,६; ३,२४,२; ३,३४,२; ६,६४,३; १, १४१,३; १०,४२,१.

III

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SISSNA(80); SI<sup>8</sup>WA(210); NAGA-ISA(414); GAGA(476,477)

#### EXTRACTS

(A)

Śiśna

It is mentioned in the Rgveda that Indra destroyed sisna-devas.

श्चनर्वा यच्छत दुरस्यवेदो झिन्छक्षदेवां श्वभिवर्षसा भूत्॥ ऋग्वेदः १०. ६६, ३॥

Gur

न यातव इंद्र जू जुवुर्नो न वंदना शविष्ठ वेद्याभिः। स शर्धदर्यो विस्रणस्य जंतोर्मा शिश्नदेवा ऋषि गुर्ऋतं नः॥ ऋग्वेद ७, २१,३॥

(B)

Śiva

The word read occurs many times in the Rgveda and the Yajurveda. Examine the passages with a view to see whether it could be taken for a proper name in certain places.

For शिव see Rgveda.

म॰.	सूक्त. ,	मन्त्र.	<b>#</b> 0.		
5	- २६	२३		सूक्त.	मन्त्र
8	38	8	9	و څو	*
8	१८७	3			१०
<b>a</b>	२०	3	"	38	१५
			5	8	१८
8	88	£ .	13	38	3
×	8	5	"	६३	8
×	. 3	28,8	,,	£3.	3
र्द्	१४	. 3	१०	<b>2k</b>	,
"	४४	१७	,,	£2	8
			"	'१६६	२

Gaga

Ga-ga: -messenger of Anu (see L. S., p. 298)

Ga

गः "ग ३. ga ... m. a gandharva or celestial musician" [M. Ws.] "ग १. ga ... N. of Ganêśa" [M. Ws.]

Ganá

teriories and some district.

गया: "Gaṇá ··· a single attendant of Siva, ... N. of Gaṇeś ... troops or classes of inferior deities ..." [M. Ws.]

Gaga-nā, Gaga-na-iśvarī

गिरीशा गिरिशा गन्धा गगना गगगोश्वरी ॥ १३ ॥ श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥ ॥ षष्ट ३७-३८ ॥

Go-isa

Go-isa occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. We find similar words occurring in the Rgveda.

गोऽङ्गः :--ऋग्वेद-४,४१,७; १०,७६,७; ४,१३,२; ४,४०,२; ८,२४,२०.

Gauri

The word गौरी also occurs in the Rgveda. Examine the following stanza.

मदच्युत्त्वेति सादने सिघोरूमा विपश्चित्। सोमो गौरी ऋघिश्रितः॥ ऋ. ६, १२,३॥

#### IV

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SARRA (154); SARRA (199);
SARRA (136); SARRA (188);
SARA (479); SARA OF SALA (183);
SARRA (96, 158, 269, 447).
ISAR; ISSURA (169)
ISUM;
NINSAR (3); NI?-SARRA (135); NIN-SARA (83);
NIN-SALA (83);
GU-NURA (468); NURA-SARRA (136);
d. GIRA (267)

#### EXTRACTS

## Ishura, Asaru

"Marduk owes his prominence in Babylonian religion and his wide influence upon West Semitic mythology entirely to the political importance of the city Babylon, which became the capital of Sumer and Accad after the Sumerians had almost entirely disappeared. In the ancient pantheon his title was Asar, of unknown meaning, but certainly a minor deity of Eridu, where the ideogram employed in writing his name also had the value ishura, a name of the Graingoddess. His augmented title Asarri was commonly pronounced Asaru, and explained as 'the bestower of husbandry'. By origin a vegetation deity and son of the Watergod Enki of Eridu, his sudden appearance at Babylon under the new title Marduk as a Sun-god is still unexplained". (L.S., p. 155).

(2)

# Gira, Ira, Irra

"Under the title Gira, Ira, Irra, Nergal appears in a long Accadian myth known as 'King of all habitations' or the 'Series Irra,' said to have been revealed by night to a scribe Kabti-ilāni-Marduk......

It was Ishum, messenger of Irra, who revealed the poem to this scribe". (L.S., p. 137).

For characteristic of Ishum see L.S., p. 148.

(3) Gir, Girra

Gir, Girra, title of Nergal (early), 93. Word means "fire," 136. Mythical poem of Gira, 137 ff. See also Irra.

(4) Ninā, Nanā, Ishara, Istar

L. TI. "It is probable that Ninā gave rise to the name Nanā, who is on this assumption ultimately identical with Ishara, but a divergence in pronouncing the name gave rise to a distinction in attributes. Under the name Ishara the Sumerians retained the ophidian aspects of the old water goddess, and under the name Nanā they retained her as a patroness of flocks and irrigation. At any rate in the period of the dynasty of Ur, Ishara and Na-na-a are distinct deities. The name which appears more often is Nanā, and she became under this title one of the most important of the deities". (p. 48)

(5)

## Es-Ha, Es-Ha-Na, Esha, Nanā, Ishara, Scorpio

L. TI. 'Hommel is, I believe, correct in assuming that the ideogram for Nina was also pronounced és-ha, but the form és-ha-na probably arose by adding an 'heaven' to esha, as in the case of Gestin, Usumgal, and many other deities who had been identified with stars. The evidence for the pronunciation Ninā is too strong to be rejected, and if Nanā be a corruption of Ninā the evidence is conclusive. The Sumerians pronounced her name both ways, viz. Nin-ā, 'lady of waters' which survived as Nanā, and Esha, 'goddess of the fish-house', i.e. the sea; after the identification with Scorpio she became Ishana, 'Heavenly goddess of the fish-house', a word which survived as Ishara". (p. 47)

(6)

# Ishara, Nina-Ishara, Scorpio

L. TI. "In any case Ishara is a water deity, even in her astral form, since the constellation Scorpio is called Ishara of the sea,

and in the chapter on the ophidian deities we shall find her connected with the python of the sea. Ninā-Ishara is, therefore, a type of Mothergoddess connected not only with fresh water but with the ocean as well". (p. 48)

(7)

# Serah, Sahan, Sah'an, Sîru

L. TI. "The Sumerian word for serpent is mus, but the theologians give the pronunciation of the ideogram, employed in writing the name of this god, as Serah, which the Semites translated by Sahan or Sah'an, a word for fire. For some obscure reason, the serpent god became a fire-god, for not only was Ningishzida also a sun-god, but a seal cylinder represents the god Siru with rays from his shoulders". (p. 120)

(A)

Śara

विद्या शरस्य पितरं पर्जन्यं भूरिधायसम् ।
विद्यो ष्वस्य मातरं पृथिवीं भूरिवर्पसम् ॥ १ ॥
वृद्धां यद्गावः परिसष्वजाना त्र्यनुस्फुरं शरमर्चन्त्यृभुम् ।
शरूमस्मद्यावय विद्युमिन्द्र ॥ ३ ॥
विद्या शरस्य पितरं पर्जन्यं शतवृष्ण्यम् ।
... ... ॥ १ ॥

विद्या शरस्य पितरं मित्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना०॥ २॥ विद्या शरस्य वस्त्रां शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना०॥ ३॥ विद्या शरस्य पितरं चन्द्रं शतवृष्ण्यम् । तेना०॥ ४॥ विद्या शरस्य पितरं सूर्य शतवृष्ण्यम् ।

ऋथर्ववेद १.२.१,३ ; १. ३. १-४

According to the hymns quoted above the fathers of शर were पर्जन्य, मित्र, वस्या, चन्द्र and सूर्य. He was also termed च्व, as is clear from च्वस्य मातरं। Has mother was पृथिवी the earth-goddess. Whitney has translated शर as 'reed.' The meaning 'reed' is not convincing.

(B)

The following hymn of the Atharva-veda throws further light on the Sumerian serpent-god Serah'. In the hymn cited below Serabhaka is clearly mentioned as सर्गनुसर्प.

शेरभक शेरभ पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेति किमीदिनः।
यस्य स्थ तमत्त यो वः प्राहैत्तमत्त स्वा मांसान्यत्त ॥ १ ॥
शेवृधक शेवृध पुनर्वो ० । ० ॥ २ ॥
स्रोकानुस्रोक पुनर्वो ० । ० ॥ ३ ॥
स्पानुसर्प पुनर्वो ० । ० ॥ ४ ॥
जूर्यि पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेतिः किमीदिनोः। ० ॥ ४ ॥
उपन्दे पुनर्वो ० । ० ॥ ६ ॥
ऋर्जुनि पुनर्वो ० । ० ॥ ७ ॥
भक्ति पुनर्वो यन्तु यातवः पुनर्हेतिः किमिदिनोः।
यस्य स्थ तमत्त यो वः प्राहैत्तमत्त स्वा मांसान्यत्त ॥ ६ ॥
ऋर्थववेद । २ २४. १-६

(C) Gir-īśā, Gir-iśā

गिरीशा गिरिशा गन्धा.....श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् । पृ. ३७-३८

(8)

"Very primitive seals represent a male deity whose upper parts are human, but whose lower parts are a long coiled serpent, undoubtedly the serpent deity Mush, whose Accadian names Sherah, 'grain', 'vegetation', and Shahan, 'fire' clearly reveal his connection with the generative powers of the earth and the heat of the sun". (L.S., p. 90).

(9) Anu, Ninsar

(10)

Nurra

Nurra is the god of potters (see L.S., p. 105).

(II)

Ea

Ea is the god of all mystic learning and the Mummu or creative Word (L.S., p. 104).

(12)

#### Gu-nura

L. TI. "For Gunū as a grain, see Ungnad Orientalische Literaturseitung, 1912, 447; Jastrow, Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens, vol. II, 713." (p. 11).

L. TI. "Tammuz occurs once again in the same list as Damu of the floods, where his consort is named Gunura, probably a type of Ninā, since Gunura is the daughter of Ea (SBH. 93, 6). She is called 'sister of Damu' in Zimmern, Kultlieder, 26, ii, 13" (p. 53).

(13)

# Gunura in Bhagalpur

I have learned from a reliable authority that a goddess named 'Gunura,' or 'Gunuray' is worshipped in the district of Bhāgalpur. From the description given to me it appears that she is an agricultural goddess connected with fertility.

V

Name of a goddess occurring in the Indus inscription

MENI (135)

EXTRACT

(I) Meni

"A goddess of Fate, whose name is based upon the verb m-n-w, or m-n-j, can be traced throughout Semitic mythology. She appears in Hebrew as Menī in the post-exilic accusation of Deutero-Isaiah:

'As for you who abandon Yaw, forgetful of my holy mount, Preparing for Gad a table, and filling for Meni spiced wine.'

Etymologically, the form Meni is masculine, but the deity is a goddess and belongs also to the Assyrian pantheon, where Ishtar has the titles 'goddess Minu-anni,' 'Minū-ullū,' she who 'apportions unto men sanction or denial.'—(L.S., p. 21).

(2) Manajja

"The Nabatæan goddess Manawatu, plural of the form Manat, which occurs in Thamudic, i.e., before the Nabatæan period, consequently belongs to the old South Arabian pantheon. The Coran writes the name Manatun; and manijiat, plural manaja, is an ordinary Arabic word for 'fate,' 'death.' Also Zawwa-al-manijiat, 'the shears of fate,' supports the evidence from early Arabic and Nabatæan inscriptions for assuming that the Arabian Mother-goddess was a goddess who fixed the fates of mankind, of cities, and of nations.'—(L.S., pp. 20-21).

(3)

"In Assyria, at least after the ninth century B, C., and in Babylonia, perhaps from the early period, Ishtar was regarded as the goddess of Fate, under the title Shimti, a word for "fate" peculiar to the Accadian language."—(L.S., p. 21).

(4)

"All Mother goddesses in Babylonian religion, appear in this rôle as Moira, and Bau is addressed, 'Fate of kings, Lady of Adab.'"

(A)

Meni

मेनिः शतवधा हि सा ब्रह्मज्यस्य ज्ञितिर्हि सा ॥ ग्रथर्ववेद १२. ६ (३)—१६ मेनिः शरव्या.....। ग्रथर्ववेद १२.६ (६)—६६ मेनिराशसनं.....। ग्रथर्ववेद १२.६ (६)—३६

(B)

कतरो मेनि प्रति तं मुचाते य ई' वहाते य ई' वा घरेयात्॥ ऋग्वेद १०. २७. ११.

Mena-kā

मेनका माधवी मध्या मानसी मनमोहनी ॥ ३ ॥ श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥प. ३६-३६ ॥

VI

Names of gods occurring in the Indus inscriptions

SAN (84); SAMA (37); GU-SAM (NO. XLIX. T. 15) NI-SAR-GANA or NI-ISAR-GANA (46); MAHISAR (143)

#### **EXTRACTS**

(1)

"Shamash, Sun-god, 2; Shamsu, 2, 4; Samsu, 377, n. 7. As female, 4. Rising, fig. 36. God of Justice, 139, 150" etc.— (see L.S., p. 450).

(2)

GADD: SANGU, a class of priests.

(A)

Mahisa, Srīm, Sam, Ga

त्रधुना संप्रवत्त्यामि महिषस्य च पूजनम्। महिषस्त्वं महावीर शिवरूपः सदाशिवः॥१॥ हीँ हीँ हं महिषायेति हं हीँ हीँ च ततः परम्॥३॥ ''हीँ हीँ हं महिषाय हं हीँ हीँ" हीँ गं गगापतये गं हीँ

श्रीकालीविलासतन्त्रम् ॥ p. ४१ ॥

In the above text हो and ह seem to be the same as srīm (of the punch-marked coins) and sam (of the Indus inscriptions) respectively. Change of sa into ha is not very uncommon. It may be noted that in many of the punch-marked coins श्री is written स्त्री.

(B)

Śa

श-कारश्च महेशानि! वृषझः कथितो वकः। २७।

Ibid., p. 23.

(C)

Ha

हः शिवो गगर्न हंस्रो नागलोकोऽम्बिकापतिः। १३। Ibid., p. 21

(D)

Māra

Māra a well-known god in the Buddhist literature.

VII

Names of gods and goddesses occurring in the Indus inscriptions

ILAMMA (412);

a. SIN-GUR (3);

SIN-GULA (459)

#### EXTRACTS

(1)

[Ind. Ant., vol. X, 1881, pp. 245, 246]

"As far as I can ascertain, the worship of Hinglaz¹ seems to have been the most widely extended of all in Western India. The present Admiralty Chart of the Persian Gulf shews a temple of Hinglaz on the Mekran coast which seems to be a well-known landmark. Tod² speaks of this as a favourite resort for pilgrims among the old Rājpūts, and also refers to a place of the same name in Rājputana, which was taken by Lord Lake's army.³ Coming down to the Dekhan we find in the Kolhāpur State a Māmlatdar's district called Gaḍh Hinglāz, so named from the headquarter station, which derives its name from a shrine of the goddess. From a recent paper in this journal⁴ it appears that Hinglāj is the favourite goddess of the Talirājās."

"A Hindu Temple is the Jat Jahāgir.—A correspondent of a mosussil paper states that there is a temple of the goddess Ellamma about a mile distant from the town of Jat, in the Jat Jahāgir. An

I It seems possible that Hinglaz may have been not an indigenous, but an imported deity, introduced by the Kshattriyas.

<sup>2</sup> Rajasthan, vol. II, pp. 5 and 572 (Madras reprint),

<sup>3 1</sup>bid., p. 658. 4 1A, vol. IX. p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> She is the same as Renukādevī of the Marāthās etc. Ed., IA.

annual fair is held in honour of this idol at which about ten thousand people assemble. It has been held there for the last fourteen or fifteen years. Fifteen years ago a Mali or gardener set up the idol<sup>6</sup> and began to cheat the people by stating that it had appeared there of its own accord. Both men and women visit the temple and worship the idol. The very strange fact regarding this worship is, says the writer, that the worshippers, before commencing their worship, strip naked, apply powdered sandal wood, to their whole bodies, put on the ornaments they may have, hold a small branch of the nimb tree in their folded hands, and leave their places of residence to visit the idol. After visiting the idol, they go round the temple for a certain number of times. They then leave the temple to bathe in a neighbouring tank. After bathing, they return to the temple, worship the idol and return home."

(Extract from a manuscript note by the late Mr. Robert Sewell, I. C. S.)

"BOUNDARY GODS.1-Ellamma or Ellai devatā worshipped largely throughout the whole of southern India. The Tamil Brahmanas do not join in this worship. So in the Tamil districts the non-brahmin population alone worships these gods or goddesses. In the Telugu and Kanarese districts, mostly in the latter, the Brahmanas join very largely in this worship. Every village has a goddess which has a special name or is called after the village. Patniamman is the goddess of Negapatam; Mundakakanni for Mailapur; Hosuramman for Hosur, etc. Sūdra priests enjoy manyams, grants of land, for the worship of the village goddess. Whenever epidemics break out, or once a year before the agricultural operations commence, the Boundary Goddess is worshipped on a large scale. The villagers assemble near her temple and conduct worship for several days-10, 12, 20, 22, as their funds afford, and on the last or closing day, sacrifice of animals is largely made. At midnight the cheif priest starts with cooked rice and blood mixed together and goes on distributing these in small balls throughout the

The principal shrine or temple of Ellamma is at Ugargol near Saundatti in the Belgaum district, and is certainly a very old one, and so probably is the idol. It would be interesting to know the details of its history within recent times. Ed., IA.

village. Before starting on this expedition, the priest gets himself shaved completely and starts naked. On his return he bathes and gets a new cloth.

"When epidemics occur, the Mariyamman's image, in the form of a palm-leaf image or mud image, is dragged in a village and left at the end at the boundary-limit of the village; then the adjoining village takes it up and drags the chapper in that village and leaves the same at the end of the village. Thus the god or goddess is worshipped in every village on all special occasions."

## Man or Manna

Professor Langdon writes:

"An incantation for child-birth contains this same legend of angels descending from heaven with jars of oil and water to lave the body of the 'hand-maid of the Moon-god', when in pain she bore the divine calf Amarga.......This myth of the water of life, bread of life, plant of birth, and probably that of the plant of life, also current in Sumerian mythology, is surely the origin of the manna in Hebrew mythology said to be the exudation of the tamarisk. Yaw rained bread from heaven, which the Israelites called man during their wanderings in Sinai; it must have occurred to a people familiar with this Babylonian myth to call the food so miraculously sent by nature 'bread from Heaven'." (L.S., p. 96, 97).

#### VIII

Words occurring in the Indus, proto-Elamite and Cretan Seals:-

(1)

# Gu, Go, Gau

Go has got many meanings in Sanskrit literature. In the Indusinscriptions it seems to convey some lofty or exalted sense. In Sanskrit gô-loka means heaven. The most popular name of the god Mahādeya is Gaurīśa. This word occurs frequently in the Indus inscriptions. It may refer to a similar god.

(2)

#### Nin, Ni

According to Mr. Gadd, nin means "lady, mistress (beltu); but can also be masc. lord, cf. d.nin-gir-su." (SRB., p. 189).

In the Vedas instead of nin the word ni is frequently used in some cases in the sense of 'lord.' Hitherto this meaning of ni has not been generally recognised. The common custom is to connect it with the predicate. A careful examination of Vedic passages shows that this practice is not always satisfactory; in some cases it spoils the meaning and in others it makes ni practically superfluous. In the Atharvaveda we find mention of Arbudi and Nyarbudi. The prefix ni in Nyarbudi seems to have the meaning of 'lord.' The following passages may be examined:

नि गावो गोष्ठे श्रसदित्त मृगासो श्रवित्तत । न्यूमयो नदीनां न्यदृष्टा श्रिलिप्सत ॥ श्रथवंवेद ६, ४२, २ श्रर्बुदिनोंम यो देव ईशानश्र न्यर्बुदिः । श्रथवंवेद । ११. ६. ४ निवें त्तृत्रं नयति...श्रथवंवेद । ४. १८, ४ निग्यः छनद्धो मनसा चरामि । श्रथवंवेद । ६. १०, १४ । निवों मगुन्द्या दुहितरो......श्रथवंवेद । २, १४, २.

## Ni [Bhūrni]

See Rgveda: \( \) \( \times \)

(3)

# Nun, Nu, No

According to Mr. Gadd, nun means "prince, lord (rubú); adj. great, noble, goodly" (SRB., p. 189). In the Vedic literature the words nu and no occur. They are generally taken as personal pronouns. I have seen many passages in which the meaning 'lord' gives better sense. On the punch-marked coins the so-called 'elephant sign' reads to me something like no or nun.

(4)

#### Nana, Nanar, Na

According to the Sumerian mythology the words nana and nanay denote some lofty ideas (see Appendix, Extract no. 1-2) In the Paurānic and Tāntrik cults Na is a proper name of the god Siva.

# ग्-कार श्चाप्युमाकान्तो विज्ञे यो नरजित् प्रिये ॥ १६॥ श्रीतन्त्राभिधाने मन्त्राभिधानम् । p. १.

Samskrta Press, Calcutta, 1913.

Originally it may have had some similar meaning. I have not been able to go into the question fully for want of time. The word nana is current in Indian languages, and in Hindustani nānā is applied to the mother's father. What is its origin? (see also Appendix, Extract no. I-G)

(5)

#### En, Ena

According to Mr. Gadd, en means "lord (belu); adj. noble; abstr. Nam-en, lord-ship (belūtu)." The word ena occurs frequently in the Vedas. There are passages where it may well be taken in the above sense,

(6)

# Isa, Isar, Isara, Isan, Isana, Isi, Isani

These words are current in the Sanskrit language under slightly different forms. For the meaning of these words current in the Sumerian mythology, see Appendix, Extract no. IV-5.

(7)

# Gur, Guru

According to Mr. Gadd, the meaning of gur when used as an adjective is 'huge', 'mighty.' The meaning of guru in Sanskrit is exactly the same.

(8)

# Ma, Mu, Mo

According to Mr. Gadd, "MA2-E, MA2. I, indep. pers. pron. Ist sing. 12.-M2, suffixed pers. pron. Ist sing. indir." (SRB., p. 187).

Sumerian mu and the Sanskrit mo and ma do not differ materially in

(9)

Gula

In the Sumerian language gula means 'great' or 'mighty'. It occurs in the Vedas, but its meaning is not well understood. Lord Kṛṣṇa is called Guļā-keśa. The following passages may be examined:

उल्, खल सतानामवेद्धिंद जलगुलः। ऋग्वेद । १. २८. ४. उस्गुलाय दुहिता। ग्रथवंवेद ४, १३, ८.

(IO)

Sisa

According to Mr. Gadd, si-sa means "straight, just" (SRB., p. 190. see SI). It occurs frequently in Cretan as well as in Indus inscriptions. The following passages may be examined:

> येऽमावास्यां रात्रिमुदस्थ्वांजमत्रिणः। ग्रिप्तिस्तुरीयो यातुहा सो ग्रस्मभ्यमधि ब्रवत्॥१॥ सीसायाध्याह वस्याः सीसाम्निस्पावति । सीसं म इंद्रः प्रायच्छत्तदङ्ग यातुचातनम् ॥ २॥

तं त्वा सीसेन विध्यामो.....॥ ४॥ श्रथवंवेद । १. १६.

इद् % सर्व % सिषासताम ॥ ३॥ तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण् का॰ ३, प्र॰ १२, स्र० ६, पृ॰ २६१

शश्वदासत सिषासताम्॥ ६॥ तैत्तिरीयबाह्यण् का॰ ३, प्र० १२, श्र० ६, पृ० २६३

जपेत् 'सासी' त्यमं मन्त्रं... त्रात्र विनियोगसंग्रहः ॥ तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण-भाष्यः का० ३, प्र० ७, श्रन ७, पृ० ४१७

नडमा रोह न ते श्रत्र लोक इदं सीखं भागधेयं त एहि। छा थर्ववेद । १२. २. १.

(11)

#### Sisara

"सीसर Sīsara. m. N. of a mythical dog (the husband of Saramā), Pār Gr."—M. Ws.

(12)

#### Ilībiśa

''इलीविश Ilībiśa, as, m., N. of a demon conquered by Indra, Rv. i, 33, 12,"—M. Ws.

(13)

#### Śarabha

ार्भ Śarabhā, m. a kind of deer or (in latter times) a fabulous animal,"—M. Ws.

#### Sima

(1) सिम Pron, Uṇàdis, 1, 143 (सिम )...श्रेष्ठ सिम इति वै श्रेष्टमाच्यत इति वाजसनेयकम् Sāyaṇa on Rv. 8, 4, 1 [Bhötlingk and Roth]

(2) See Böhtlingk and Roth for शिम, शिमिका, शिमिदा, शिमिद्वन्त, शिमिद्विष् etc. On शिमिविद्विष Bhötlingk and Roth write "शिमिविद्विष प्रowas bedeuten könnte Werke nicht anfeindend Tait. Ār. 1. 9. 3".

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

L. S. = Semitic Mythology by Professor S. H. Langdon (1931).

.L. TI. = Tammuz and Ishtar by Professor S. H. Langdon.

ME. = Scripta Minoa by Sir Arthur J. Evans (1909).

MP.=Mémoires de la Mission Archêlogique de Perse, Tome XVII Mission en Susiane sous la direction de MM. R. de Mecquenem et V. Scheil, Textes de Comptabilité proto-Elamites.

Rv. = Rgveda.

GADD. = A Sumerian Reading Book by C. J. Gadd (1924).

# ANINGYAM.

EDITED BY

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA

VIDYĀBHŪṢAŅA

# Aningyam

Aningyam is the name of a small work hitherto not published. It is one among the works on Vedalakṣaṇa (works describing the characteristics of Vedas). The present work has been written with reference to Taittirīya school of the Black Yajurveda. Aningya means undivided (words) or avibhakta (pada). It does not mean a single (word) or asamasta (pada), because compound-words (samasta) like 'Sacīpati' 'Bṛhaṣpati' etc. are considered among the words of Aningya. The derivation of the word is as follows: ingyate vibhāgenoccāryate¹ itīvigyam; na ingyam aningyam. From this derivation, it is easy to understand that the name of the work given is something significant. <sup>2</sup>Aningya words are numerous and all of them are not the subject matter of this work. But it is intended only to give a clear idea in a conclusive manner regarding the words which will give doubt whether they are aningyas or ingyas.

The work contains 99 verses in different metres. It is divided into two parts; the former describing 49 general rules regarding the words of aningya in 24 verses, and the latter giving a list of the same words in Sanskrit alphabetical order, which are dishevelled in the Vedic text, and not included in the general rules of the first part (with some exceptions), in 75 verses.

In making an edition of this work, I have consulted three Mss. (two in palm-leaves and one in paper), which belong to the Oriental Mss. Library of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras. The first is a paper Ms: (No. 20, G. 21, \(\frac{7}{7}\frac{1}{2}\)), written in Devanagari script, and contains the text and a commentary also. But it is full of errors, and omissions of passages (of commentary) and verses (in the text) in several places. The second is a Ms. of the text alone, written in Grantha script. The last (No. XXII. B. 39. 49) is also in the same script, and mostly resembles the first in correctness. But the commentary is slightly different. These are designated as A.B.C. respectively. As the condition of the Mss. is unsatisfactory

t 'Vibhāgena cālyate itīngyam'. Vice "Vaidikābharaņa" of "Taittirīya-prātišākhya" on sūtra "Nānāpadavad ingyam asankhyāne".

<sup>2</sup> Vide verse 3, part 1. and verse 75. in part 11.

it is not possible for me to give a commentary on the text in a correct and complete method, from the Mss. So, after a careful study of these Mss. I have added a  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  to the text.

Eṣāningyapadānām padavī sandarsitā visuddhadhiyā/ Devamanīṣisutena Śrīvatsānkena Taittirīyāṇām//

From this closing verse, we understand that one Śrīvatsānka son of Devamanīṣi is the author of the work. There is no doubt that these two names which occur in this verse are ficticious and not original. But this verse is to be seen at the end of the commentary in two Mss. and at the end of the text in another Ms., hence there is difficulty to infer, whether Śrīvatsānka is the author of the text alone or the comentary or both.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. C. K. Raja, M.A., PH.D. for allowing me to use the Mss. of the Adyar Library.

#### ANINGYAM

Śrihayagrivāya namah.

Munimānasamanthānamathitāgamasāgarāt/
Uditāya namo bhūyād amṛtāya murāraye//1//
Guṇatrayavihīnāya jagattrayavidhāyine/
Śrutitrayadṛśe śaśvat puratrayama(the) namaḥ//2//
Namaskṛtya vinetāraṃ vighnānām anuśiṣyate/
Aningyam ingyasādṛśyād yat sandehāspadam padam//3//
Śruti-śruc-chabda-nirdiṣṭaṃ vikṛtaṃ cāpadātmakaiḥ/
Syād ananyavad

'Śruti', 'śrut', 'śabda', ityeṣām anyatamena nirdiṣṭam, yac chabdarūpam tad apadātmakair varṇaiḥ (pratyayādibhiḥ) vikṛtam kiñcin nyūnādhikabhāvena kiñcid anyathābhūtam api ananyavat syāt anyathā na bhavati (aniṅgyam bhavati).

yathā—atithiśrutiḥ (vide ¹p. 2. v. 8).

āyuṣaśrutiḥ (p. 2. v. 12).

ājiśrut (p. 2, v. 12).

ārttaśrut (p. 2. v. 13).

udumbaraśabda (p. 2. v. 21).

tūparatvotaśabdau (p. 2. v. 34).

P.-part. V.-verse.

tasmāt tūparā (p. 2. v. 34) (vikṛta). tāvatīḥ saṃvatsarasya (p. 2. v. 33). pautudfavān paridhīn (p. 2. v. 47).

ankārādyakārādi ca yat padam//4//

3

Ankārādi vā akārādi vā sat vikṛtam, tad api ananyavat syāt (anin-

yathā—anāmayac ca me.
anamīvo bhavā naḥ.
anapa vyayantaḥ.
aparāvapiṣṭham (akārādivikṛtam).
avimuccyamānaḥ.

Bhir-bhyām-bhyas-subhir arvāg obhāvam hrasvabhāg adīrgham ca/ Nityam vihāya nengyam

'Bhiḥ', 'bhyām', 'bhyaḥ', 'su' ityetais saha ebhyo'rvāk pūrvam obhāvam hrasvabhāg adīrgham ca nityam vihāya varjayitvā bhavati nengyam na vigrāhyam bhavatīty arthaḥ. Atra obhāvaśabdena visarjanīyavikāra obhāvo nirdiśyate. Tasyaiva sambhavāt. Hrasvabhākśabdena 'athādāv uttare vibhāge hrasvam vyañjanaparaḥ' iti atrāvagrahādhikāre yasya dīrghasya hrasvavidhānam asti tad ucyate. Adīrghaśabdena dīrghād anyahrasvam vyañjanam cocyate. Plutasyābhāvāt. Ataḥ pāriśeṣyād arvāg dīrgham eva nengyam iti gamyate. Nityagrahaṇam apavādaviṣaye'py eṣām aningyatā yathā syād iti. Ato vāvāder api vāvadadbhir ity atra Rudreṣu ca śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaś ca ityādīnām pañcaṣākṣarāṇām api nāningyatā syāt. Caśabdo nengyam ity anuvarttayati. Etac cā samapteh.

yathā—mavam jaṅghābhiḥ. mana uśriyāsu. santanūbhis somo rudrebhiḥ.

Vāvādīni vihāyeti kim? vipakṣebhiḥ. śam ahobhyām. amhobhyaḥ. Hrasvabhāk—rātrībhiḥ. dvābhyām citībhyām. oṣadhībhyaḥ. Adīrgham—sāmabhiḥ. bhānubhiḥ. marubhiḥ. prastotṛpratihantṛbhyām.

Arvāg iti kim? su āgrayaņo jinva.

s See sūtra 1. Addhyaya iii. of "Taittiriya-pratisakhya".

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# go gīs sura dundu ceti bhisrutyā||5||

Bhiśrutyā saha 'goḥ', 'gīḥ', 'sura', 'dundu' ityetāni nengyāni bhavanti.
yathā—agne gobhiḥ.

gīrbhiḥ nabhaḥ.
surabhir vasānaḥ.
surabhino mukhā,
surabhīṇi viyantu.
dundubhir vāvadīti,
yā dundubhau.
dundubhīn samāghnanti.

## Arvāk sarvam suņā

'Şu' ityanena saha arvāk sarvam nengyam bhavati.

yathā—puro yāvānam ājiṣu. paśuṣu. meṣīṣu, pāśīṣu, citīṣūpa.

## tadvat syādi-smādyakṣarair avi/

Syādyakṣaraiḥ smādyakṣaraiḥ saha tadvat pūrvavat arvāk sarvaṃ vi' ityetasmād anyan neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—yad apa syād upa dadhāti.
avasyur asi uvasvān.
agnes tvāsyena.
katamasmai parasmāt.
Avīti kim ? viṣyūtam iti vi syūtam.

## Vaikārādipadam vaisnāvaisvā yuk

'Vaiṣṇā', 'vaiśva' ityetābhyām ayuktam vaikārādipadam neṅgyam.
yathā—tā vai dehyo'bhavan. vaibhītaka idhmaḥ.
yad vai kaṅkatam. vaibhūdhāya.

Vaiṣṇāvaiśvāyug iti kim? vaiṣṇā vāruṇīm. vaiśvadevīm āmikṣām. vaiśvakarmaṇā ni juhoti.

sāsahādi ca //6//

'Sāsaha' ityevamādipadam nengyam.

yathā—sāsahyāma pṛtanyaṭaḥ.
vājeṣu sāsahat.
pṛtanāsu sāsahim.

Saukārādi

Saukārādipadam reigyam bhayati.

yathā—sauvarcanasaḥ. sausravasāya. sautrāmaņyā yajeta. sauhārdena. te saudhanvānāḥ.

saparyādi

Saparyādipadam nengyam.
yathā—saparyantah puru priyam.
sa urī saparyāt.

niyaviyāmayādi ca/

5

'Nīya', 'vīya', 'āmaya' ityevamādipadam nengyam. yathā—vā eṣa nīyate. mṛtyave nīyamānam, yasya jyogāmayati. āmayāvī.

Traikārādi

Traikārādipadam nengyam.
yathā—yat traidhātavīyam.
Indrāya traistubhāya.

kukārādi naso-gopoyutam vinā //7//

Nasogopoyutam vinā kukārādi nengyam. yathā—kusrvinda Auddālakih, kulāyinam. Nasogopoyutam vineti kim? kumbhīnasah, kulagopo yat.

Arātyādi ca

Arātyādipadam nengyam. yathā--arātīyantam. arātīyato hantā. arātī vā.

vāvādi

Vāvādipadam nengyam.
yathā—vāvadato abhriyasya. vāvātā jaratām vāvasāne.
vāvasatīh. vāvrdhānah.

jaśabdāyuk prathādi ca/

Jaśabdāyuk 'pratha' ityevamādipadam nengyam.
yathā—mitram prathiṣṭham. prathimā ca. prathimānam.
ye aprathetām. uru prathasva, dharmāṇi prathamāni.
Jaśabdāyug iti kim? prathamajā ṛtasya.

Dhūrvātisthādikam

'Dhūrva', 'atiṣṭha' ityevamādipadam nengyam.
yathā—dhūrva dhūrvantam. asmām dhūrvati. 'vayam dhūrvāma. yajñayātiṣṭhamānā. yajñam
pratyati atiṣṭhipām.

- şaşthau turyau dityau vyathādi ca //8//

'Ṣaṣṭhau', 'turvau', 'dityau', 'vyatha' ityevamādipadam nengyam. yathā— ṣaṣṭhau hi ca me. turyau hi. dityau hi. dityaubhyastā rudrāṇām. avatān mā vyathitam.

Id upādyakṣaram tac ced ekavyañjanamadhyagam/

Yasya padasyādyakṣarād anantarākṣaram īkāras tad īdupādyakṣaram. Tac copādyakṣaram ekajātīyayor vyañjanayor madhyagatam cet nengyam.

yathā—ajījipata. avīvarata. amīmadanta pitaraḥ. atītṛpanta. Idupādyakṣaram iti kim? eṣām navāvadhānam. anupūrvam viyūya.

Meghasīkādisabdau ca varjayitvā dvitīyakau//9//

'Megha', 'śīka' ityevamādisabdau dvitīyakau varjayitvānyat sarvam nengyam bhavati.

yathā—meghāyişyate. śīkāyişyate.

Varjayitvā dvitīyakāv iti kim? meghāyate, śīkāyate.

Māmādi

'Māma' ityevamādipadam nengyam.

yathā-māmateyam te agne. adhi māmahānah. māmakānām.

caikatāyādi trikam

Nengyam.

yathā-ekatāya svāhā. dvitāya svāhā, tritāya svāhā.

īdṛnn iti trikam/

Īdrnādipadam trayam nengyam.

yathā—īdrin vai rāstram, anyādrin, etādrin,

Trikam iti kim ? pratidri.

Pratnathādicatuskam

Nengyam.

yathā-pratnathā. pūrvathā, visvathā, imathā.

Catuşkam iti kim? jjyeşthatātim.

cedṛśāyādicatuśrutiḥ//10!/

Īdṛśādayaś catuśruto nengyāḥ. īdṛśāya. kīdṛśāya. tādṛśāya. sadṛśāya. yathā—mṛḍāta īdṛśe.

sadrsam krāmati. tasmāt sadrsīnām.

Catuśrutir iti kim? vi sadrśaya, su sadrśaya.

Rudreşu ca dvitīyādişv aṣṭasv anupasargayuk/ Bhave-mate-karāya-nye-bhīkṣṇa-go-pūrva-vāstvayuk//11// Apañcaṣākṣaraḥ śabdaḥ

Rudraikādaśānuvākesu dvitīyādisv astasv anuvākesu anupasargayuk upasargayuktād anyat. Upasargāh prādayah. 'Bhave', 'mate', 'karāya', 'nye', 'bhīkṣṇa', 'go' 'pūrva', 'vāstu' ityetais cāyuk apañcākṣarah aṣaḍa-kṣaras ca yas sabdas sa nengyah.

yathā—vabhluśāya vi vyādhine. rohitāya sthapataye. mantriņe vāņijāya. bhuvantaye. kakubhīya. namo girišāya śańkarāya ca. jjyeṣṭhāya. kaniṣṭhāya.

Upasargāyug iti kim? samvrdhvane. ātapyāya. ālādyāya. Apañcaṣākṣara iti kim? harikeśāya. hiranyabāhave.

niṣā-sū-sas-sahādayaḥ/ Nīpyāyudhāśavāsīnāvaṭyāvāryādiśabdavat//12//

Teşu dvitīyādişv aṣṭasu 'niṣā', 'sū', 'saḥ', 'saha' ityevamādayaḥ śabdāḥ 'nīpyā', 'āyudhā', 'āśava', 'āsīna', 'avaṭya', 'avāryā' ityevamādiśabdavad vikṛtā api aningyā bhavanti.

yathā—niṣādebhyaḥ. sūdyāya ca. sūrmyāya ca. saspiñjarāḥ. sahamānāya. nīpyāya ca. āyudhine ca. āśave ca. āsīnebhyaḥ. avaṭyāya ca. avāryāya ca.

Īkārādāv īm avāpopasamnyud-

viprāyug yā sā śrutih prothate ca/

Īkārādāv anuvāke 'Īm' 'ava' 'apa' 'upa' 'sam' 'ni' 'ut' 'vi' 'pra' ityetair ayuktā yā śrutis sā ca prothate śrutiś ca nengyā bhavati.

yathā—palāyitāya svāhā. āsiṣyate svāhā. prothate svāhā, prothate svāhā, prothate svāhā.

Īm avādyayug iti kim ? īkṛtāyetīnkṛtāya svāhā. ava krandate svāhā, apa anāya svāhā, upa raṃsyate svāhā, niṣaṇṇāya svāhā. niviṣṭāya svāhā, utthāsyate. vi īkṣiṣyate. pra bhotsyate.

Ūrdhve pakșe datvatādāv adādir

hitvā' retaskāya cā'prāņate ca//13//

Datvata ityanuvāke ūrdhve pakse aretaskāya aprānate iti ca hitvā adādir akārādisrutir nengyā.

yathā—aprāṇāya, alomakāya, alomakā amedhyā, anasthikāya svāhā, tasmād anasthikena. Ūrdhve pakșe iti kim? arunvate svāhā.

Adādir iti kim ? prajananāya svāhā.

Hitvā' retaskāya cāprāņate ceti kim? aretaskāya svāhā. aprāņate svāhā.

Ekākṣarādyaditpūrvam mānamāṇaśrud antakam/ Bahiḥ śatopasargāyug vinā sātmānam ity api//14//

Ekam evākṣaram ādiḥ pūrvaṃ yābhyāṃ mānamāṇaśrudbhyām akāra ikāro vā yābhyāṃ ca pūrvas te tathokte. Ekākṣarādī aditpūrve vā mānamāṇaśrutāv ante yasya padasya tat tathoktam. 'Bahiḥ', 'sata' ityetābhyām upasargaiś cāyuktam sātmānam iti padam vinā yad ekākṣarād yad itpūrvamānamāṇaśrudantakaṃ tat padam neṅgyam bhavati.

yathā—bhūmānam. somānam. premāņam. sahasā gāhamānaḥ, ahṛṇiyamānāḥ. mahimānam. jarimāṇam.

Ekākṣarād iti kim ? tāvanmānam syāt.

Bahiś śatopasargāyug iti kim? bahih pāvamānah. śatamānam bhavati.

Vinā sātmānam iti kim? yaḥ sātmānam iti sā ātmānam cinute.

Sṛtaṃ daśa puro dakṣa svagā tvad upasargayuk/ Vihāya tāraśabdāntam

'Śṛtam', 'daśa', 'puraḥ', 'dakṣa', 'svagā', 'tvat' ityetair anupasargaiś ca yuktam vihāya tāraśabdāntam padam nengyam bhavati.

yathā—te vayam tarpayitārah, daditāras syāma, janitāram agre.

Śṛtamādi vihāyeti kim i śṛtam karttāraḥ. daśa hotāram apaśyat. pura etāraḥ. asya dakṣāḥ. yajñasya svagākarttāram. tvatpitāraḥ. ava gamayitāraḥ. upa gātāraḥ. prati harttāraḥ.

tathā tavyaśrudantakam //15//

Tavyaśrudantakam padam pūrvavad upasargayutam vihāya nengyam bhavati śṛtamādibhir yogābhāvāt.

yathā—agniś cetavyaḥ, adhvarttavyāḥ. Upasargāyug iti kim ? na pravastavyam.

Suprāvug vāmsasabdantam

'Su', 'pra' ityetābhyām ayuktam vamsasabdāntam padam nengyam bhavati,

vathā—jakṣivāṃsaḥ. papivāṃsaḥ. Suprāyug iti kim ?-su yidvāṃsaḥ. vitenire pra viviśivāṃsam.

'Su' ityanenāyuktam cīśrudantakam nengyam bhavati. yathā—prācī. pratīcī.

Asuyug iti kim ? su prācī. su pratīcī.

Dhṛtāntāv iṣṭhayantāntaśabdāv anupasargakau//16//

Dhṛtāntau pracayāntau 'iṣṭha', 'yanta' ityevamantau upasargarahitau ca aningyau bhavatah.

yathā—yavasām pathiṣṭhaḥ. śubhaṃ gamiṣṭhau. avṛkā aśramiṣṭhāḥ. bhūyiṣṭhāṃ te. kayā śaciṣṭhayā. abhivājayantaḥ. divā patayantaḥ pathibhiḥ. pārayantā. abhrayantī.

Dhṛtāntāv iti kim? ajā asi rayiṣṭheti rayiṣṭhāḥ. kucaro giriṣṭhā iti giri sthāḥ. amitra yantam.

Anupasargāv iti kim? ā yajiṣṭha, svasti abhivarttayantaḥ, satrūn anapa vyayantaḥ.

Nissamvyukthermavīrāsah pūrņāyuk tricatussvaram/ Etaikādyapi vāso'ntam

'Niḥ', 'sam', 'vi', 'uktha', 'īrma', 'vīrāsaḥ', 'pūrṇa' ityetair ayuktaṃ tryakṣaraṃ caturakṣaraṃ vā 'etā', 'ekā' ityevamādi ca aso'ntam padam nengyam bhavati.

yathā—maghavānam. sutāsaḥ. atandrāsaḥ. kitavāsaḥ, apsuṣadaḥ.

Nir ādyayug iti kim? niḥ yāsaḥ. sam itāsaś ca naḥ. vi śikhāsaḥ. ukthaśāsaḥ. īrma antāsaḥ. su vīrāsaḥ. pūrṇamāsaḥ.

Tricatussvaram iti kim? tu vimrakṣāso divyāḥ, aviduṣṭarāsaḥ,

## tathā yāmsaśrud antakam//17//

Yāmsaśrudantakam padam tathā pūrvavat tricatussvaram cen nengyam bhavati.

yathā—bhūyāṃsaḥ asurāh. atho iti raghīyāṃsaḥ pakṣau drā-ghīyāṃsaḥ.

Stān-masyantam

'Stāt', 'masi' ityevamantam padam neigyam bhavati.
yathā—parastāc ca. avastāc ca. minīmasi. carāmasi.

svata-svanta-smata-smantasrud antakam/

'Svata', 'svanta', 'smata', 'smanta' ityevamśrudantam padam r.esgyam bhavati.

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yathā—pīpivāmsam sarasvatah. sūryāya tvā bhrājasvate. payasvatīr oṣadhayah. sārasvatau homau. ūrjasvantam. vivasvantam. jjyotiṣmate. haviṣmantah. jjyotiṣmantah.

Tvata-tvanta-syata-syanta śrudantam nopasargayuk//18//

'Tvata' 'tvanta' 'syata' 'syanta' ityevamśrudantam na ced upasarga yun nengyam bhavati.

yathā—Indrasya vai marutvataḥ. marutvantaṃ vṛṣabham. stanayiṣyate. khaniṣyantaḥ.

Nopasargayug iti kim? vāyave ni yutvate, ni yutvantam. sam prosyate. parā bhaviṣyantaḥ.

Tavai-tave-mahai mahe-mahi-dhvamantakam tatha/

'Tavai', 'tave', 'mahai', 'mahe', 'mahi', 'dhvam' ityevamantam tathā; pūrvam na ced upasargayun nengyam bhavati.

yathā—yātavai. jīvātave. aśnavāmahai. śapāmahe. sakṣīmahi. śundhadhvam.

Tatheti kim? anu etavai, prati dhātave, sam avadyāmahai, anu ārabhāmahe, sam adhadhvam.

Ukasrudantakam yad apyabhāvukopasargayuk | 19//

Bhāvukaśabdena upasargaiś ca yuktād anyad yad ukaśrudantakam tad api nengyam bhavati.

yathā-urvārukam iva. gāvīthukam carum.

Prān-vāgayug ag āg ann ān antam cen na catussvaram/

'Prān', 'vāk' ityetābhyām ayuk 'ak', 'āk', 'an', 'ān' ityevamantam padam caturakṣaram na cen nengyam bhavati.

yathā—ānuṣak jujoṣat. prāk. apāk. adharāk. viṣvań. parāń. Prāń vāgayng iti kim? su prāń. su vāk.

Na catussvaram iti kim? asma driyak. upa avāsrāk.

Tvān-sādantam

'Tvān', 'ṣāḍ' ityevamantam padam neṅgyam bhavati.
yathā—cikitvān. marutvān. turāṣaṭ. ṛtāṣāṭ.

sasopetam vi-vad-vān-mān-madantakam//20//

Sakāreņa sakāreņa vā samyuktam 'vi', 'vad', 'vān', 'mān', 'mat' ityevamantam padam nengyam bhavati.

yathā—rakṣa vī rakṣasī. angirasvat, ūrjasvān, payasvān, āyuṣmān,

Sasopetam iti kim? sah pratnavat. amsumadyat. gāmān agne, idāvān eşah.

Cīnāncancasvināntasrut

'Cīna', 'añca', 'ānca', 'svina' ityevamantaśrun nengyam bhavati.
yathā—pratīcīnam vṛjinam. parācīnā mukhā. viṣūcīnān vyasyatām. pātamā pratyancam. tiryancam. parāncah. namasvinah. manasvine.

tvāntam mahyabhiyug vinā/

'Mahi', 'abhi' ityetābhyām yuktam vinā tvāntam padam nengyam bhavati.

yathā-uditvā. mathitvā.

Mahyabhiyug vineti kim? antarikşam mahi tvā. abhi satvā.

Apidvādis ca samkhyāsrud vihāya paraniprayuk//21/

'Para', 'ni', 'pra' ityetair yuktam vihāya samkhyāvācinī śrutir nengyā bhavati. Apidvādiś ca sā nengyaiva. Apidvādiś ceti vacanam samkhyāntarādeh samkhyāsabdasya parisamkhyānārtham.

yatlıā-yad vimsatih. trimsat. catvarimsat.

Vihāya paraniprayug iti kim? para ardhāya svāhā. niyutāya svāhā. Apidvādiś ceti kim? pañcadaśa śāmidhenīh. caturviṃśatim anu brūyāt.

Agre bhāgā bhagaśrud giri hari sam anīkorjabhadrādri vṛtrāvarttinn āśāśu rapśinn uda sadha sahasā

dhūs svadhā tāna rūpa/

Deva tvam dānavo vād uru puru mahaso vājinī vāja višvāśruj jātašrad vasā vasv rta ghrta šata gātvagui mitra tri loka//22//

Pate mate śuci śipi satya cakṣaṇākṣa pītayo rayi riśi
candra cāriṇi/

Bhavo ughe' dhvara magha yajña vāhanapraṇītayo huta tama tigma ni pra ṇiḥ//23//

Ebhir yuktam hrasvabhāg yuk bahusvar

yodūdantam devatādvandvakam ca/

Hitvā sarvam nīcam anyasvaram cen

nīcam tac cāpy evam evohanīyam//24//

'Agre', 'bhāgā', 'bhagaśrut', 'giri', 'hari', 'sam', 'anīka', 'ūrja', 'bhadra', 'adri', 'vṛṭra', 'āvarttin', 'āśā', 'āśu', 'rapśin', 'uda', 'sadha', 'sahasa', 'dhūh' 'svadhā', 'tāna', 'rūpa', 'deva', 'tvam', 'dānavah', 'vād', 'uru', 'puru',

'mahasaḥ', 'vājini', 'vāja', 'viśvāśrut', 'jātaśrut', 'vasā', 'vasu', 'ṛta', 'ghṛta', 'śata', 'gātu', 'agni', 'mitra', 'tri', 'loka', 'pate', 'mate', 'śuci', 'śipi', 'satya', 'cakṣaṇa', 'akṣa', 'pītayaḥ', 'rayi', 'riśi', 'candra', 'cāriṇi', 'bhavaḥ', 'ughe', 'adhvara', 'magha', 'yajña', 'vāhana', 'praṇītayaḥ', 'huta', 'tama'. 'tigma', 'ni', 'pra', 'ṇiḥ', ityetair yuktam hrasvabhāg avagrahayuktam bahvakṣaravad okārāntam ukārāntam ca padam devatādvandvaśabdam ca varijayitvā anyad anudāttam sarvam neṅgyam. Evaṃ sarvatronneyam. yathā—Indranardabuda. ahe daidhiṣavya. pitaraḥ pitāmahāḥ.

aśvam āyuñjan. enasah pāpayiṣṭa. abhicākaśīhi. kim asmān kṛṇavat. etan me gopāya. anamitrāya suvadh-

vam. anu vīrayadhvam.

Eṣām dhvamantānām upasargayogaśānkā sarvagrahaņena nivāryate. Ebhir yuktam hitveti kim ? agre pūvah, agre guvah, januṣā su bhāgāh. bhaga īśānaḥ. śivām giritra tām. tat hari. sam idhāna. su anīkā. ūrja sane. kṛṇavad bhadrasoce. arātīvā cid adri vaḥ. vṛtrahaṇā juṣethām. agne bhyavarttin, devā āśāpālāh, apām napād āśu heman, visrpo virapśin, agna udadhe. pṛthivyās sadhasthād agnim, sahasāvan pariṣṭau. dhūr sāhā. prabhṛtasya svadhā vaḥ. namasta ātānā. vācā vi rūpa nityayā. prthivi devayajani, prajāpatis tvam vedayam. marutas su dānavāh, suvo vāt, viṣṇo uru krama, puruhūtayāmani, divo vi mahasaḥ, vājeṣu vājinīvati. vājino vājajitah. visvavāre. jātam jātavedasi. vasām vasā pāvānah. vasunītha yajñaiḥ, rtam rtapāḥ, ghrtam ghrtapāvānaḥ, śatakrtvo yūyam. gātuvidah. agnīt. mitram aho. evātriņāman. lokakṛtau. gṛhapate. anvidam anumate tvam. bhūṣaśucipāḥ. śipiviṣṭā havyam. satytā te. vicakṣaṇaḥ. agne sahasrākṣa. devāḥ sapītayaḥ. rayivaḥ suvīram, yuşmākotīriśādasah, ubhe suścandra sarpişah. stomāsastvāvicāriņi. subhavah. kamam kamadughe. svadhvara. antaryaccha maghavan. yajñair vā yajñavāhanah, yad agne kavyavāhana. sadata supraņītayah. agne ghṛtenāhuta. tubhyantī aṅgirastama. satigma jambha. avabhṛthanicankuna, prayajyavastiradhvam, nirte viśvarūpe.

Hrasvabhāg avagrahayuktam hitveti kim? śuddhā yuvah. omāsaś

carsanīdhṛtaḥ.

Bahusvaryodūdantam hitveti kim? adabdhāyo. aśītatano. su krato. Devatādvandvakam hitveti kim? Indrāgnī. Indrābṛhaspatī. Dyāvāpṛthivī.

Anyasvaram cen nīcam tac cāpyevam evohanīyam iti kim? Kvacin nīcatvena dṛṣṭam padam anyatra nīcād anyair udāttādibhir yuktam cet tac cāpy evam eva nengyam iti ūhanīyam.

yathā —gopāya naḥ svastaye. chandāṃsyāsan. 'Harih om,

Athānamitrānyatarāmbarīṣaśruto'vadhiṣmāśvataro'navadyam/ Avākayānkānkam asūsudantāvayātavīyān avatād

avadhyam//1//

Apaspṛdhetām apathāgṛhītaśrud abhyasetām arapā arepāh/ Apiprayam capsarasaśrud asyasy apasyuvo'nulbanam

asravantīm//2//

Avattasabdo'pasavo'pasavyasrud asvako'didyutad apnavānah/ Apadyamānāntarato'pavitrāv apāram anvīpam apesase ca//3// Anuştuyāniştrto'niştakābhiştīr abhiştaye'bhīravo'bhīvato 'bhittyai/

Anenasānehasānāgasāvarttiśruto'po'repasāv anya-

thangustham//4//

Alajo'tkāśācchāvākaśrud avocāmājuṣṭāniṣṭāḥ/

Ahabhūno'vāśṛṅgo'nāśvān adadṛṃhanto'naḍvāhaśrut//5//

Ajagaraśabdo'vadyād aramatir apuvāyate' puvāyeta/

Apaśur akūpārasyānāśīrkeņānyake'nyakeṣāṃ ca//6//

Aredatāvaro'vaṭaśrutāv apūpam aṅkupam/

Arenavo'vakāvrkāvasāpasaśruto'gadam//7//

Ahimsantam asunvantam aditsantam ayacitam/

Anavāram anarvāņam atharvāņo'tithiśrutiķ//8//

Adhvaryanto'ntam (ā? a)yakşmāyasmayāmīvaśabdavat/

Adhvaryośrud abhīke'todhy aksitānghārisabdavat//9//

Ajarebhir anījānam avamā cāvamo'vamam/

Acchalabhir abhīsūnām asnuvītāsamanta ca/10/1

Apīcyosrīvir anyāsām anašan naparīsu ca/

Avāre'pravatāvātāvitāsrud aņavo'dhamam//11//

Anamitra-Anamitram ca me.

Anamitrāya suvadhvam.

Anyatara-Anyatarāms ca na.

Anyatarasyānhah.

Ambarīṣa — Ambarīṣād annakāmasya.

Ambarīse vai.

Avadhişma - Avadhişma rakşah.

Aśvatara-Aśvataro'tyaplavata.

Anavadyam-Anavadyam yuvanam.

Avākayā-Samudrasya tvāvākayā?

#### ANINGVAM

Ankānka— Ankānkaḥ chandaḥ.
Asūṣudanta—Asūṣudanta yajñāḥ.¹
Avayā—Śuṣmin navayā.
Atavīyān—Tamasam atavīyān.
Avatāt—Avatān mā nāthitam.
Avadhyam—Akṛṇod avadhyam.
Apaspṛdhetām—Yad² apaspṛdhetām.
Apatha—Apathena pratipadyate.
Apathāt.

Agṛhīta—Agṛhītā droṇakalaśaḥ. Yasyāgrhītā abhi.

Abhyasetām-Rodasī abhyasetām.

Arapā-Arapā<sup>3</sup> edhate.

Arepāh-Tanūr arepāh.

Apiprayam-Apiprayam codanā.

Apsarasa-Osadhayo'psarasah.

Apsarasau sarpāḥ. Apsarasau yātudhānāḥ.4

Asyasi-Perum asyasy arjuni.

Apasyuvah-Apasyuvo vasānah.

Anulbanam-Anulbanam vayata.

Asravantīm-Asravantīm āruhema,

Avatta-Svagākṛttyai catur avattam.

Havir vai catur avattam.

Paśavaś catur avattam.

Apaśavah-Rsabhasyāpaśavo vai.

Apaśavya - Apaśavyo' paśuh.

Aśyakah-Sasasty aśvakah.

Adidyutat-Pradidyutat.

Apnavānah-Savīmanīyam apnavānah.

\*Apadyamānā - Apadyamānā pṛthis.

Antaratah-Payayaty antaratah.

Apavitrau-Yad ubhāv apavitrau.

Apāram - Apāram praplavante.

Anvīpam-Yad anvīpam tisthan.

Apeśase-Peśo maryā apeśase.

1 C yajniya 4 C nanam

2 C visno yad apaspri

3 C pam edha

5 C vyam apa.

6 C thivī.

<sup>\*</sup> Apadyamāneti padam mānāntam, apy upasargayuktasankā mā bhūditi grhītam.

1 Anustuyā-2 Anustuyā kṛṇuhi. Anistrtah-Vardhatam te anistrtah. Anistaka-Eșo'nistaka ruhutrim. Abhistīh—Prtanā abhistīr upasadyah. Abhistaye—Sumṛdīkām abhistaye. Abhīravah—Abhīravo 'vidve. Abhīvatah—Abhīvatos vṛṣṭyā. Abhittyai-Pari dadāmy abhittyai. Anenasā-Karotu mām anenasam. Anehasā - Anehasam suśarmāņam. Anāgasā-Svaritrām anāgasam. Suvatād anāgasah. Avartti-Avarttim pāpmānam. . Manyunā yad avarttyā. Apa-Samyor arapah. Arepa<sup>7</sup>—Samokasāv arepasau. Anyathā—Na hy eteṣām anyathā. Angustham-Sarvāsv angustham. Alaja-Alaja āntarikṣaḥ. Atīkāśa—Atīkāśān karoti. Atīkāśas tad vai. Acchāvāka—Tām vā etām acchāvākah, Acchāvākāyānadvāham, Avocāma—Avocāma kavaye. Ajusta-Gūhatām ajusta.8 Anistā-Anistā devatā āsan. Ahabhūna-Ahabhūna ṛṣiḥ. Avāśriga—Avāśrigo bhavati. Anāśvān-Yadi nāśvān upavaset. Adadrmhanta-Adadrmhanta pūrve.

Anaḍvāha—Trayo'naḍvāhāḥ. Anaḍvāham agrīdhe. Anaḍvāhau vāruṇt.

Ajagara—Balāyājagaraḥ.
Ajagareṇa sarpān.

Avadyāt-Mitram aho avadyāt.

1&2 C sthuyā.
5 C bhīpato.
7 C pasau.

3 C ka alutim.

6 C dadyam abhityai.

8 C stā.

4 C vidre.

Aramati—Aramatir vasūyuh.
Apuvāyate—Evāsyāpuvāyate.
Apuvāyeta—Apuvāyeta saumyarcā.
Apašuh—Apašur bhāvukah.
Akūpārasya—Te'kūpārasya vāce.
Anāšīrkeņa—Anāšīrkeņa yajñena.
Anyake—Nabhantām anyake same.
Anyakeṣām—Nabhantām anyakeṣām.
Areḍatā—Areḍatā manasā.
Avara—Manojavā avarah.
Avaraih parais ca.
Avaṭa—Siñcāmahā avaṭam.
Evāvaṭeṣu.
Apūpa—Ekāṣṭakāyām apūpam.

Apūpa—Ekāṣṭakāyām apūpam.
Ankupam—Ankupam chandaḥ.
Areṇavaḥ—Areṇavo vitatāḥ.
Avakā—Avakām anūpadadhāti.
Śaro'vakāḥ.

Avakā aśramisthāh.

Avrkā—Avrkebhir varūthaih.

Avrkā rtajñāh.

Avasā—Devā avasāgamam tu.
Tenāvasena paraḥ.
Avasena dhīmahi,
Avasāya padvate.
Pate'vasam karoti,
Pitur yathāvasah.

Apasa—Apasacchinasmahi.

Bhuvo devānām karmaņāpasā.

Agadam-Me agadam kṛti.

Ahimsantam-Prajābhyo 'himsantam.

Asunvantam-Asunvantam ayajamanam,

Aditsantam-Aditsantam dāpayatu.

Ayacitam-Tisrdhanvam ayacitam.

Anavāram-Ete 'navāram apāram.

<sup>1</sup> Anarvāņam—Anarvāņam<sup>2</sup> rathe subham,

Atharvāņa—Atharvāņo bhṛgavaḥ.

Atithi- Indrasya gharmo atithih. Yathātithaya āgatāya. Adhvaryanta - Adhvaryanto asthuh. Antam 2-3 Yadantam amangaram. Nantam avahantih. Ayaksma—A yaksmam ca me. Ayakşmā māvah. Ayasmaya -- Ayasmayam vicrtā.4 Amīva—Asmadyuyavam anamīvāh. Anamīvo bhavā nah. \*Adhvaryo-Ghrtavatim adhvaryo. Adhvaryo veh. Abhīke-Niṣiktam dyaur abhīke. Abhike ci u Atodhi-Yad ato 'rdhyarcitārah, Aksita-Aksito'sya ksittyai. Anghāri-Anghārir asi. Anghare bambhare. †Ajarebhih—Ajarebhir nānadadbhih. Anījānam-Ījānād anījānam. Avamā-Avamā yā madhyamā. Avamah-Avamo bhavoti.5 †Avamam - Yo vai stomānām avamam. Acchalabhih - Acchalabhih kapiñjalan. Abhīśūnām—Abhīśūnām mahimānam. Aśnuvīta-Yad aśnuvītāndho'dhvaryuh, Asamanta-Yajñam asamanta devāh. Apicya-Priyas strinām apīcyah. Asrīvi-Asrīvi chandah. Anyāsām-Kseme'nyāsām. Anasan-Anasan vyavasphūrjan. Aparişu—Ye aparişu pasyan.

1 A Dandra.

2 C ma.

3 C nanta.

4 C ta.

5 C vobhī.

\* Adhvaryo iti nīcam api bahusvaryodūdantam iti gṛnītam.

† Ajarebhir ityetad ajetyatra vibhāgasankā mā bhūd iti grhītam. Evam īdrsesu drastavyam.

† 'Avamā cāvamo'vamam' iti rūpatrayam avamāsabdasvārthah, evam īdrsesu drastavyam.

Avāra-Avāra iksavah. \*Apravata—Aśvataro1 nyapravata.

Apravata tasyānubhāvāya.

Avāta-2 Nanvannavātah.

Avitā-Tābhir no'vitā bhava. Dhinām avitryāvatu.

Anavah-Anavas ca me.

Adhamam-Asmad avādhamam.

Ātmāmuṣyāyaṇārṣeyāmikṣāgne³yy āyuṣaśrutih./ Āmāṇḍājiśrud āṭṇāra āraṇyādityaśabdavat//12// Āptā4jīgarttim ārttiśrud5 vinārttor ārttavaśrutih/ Āpyānām āśvināśvatthaśrutāv āspātram āpsyatha//13// Āvithātharvaņas cāka6 ākhur ātithyasabdavat/ Āvinnāvasrud āsūnām āsādyājyāttasabdavat//14// Āpyam āntyāyanas cāyan anantodāttam āsani/ Āsanyād ānaśānāś cāśitimne <sup>8</sup>cāśyam āśuyā//15// Āmbānām āhuvaddhyai cāsāmahai cābhur akṣiṣuḥ/ Āngirasy āntarikṣa<sup>10</sup>ś cāśuṣāṇāś<sup>11</sup>uśukṣaṇih//16// Ānṛbhur<sup>12</sup> ānṛcur āpayitāyōr āyinam

āyava<sup>13</sup> āyavase ca/

Āsitam14 āsiram āsuramārādānasur

āgrayanasrutir 15ācchat//17||

Āsandyevādakām āvir āgnendrā indriyāvy api/

Ātmā-Ātmā prajāpatih,

Āmuṣyāyaṇa—Āmuṣyāyaṇam anamitrāya.

padaikadeśe-Āmusyāyaņasyāmnādyam.

Amuşyayano'syam.

Ārṣeya—Catvāra ārṣeyāh.

Ārseyam vrņīte.

Āmikṣā—Pīyūṣa āmikṣām astu.

- 'Apravata' ityetan nıcam api prayuktasankanirasartham grhitam.
- 1 C rotya.
- 2 C van.
- 3 C neya.

4 C tāgī.

- 5 C taśr.
- 6 B.C cakha,

- 7 B yan nanat.
- 8 A cāsyam.
- 9 B cahur.

- to B bas.
- 11 A nāś cāsu.
- 12 B.C rhu.

- 13 Bāpava.
- 14 B ta āśi.
- 15 C arccha.

Āgneyī 1—Āgneyīs tristubhah.
Āyuṣa—Ayuṣo'ntah.
Āma—Tasmād āmāpakvam uhe.
Āmā supakva 2maireyah.
Āṇḍa—Vyuddham āṇḍam ajāyata.

Aṇḍābhyām svāhā. Āji—Dhanvanājiñ jayema.

Ajim dhāvanti.

Puro yāvānam ājişu.

Āṭṇāraḥ—Etam vai para āṭṇāraḥ. Āraṇya—Indriyam vā āraṇyam.

Ya3 āranyāh

Āditya-Ādityam garbham.

Ādityebhyo bhuvadvadbhyah.

Āptā—Teṣām evaiṣāptā.

Ājīgarttim—Šunahsepam ājīgarttim.

\*Ārtta-Ārttam vai.

Yajñasyaiva tad ārttyā.

Ārttava—Ārttavo'dhipatir āsīt.

Tad ārttavānām ārttavatvam,

Āpyānām - Varsistham āpyānām.

Āśvina-Āśvinam dhūmralalāmam.

Tad āśvinīr upa.

Āśvattha—Āśvatthe pātre.

Āśvatthī havirddhānañ ca.

Āspātra-Āspātram juhūh.

Āpsyatha—Ātha pravāpsyatha (nengyāḥ).

Āvitha-Tvam sakhyam āvi(śa 1)tha.

Ātharvaṇaḥ-Dadhyann ātharvaṇaḥ.

Āka - Ma āka śyati.

Ãkhu-Ākhus te rudra paśuh.

Ātithya-Ātithyam grhniyāt.

Ātithyasya kriyate (nengyāh).

Āvinna-Āvinnah pūṣā.

Āvinnau mitrāvaruņau.

\* Vinarttor iti kim? Arttim.

C vitha.

· 5 C Kha.

<sup>1</sup> C neya. Example according to this reading "Agneyam astakapalam",

<sup>2</sup> C merayah. 3 C yad ara.

Ava-Suruco veņa āvah. Āvam devānām. Āśūnām-Āśūnām vrīhīņām.

Āśā-Āśā diśa āprna.

Samid diśām āśayā.

Ādya—Ādyam asyānnam. Nādyā prajāpateh. Agner anādyam.

Ajya-Ajyam asi. Yad ājyena.

Ātta—Āttaḥ somaḥ.

Asurāttah sindhuh (nengyāh).

Apyam-Apyam vā eṣaḥ. Āntyāyana-Āntyāyanaś ca.

\*Āyan-Suvargam lokam āyan.

Āsani-Śrīnīşa āsani.

Āsanyāt-Asanyān mā mantrāt pāhi.

Ānaśānāh-Suvar ānaśānāh.

Āśitimne-Āśitimne svāhā.

Āśyam-Tasmād dvāśyam.

Āśuyā-Āśuyā patanti,

Āmbānām—Āmbānām carum.

Āhuvaddhyai — Āhuvaddhyā ubhā.

Āsāmahai—Āsāmahā evemau.

<sup>1</sup>Ābhuh—Ābhur asya nisangathih.

Akşişuh-Yad akşişur divyam.

Āngirasi—Ūrg asyangirasy ūrņamradāh.

Āntarikṣaḥ-Alaja āntarikṣah,

Asusanah-Rtam asusanah.

Āśuśukṣaṇi - Tvam āśuśukṣaṇih.

Ānṛbhu2-Na vasūny ānṛbhūh.3

Anreu-Yad anreus tena.

Āpayitā — Anāptasyāpayitā.

Λyo-Ayos tvā sadane.

Āyinam-Syenam āyinam,

Āyava-Pratibhūṣat 'yāyavaḥ.

i C ahuh. Example of this reading—Enasahuh, Sahahuh, etc.

Anantodāttam iti kim? Āyan pra candramāh, ādyasvaram cen nīcam tac cāpīty asyāpavādo'yam.

Āyavase—Āyavase ramante.
Āsitam—Āsito bhavati.
Āsira—Āsiram abanayati.
Āsura—Nāmāsurā āsit.
Ārāt—Ārāc cid dveṣaḥ.
Āre asme ca.

Ānaśu—Mahimānam ānaśuh. Āgrayaņa—Yad āgrayaņam grhītvā.

Ācchat—Ācchac chandah.

Āsandī—Āsandī sādayati. Ādakām—Ādakām khādena.

Āviḥ-Āviskrņusva.

Āgnendrāh—Āgnendrāh ķṛṣṇalalāmāh.

Indriyāvī—Indriyāvī pasumān. Istarga—Istargo vai.

Istaka—Istakā upadadhāti.

Ilanda-Ite iştake ilandam bhavati.

Idāvatsareņa—Idāvatsareņa namaskaromi.

Īdenya—Agnim Idenyo girā.

Devām īḍe'nyān. Udaryeṇa—Nabha udaryeṇa.

Udara-Udaram sadah.

Samudram udareņa,

Upasti-Stomasyopastir bhavati.

Upastim kurute.

Usija-Acchidrā usijāh.

Usijam kavikratum.

Udāra-Srīnām udārah.

Urvarām-Urvarām prabhindanti.

Utsa-Utsam uhrate.

Udīca-Udīca utsrjati,

Ușnihā-Ușnihā chandah.

Brhaspatir usnihāh.

Upahatnum—Upahatnum ugram. Upānahau—Kārṣṇī upānahau.

Note—(1) Anudāttam iti kim? udyata ity ut yate svāhā. Ayam apy antyasvaram cen nīcam ity asyāpavādah.

(2) 'Uditam', 'udita' iti rūpadvayagrahanam anyatrengyatvārtham. Ut itau. Ut hutāya svāhā.

Upāka—Upāka ā rocate. Uparistāt-Uparistād ānayati. Uparena-Prthivim uparena drmha. Uttaredyu.-Uttaredyur upatisthate. Ubhayādat-Nirvape ubhayādat. Udanka-Udankah saulbayanah. Udrinam -- Udrinam since aksitam. Ubhayatah — Ubhayatah prati tisthanti. Udaka—Sthalayodakam (?). Udyate-Vyākṛtā vāg udyate. Uditam-Pūrvam evoditam. Usasanakta-Yona usasanatka. Ulūkhalam-Ulūkhalañ ca Uccāvacān-Uccāvacān hi Udāvartah-Udāvartah prajāh. Udita-Tasya bhāga uditah. Udumbara-Urg vā udumbarah. Udumbarenorjam. Üşmanyā-Üşmanyā pidhānā. Ūrņāyu-Imām ūrņāyum. Urmini-Rtavarir ürminih. Rnadhat-Rnadhat sa jīvāt. Rkvatā-Rkvatā gaņena. Rdudarena-Rdudarena sakhyā. Rtusthā 1-Rtusthā yajñā yajñiyena. Rtviyāt-Tasmād rtviyāt. Ŗkṣama—Jagatyā ṛkṣamam ṛkṣamāt. Ŗkmiyāņi—Ṣad rkmiyāņi. Rtvija-Rtvijas ta enam. Devam rtvijam.

jahṛṣāṇas ca¹ jabhṛrāṇā ca jaṃbhayoḥ//30//

Janatā jīvātuśruj jamadagnijāmadagnyau² jahakāḥ /
Janitā jīmūtaśruj janimā jañjabhyate jaritre ca //31//
Juhurāṇam jujuṣāṇā³ jyeṣṭhajarāyuśrutau⁴ jantitraṃ ca /
Jāṃbīlena janitvair jāye'nyasyāpi jīvanasthāyai //32//

Jahṛṣāṇaḥ—Jahṛṣāṇo'yam vājam.
Jabhṛrāṇa<sup>6</sup>—Jabhṛrāṇā<sup>7</sup> caranti.
Jambhayoḥ—Tāṃs te dadhāmi jaṃbhayoḥ.
Janatā—Vīryeṇa janatām eti.
Jīvātu—Jīvātum na marāmahe.

Jīvātave jīvanastḥāyai.<sup>8</sup>
Jamadagni—Jamadagniḥ puṣṭikāmaḥ.
Jāmadagnya<sup>o</sup>—Palitau jāmadagnyau.<sup>10</sup>
Jahakā—Jahakā saṃvatsarāya.

Janitā-Yo nah pitā janitā.

Jīmūta—jīmūtasy eva.

Jatravo jīmūtān.

Janimā—Janimā vivakti.

Jañjabhyate—Yaj jañjabhyate.

Jaritre-Mṛḍā jaritre.

Juhurāṇam — Juhurāṇameṇamenah.

Jujuṣāṇā—Jujuṣāṇā ghṛtācī.

Jyestha-Jyesthaś ca mantrah.

Jyestham putram.

Jyaisthyam ca me.

Jarāyu—Jarāyu tad eva tat.

Jarayuņā.

Janitram—Agner janitram asi. Jāmbīlena—Araņyam jāmbīlena. Janitvaih—Bhinada urjanitvaih. Jāye'nyasya—Taj jāye'nyasya. Jīvanasthāyai—Jīvātave jīvanasthāyai.

C jarbhurā

4 C śruto

B C nasyayai

2 C gniyau , 5 B C nasyāyai

9 & 10 Cgniyau

3 C jjyaischyaja

6 & 7 C jarbhurā

Tattvāya tāvatašrut tādrk tvastīmatī tuvismaņasam /
Tredhā ca tetijānas tatrsāņas tārakās¹ tanayitnoh //33//
Turaņyatas turīpašrut trasadasyus tamasvarīh /
Tūparatvotašabdau ca tristubhašrut taritratah //34//

Tattvāya—Tattvāya savitā dhiyah. Tāvata—Tāvato vāruņān. Tāvatī samvatsarasya. Tādrk-Tādrg eva tat. Tvastīmatī-Tvastīmatī te. Tuvismanasam-Tuvismanasam. Tredhā-Sa visnus tredhā. Tetijanah-Svadhitis tetijanah. Tatrsanah-Tatrsano ajarah. Tārakā-Tārakā asthani. Tanayitnoh-Tanayitnor acittāt. Turanyatah-Ivatas turanyatah: Turīpa—Tan nas turīpam. Tvastre turīpāya. Trasadasyuh—Trasadasyuh paurukutsyah. Tamasvarīh-Tamasvarīrundatīh, Tūpara-Yat²ūparah. Tasmāt tūparā. Tvota-Manasā tvotah. Sadhanyas tvotāh. Tristubha-Agneyis tristubhah. Tristubhā pari dadhāti. Taritratah -- Sahorjā taritratah.

Didyudduhitaraśabdau draviņasyur dṛśīkavaḥ / Dūṣīkābhiś ca devāccyā dātyū¹haś ca davidyutat //35// Darvidā devikā devatāśabdavad-

drāghuyā dīdhitim dīdivam² dīdivān / Dvāparo³ duṣṭaram duṣṭarītur dṛṣad-

dyumnaduryāśruto<sup>4</sup> dandaśūka<sup>5</sup>śrutiḥ //36// Dyutāno dadhīco daridradvitīya<sup>6</sup>śrutiḥ

r C kās ca ta 5 B ram

2 C yat tupa 6 C tau

3 C dātyauhas ca 7 C kāsru 4 C vim 8 C yasru

Didyut-Didyud varşan. Duhitara—Duhitara asan. Suryasya duhita. Draviņasyu-Draviņasyur vipanyayā. Dṛśīkavaḥ—Te ye bāhyā dṛśīkavaḥ. Dūsīkābhih—Dūsīkābhir hrādunīm. Devāccyā - Devāccyā kṛpā, Dāty¹ūhaḥ-Dāty²ūhas te. Davidyutat-Davidyutad adhaspadam, Darvidā-Darvi3date vāyavyā. Devikā-Devikā nir vapet. Devatā-Agnir devatā. Drāghuyā-Drāghuyā ca me. Dīdhitim - Dīdhitim ukthaśāsah. Dīdivim-Gopāmrtasya dīdivim, Dīdivān-Dīdivām sadat. Dvāparaḥ-Dvāparo yānām, Dustaram-Dustaram astv ojah. Dustarītuh-Dustarītur adābhyah. Dṛṣat-Dṛṣac copalā ca. Dyumna-Dyumnam citraśravastamam, Dyumnasya prāsahā. Duryā-Duryān adityāh. Duryā dyāvāpṛthivyoh. Dandaśūka-Dandaśūkās tām samām, Dyutānah-Dyutānas tvā. Dadhīcah-Dadhīco asthabhih. Daridra-Daridram nīlalohitam, Dvitīya—Dvitīyorddhamāsānām. Yā dvitīyā yajñam tābhih,

dhānikā ca dhraj14 yāms ca dhesthā./

Dhāṇikā—Nijalgulīti dhāṇikā. Dhrajīyān—Vāta iva dhrajīyān.<sup>5</sup> Dheṣṭhā—Uśate dheṣṭhā.

Narāśaṃsaśabdo navedā navāgvā napātko napātaṃ ca nakṣatraśabdaḥ//37//

1 & 2 C tyauha

3 C da te

4 C jimam

C jimam

Naktoṣāsā¹ naktayā navyaseśrunnārāśaṃsa²śrunnido nannamīti/

Naiyagrodho nanadan nitanrmna-

śrunnīvārā nāthitaśrun nabhantām//38//

Nīhāraśrun nahanā nanda<sup>3</sup>ghunā nīkṣaṇam ca nīlaṃgoḥ/ Nīmimanūtanaśabdau nāivāraśrun nilāyata nyaṅkuḥ//39//

Nişkāvam nişkāse nişkevalyam nişanga4thir nīvih/

Nistarkkyam nisty 5 āyai nyagrodhasrun naramdhisasruc ca//40//

Narāsamsa—Narāsamsena vai. Narāsamsasyāham.

Navedā-Na vedā yasasvatīh.

Navāgvā-Na vāgvāva nāvananti.

Napātkaḥ-Napātko vai.

Napātam-Apānnapātam.

Naksatra-Krttikānaksatram.

Yam naksatrāņi.

Naktoṣāsā—Naktoṣāsā samanasā,

Naktayā-Dadṛśe naktayā.

Navyase-Suvitāya navyase.

Nārāśamsa-Pitrnām nārāśamsah.

Nārāśamsena stomena.

Nidah-Druho nidah.

Nannamīti-Nannamīti viśvāh,

Naiyyagrodha-Naiyyagrodha audumbarah.

Nānadat-Nānadad rāsabhah.

Nīta-Nītāsu dakṣiṇāsu.

Nṛmnasya-Nṛmnasya manhā.

Nīvārāḥ-Nīvārāś ca me.

Nāthita-Avatān mā nāthitam.

Nabhantām-Nabhantām anyakeṣām.

Nīhāra—Nīhāreņa prāvṛtāḥ.

Nīhārāya svāhā.

Nahanā-Nahanā vyasyan.

Nanda ghunā - Ānandam nanda ghunā,

<sup>1</sup> Csa nakta na

<sup>4</sup> B gadhir

<sup>2</sup> B śrudo

E C stvāva

<sup>3</sup> C dathung

A thuna

Nīkṣaṇam-Yan nīkṣaṇam, Nīlangoh-Nilangoh kṛmih. Nīmima-Daksiņām na nīmima. Nūtana-Nūtanena 1 srksīmahi. Purāņā ye ca nūtanāh, Naivāra-Naivāram carum. Nilāyata-Sa nilāyata. Nyanku-Pitvo nyankuh. Niskāvam-Niskāvam ādan. Niskāsa-Niskāsa udayanīyam. Nişkevalyam-Nişkevalyam uktham. Nisangathi-Abhurasya nisangathih, Nīvi-Nīvir oṣadhīnām, Nistarkkya-Nistarkkyam badhnāti. Nistyāya-Nistyāya saha vasati. Nyagrodha-Nyagrodhaś camasaih. Nyagrodhena vanaspatīn. Narandhişah — Narandhişah pro2dyamanah.

Pṛtsutīḥ puritatā pṛtanyataḥ³ pruṣṇate pṛṣatayaḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ /
Patvane paramatām pṛtanyavaḥ paspaśe⁴ patayiṣṇu
pāyavaḥ //41//
Praugam prayasaḥ prajāpater hṛdayenāpi⁵ pitāmahaśrutiḥ /
6 Parameṣṭhipatatriṇaśrutiḥ pṛtanā² hy eṣu ca
puṇḍarisrajām //42//
Pataṅgam 8 piśaṅgāśrutiḥ pārvateyī parācaḥ pratīciśrutiḥ
pākalāya /
Purandhiḥ puroḍāśaśabdaḥ pariṣṭau pṛdākuḥ parāke ca
paplūlanena //43//
Paryāriparyāriṇī pārayiṣṇuḥ⁰ pauruṣeyaśrutiḥ prāvṛṣā
parvatiḥ¹o /
Proṣiṣyatepi pratīpam¹¹ pratīkaśrutiḥ prāvṛtasya śrutiḥ
prāsacāya //44 //

- 1 C saksī
- 2 C 'Prohy'
- 4 B 'se ca pa'
- 6 C 'sthī ca pa'
- 8 C 'gaśru'
- 10 C 'tis ca'

- 3 B'yavah'
- 5 C'neti'
- 7 B C'nā įyesu'
- 9 BC nusrutih pau'
- 11 Copratikam pratipa'

Prāyaścittiśrut prākaśau prāśṛṅgaśrut pūrvedyuś ca / Pūtudruśrut praśnam pracchat¹ prattapratnaśruc ca paṭbīśam //45 //

Prāṇāyanaḥ piśaṅgilā prāvāhaṇiḥ pilippilā /
Praiyyaṅgavam priyaṅgavaḥ² pāvīravī pavīravam // 46 //
Premāṇaṃ prāṇine preṇā pretā pautudravaśrutiḥ³ /
Purūravaḥ ⁴parucchepaḥ paramaśrut pravatvitī //47 //
Prātaḥ puroḍāśinyaś ca pārayāḥ pāpīyasīśrutiḥ /
Poṣayitnu ca pīvānaḥ pāvakā pājasāśrutiḥ // 48 //
Prācaḥ prakṣaśrutiḥ plākṣaḥ

Pṛtsutīḥ-Pṛtsutīr martyānām. Puritatā-Antarikṣam puritatā. Prtanyatah-Sasahmamas prtanyatah. Prusnate-Prusnate svāhā. Prsatayah-Marutām prsatayah. Pariskrtah-Viprodutah<sup>6</sup> pariskrtah. Patvane-Syenāya patvane. Paramatām - Paramatām gamayati. Prtanyavah-Ye prtanyavah. Paspase-Vratāni paspase. Patayisnu—Patayisnu arvan. Pāyavah-Ye pāyavah. Praugam-Praugam uktham. Prayasah—Mandrāsu prayasah. Prajāpater hṛdayenāpi<sup>7</sup>—Prajāpater hṛdayenāpi pakṣam. Pitāmaha-Pitāmahah punyah. Pitarah pitāmahāh. Paramesthi - Paramesthi adhipatih. Paramesthino vā esa yajñah.

Patatrinah—Syenena patatrino vṛṣṇā. Pṛtanā hyeśu<sup>8</sup>—Ugrahah pṛtanā hyeṣu.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 B C 'ttam pra'
- 3 B 'vāśiutih'
- 5 C 'hyām'
- 6 C'dūtah
- 8 C 'nājjyesu

- 2 C'vam pa
  - 4 C 'puru'
- 7 C'napii
- 9 'nājjyesu'

Pundarisrajām-Pundarisrajām prayacchati. Patangam-Patayantam patangam.

Juhvā patangān.

Piśangā-Piśangās trayah.

Pārvateyī—Dhiṣaṇāsi pārvateyī.

Parācaḥ-Ye parācaḥ.

Parācībhis stuvate.

Pratīcī-Yatpratīco rakṣāmsi hanyuḥ. Pratīcī dik.

Pākalāya-Pākalāya svāhā, Purandhih-Purandhir yoṣā.

Purodāsa-Purodāsam astākapālam.

Purodāšena vai.

Paristau-Sahasāvan paristau.

Prdākuh-Prdākuh prācī nāmāsi.

Parāke-Asya rajasah parāke.

Paplūlanena-Paplūlanena vāsah.

Paryāri-Paryārīva hy etasya.

Paryarini - Paryarini bhavati.

Pārayiṣṇu-Virudhah pārayiṣṇavh.

Acchidram parayisnum.

Pauruseya-Pauruseyo vadhah.

Pauruseyena daivyen a.

Prāvrsā-Viśvedevāh prāvrsā.

Parvatih-Parvatir vettu.

Prosisyate-Prosisyate svāhā.

Pratīpam-Pratīpam tisthan,

Pratīka-Bhavati pratīkam yad varmī.

Sa tvam agne pratikena.

Prāvrta-Prāvrta jālpvā ca.

Prāvrtasya rātrim.

Prāsacāya-Prāsacāya svāhā.

Prāyaścitti-Prāyaścittir ye paşum.

Prāyaścittim aicchat.

Prākāśau-Prākāśāv adhvaryave.

Prāśriga-Prāśrigam ālabheta.

Prāśrngo bhavati.

Pūrvedyuh-Rūrvedyuh prakrāmati.

Pūtudru-Pūtudruvattav at.

Tam pūtudrau.

Praśnam—Praśnamai tām.
Pracchat—Pracchac chandaḥ.
Pratta—Prattā vai gauḥ.
Pratna—Tam pratnathau.

Pratna ṛṣiḥ. Patbīśam—Arvantam patbīśam.

Prānāyanah—Vasantah prānāyanah.

Piśangilā-Kimsvid āsīd piśangilā.

Prāvāhaņi-Prāvāhaņir akāmayata.

Pilippilā-Āsīt pilippilā.

Praiyyangavam-Praiyyangavam carum.

Priyangavah-Priyangavas ca me.

Pāvīravī-Pāvīravī kanyā.

Pavīravam—Lāngalam pavīravam.

Premāņam-Premāņam eva.

Prānine-Prānine svāhā.

Preņā-Sṛṣṭvā preņā nu.

Pretā-Pṛśneḥ pretā.

Pautudrava-Yat pautudravāh. Pautudravān paridhīn.

Purūravāh-Purūravā ghṛtena.

Parucchepa—Paruksepo'1 bhyavadat.

Parama—Paramas catustomah.

Paramā vā eṣā vāg.

\*Pravatu — Pravatim ahnã.

Prātaḥ—Ekādaśa prātaḥ.

Purodāśinyah-Purodāśinya upakhadah2.

Pāryā—Yat pāryā yunajate.

Pāpīyasī-Pāpīyasī prajā bhavati.

Pāpīyasā ca.

Posayitnu-Adha posayitnu.

Pīvāna-Pīvānah putrāh.

Pāvaka-Pāvako asmabhyam.

Agnaye pāvakāya.

Pājasā-Vi pājasā pṛthunā.

Prācah-Tānyatr<sup>8</sup> prācah (?).

Prakṣa—Sa prakṣo bhavati.

Plaksa-Tat plaksasya. Plaksa itidhmah.

1 .C 'pohyava'

2 C 'pasadah'

C 'yat pra

Note-Etan nīcam api prayuktasankā mā bhūd iti grhītam.

phaligam phaliniśrutih. /

Phaligam—Phaligam raveņa.
Phalinī—Phalinīr aphalā uta.
Phalinyo na oṣadhayaḥ pacyantām.

Bṛhaspatiśrutis tadvad bandhutā balbajāśrutiḥ //49//
Bārhaspatyaśrud balākā bahiṣṭhād baṃbhāriśrud
brāmhaṇācchaṃsine ca /

Barhişyasırud barhatasırud balakşı

\*Bṛhaspati—Dhatta Bṛhaspate.
Bandhutā—Bandhutā vacobhiḥ.
Bandhutāṃ veda.
Balbajā—Balbajā udatiṣṭhan.
Balbajān api.
Bārhaspatya—Bārhaspatyas caruh.

Bārhaspatyam śitipṛṣṭham.

Balākā—Saurī balākā.
Bahiṣṭhāt—Dvau dvau bahiṣṭhāt.
Baṃbhāri—Baṃbhārir avasyuḥ. Aṃghāre baṃbhāre.
Brāmhaṇācchaṃsine—Brāmhaṇācchaṃsine vāsasī.
Barhiṣya—Barhiṣyam dattaṃ bhavati.
Bārhata—Bārhato vai śukraḥ.
Balakṣī—Balakṣī tāḥ sārasvatyaḥ.

bhrātṛvyaśrud bheṣajaśrud bharibhrat //50//Bhālandano bharadvājo bhura¹nyuśruc ca bhauvanaḥ /
Bhauvāyano bhiṣajyanto bhaiṣi²jyam api bhāmitaḥ //51//

Bhrātṛvya—Bhrātṛvyo bhavati. Agner bhrātṛvyaḥ. Abhrātṛvyo yad Indrāya.

Bheşaja—Bheşajam gave.
Asmabhyam bheşajam.
Bharibhrat—Aruşam bharibhrat.
Bhālandanaḥ—Bhālandano'gneḥ.

\* B'nyaéru'

Note—Etan nīcam api pateyuktam iti grhītam. Patigrahaņam api Brhaspatir nah parītyādisvanīngyatvārtham.

Bharadvāja—Bharadvāja ṛṣiḥ.
Bhuraṇyu— Madhyamaruhad bhuraṇyuḥ.
Aruṣaṃ bhuraṇyum.

Bhauvana—Bhauvanas ca bhuvanas ca. Bhauvāyana—Bhauvāyano vasantaḥ. Bhiṣajyantaḥ—Tad bhiṣajyanto bhitayo. Bhaiṣijyam—Tredhā bhaiṣijyam.¹ Bhāmita—Kudra bhāmi² tāvadhīḥ.

Mālangā madirā mudgā māndā madhyamasabdavat /
Mamattu ca manīṣāṇām³ muṣkarā mārutasrutih //52//
Mārjālīyamanotāyai⁴ marutvatīyasruto matasnābhyām /
Madhyandine maghonī⁵ mādhyandinamātarisvasabdau ca //53//

Mithuyā mṛḍayantaśrun mumucānā mādayiṣṇavo madguḥ / Mahimā <sup>6</sup>matintamaśrun mahinā mānthīlavo

malimluśrut //54//

Mastişkasırın maspasa manspacanya manavyasırın mahinam madayadhyai /

Mālangāh—Mālangās tūparāh.

Madirāh—Madirā mādayiṣṇavah.

Mudgā—Mudgās ca me.

Māndā—Māndā vāsāh.

Madhyama—Vi madhyamam śrathāya. Madhyama

upayāti

Mamattu—Mamattu naḥ.

Manīṣāṇām—Manīṣāṇām prārpaṇaḥ.

Muṣkarā—Ye muṣkarā.

Māruṭa—Māruto'si maruṭām.

Māruṭa phalguḥ.

Mārjālīya—Hotrīyo mārjālīyaḥ.

Dāsyomārjālīyam.

Manotā—Sahaso yā manotā.

Manotāyai havişah.

C 'sajyam'

3 - B 'nā mu'

5 B 'nī syāma'

2 C 'tova'

A C 'vam ma'

B C madinta'

Marutvatiya - Marutvatiyam uktham. Marutvatīyas ca me. Matasnābhyām—1 Sarvam matasnābhyām. Madhyandine-Grisme madhyandine. Maghoni - Maghoni justir asi. Mādhyandinam-Mādhyandinam savanam. Mādhyandine savane. Mātariśvā-Brhaspatir mātariśvā. Mātariśvāno gharmah. Mithuyā-Mithuyākarbhāgadheyam, \*Mrdayanta-Bhavatā mrdayātah. Mumucanah-Yatha bandhan mumucanah. Mādayiṣṇavaḥ-Madirā mādayiṣṇavaḥ. Madguh-Udro madguh, Mahimā-Samvatsaro mahimā. \*Matintama-Indriyavan matintamah. Mahinā-Mahinā viśvaśambhūh, Manthilavah-Kaso manthilavah. Malimlu-Ye janesu malimlavah, Malimlum jambhyaih. Mastiska-Asanim mastiskena. Mastiskāya svāhā. Maspaśā-Maspaśā kuru yam. Māmspacanyāh—Māmspacanyāh. Mānavya-Mānavyo hi prajāh. Māhina - Māhimnam datram. Mādayadhyai-Saha mādayadhyai.

Yuṣmānīto yādṛśo yātujūnā² yāvad yajñiyā³ yajñaśrud yavāgūḥ //55//

Yāyāvaro yunajate yuvāno yajathaśrutih / Yoyupyeta yajatraśrud yuktvāyā pi ca yavyudhah //56//

> Yuşmānītaḥ—Yuşmānīto abhayam. Yādṛśa—Yādṛśe punaḥ.

1 C 'sarvam'

2 C 'nām yā'

3 B C 'jňsya yajňiyaśru'

- 4 B 'nam ya'
- \* Note-I Etad dhṛtantam na bhavatīti gṛhītam.
- Note-2 Etat tamayuktam iti grhitam,

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Yātujūnā—Yātujūnān jāmim. Yāvat—Yāvān evāsya prāṇaḥ. Yāvanto vai. Yāvad etat.

Yajñiyā—Yajñiyā yajñiyam puccham. Yajña—Yajñiyā yajñasya stotre. Yavāgū—Yavāgū rājanyasya. Yāyāvaraḥ—Tasmād yāyāvaraḥ. Yunajate—Yunajate dhiyas tāḥ. Yuvānaḥ—Etam yuvānam. Yajatha—Yajathāya sukratuḥ.

Yajathā yad eva.
Yoyupyeta—Yoyupyeta stṛtiḥ.
Yajatra—Amuñcatā yajatrāḥ.
Saṃyajatrair aṅgāni.
Yuktvāya—Yuktvāya manasā devān.
Yavyudhaḥ—Ailabṛdāyavyudhaḥ.

Rukmantam rādhayiṣyāmo rājanyaśruc ca rukmate / Raivataśrut

Rukmantam—Rukmantam svena.
Rādhayiṣyāma—Yad imam rādhayiṣyāma iti.
Rājanya—Rājanyo'bhitaḥ. Rājanyāj jāyamānāt.
Rukmate—Rukmate puroḍāśam.
Raivata—Trayastriṃśāya raivatāya.
Yad Indrāya raivatāya.

lapsudino lopāso¹ lomasasrutih //57//

Lapsudinaḥ—Urukramāya lapsudinaḥ. Lopāśaḥ—Lopāśaḥ siṃhaḥ. Lomaśa—Lomaśaṃ vāi nāma. Paśavo lomaśāḥ.

Vatsatarasrud varivo varimā vasatīvarī varūtrišrut² /
Vipravipašcicchabdau viveṣavārdhrāṇaso varatrās ca //58//
Vīḍitavaḍabavanaspativānaspatyasruto vasavyasrut /
Vāsiṣṭhas ca vaniṣṭhur vasyaṣṭir viṣṭapam vyaciṣṭhaṃ ca //59//

1 B 'sastu'

9 B 'trasru'

Vṛṣadaṃśo viduṣaśrud viṣuṇasya vidīgayo vidānaśrut /
Vividāno vidathaśrud vidhuro viśpatniyai viṣūcaśrut //60//
Vāyavyavaiśvānaravīryavidyā¹ vasantavāsantikavārṣikaśrut /
Vṛtvāya valmīkavarāhaśabdau vītho vapāvyāghravarī-

yasīśrutih² //61/

Vāsavo vamsago vāhaso vāyavo vasyasīsabdavad vīrudho

viratām /

Vāghato varttikā visvato vispatisruc ca vācyāyano

viśvavītaśrutih //62//

Vatsatara-Daśabhir vatsataraih. Vatsatarī daksiņā.

Varīvah - Sakhabhyo varīvah...

Varimā-Varimā ca me.

Vasatīvarī-Vasatīvarīr abhavan.3

Tad vasatīvarīņām.

Varūtri-Varūtrayastvetyāh a.

Viprāh-Vipro dutah.

Viprā viprasya.

Vipaścit—Bṛhato vipaścitaḥ.
Bhrājamāno vipaścitā.

Viveşa-Viveşayan ma.

Vārdhrāņasah — Śitikakṣī vārdhrāņasah.

Varatrā-Sam varatrā dadhātana.

Vīdita-Tigmam āyudham vīditam.

Vadaba-Pumāmsam vadabah.

Tasmād vadabād dviretāķī.

Vanaspati-Vanaspatir devalokam.

Ye vanaspatīnām.

Vānaspatyah—Adrir asi vānaspatyah.

Vānaspatyāh khalu.

Vasavya-Bahubhir vasa (vyaih? khyaih).

Vāsisthah-Vāsistho ha sātyahavyah.

Vanisthuh-Vanisthurandhābheh.4

Vasyasti - Vasyastir asi.

Viṣṭapam-Bradhnasya viṣṭapam.

Vyacistham-Vyacistham annam.

t C 'vāsa'

2 B 'srut'

4 Co'dhaheh'

Vṛṣadamśa—Vṛṣadamśas te dhātuh

Viduşa-Viduşa ete dhayah.

Viduṣā bahiṣpavamānaḥ.

Visunasya-Visunasya cāruh.

Vidīgayaḥ-Kikidīvir vidīgayaḥ.

Vidānaḥ-Hotṛṣadane vidānaḥ.

Rabhasam vidānam.

Vividanah-Vasu vividanah.

Vidatha-Ākṣeti vidathā kavih.

Vidathe antareșām.

Vidhura-Vidhureva rejate.

Vispatniyai-Tasyai vispatniyai havih,

Visūca-Visūcīnāni tasya.

Vișuca evasman.

Visūcī praharati.

Vāyavya-Vāyavyāh kāryāh.

Vāyavyam śvetam.

Vaiśvānara-Vaiśvānaro nah.

Vaiśvānaram dvādaśakapālam.

Vīrya-Indriyam vīryam.

Vīryāņi samārabhya.

Vidyā-Vidyā vai dhişaņā vidyābhih,

Vāsanta—Vāsantās sāraagāḥ.

Vāsantāyāstākapālah.

Vāsaņti-Vāsantikāv rtū.

Vārsika-Vārsikāv rtu.

Vṛtvāya-Tūnyā vṛtvāya.

Valmīka-Yad valmīko'gnim purīsyam.

Varāha-Varāho'yam.

Vitho-Vitho ghrtasya.

Vapā-Yad vapāgram oṣadhīnām.

Vapām ekah.

Vyāghra - Sa yathā vyāghrah.

Vyāghreņāraņyān.

Varīyasī - Varīyasīm eyāsmai.

Vasava-Ā yasmin sapta vasavah.

Vamsaga-Tigmasrigo na vāmsagah.

Vāhasa-Pratisrutkāyai vāhasah.

Vāyavah-Vāyavastha.

Vasyasīr - Vasyasīm samsadam.

Vīrudha—Vīrudhaś ca me.
Vīratām—Vīratām pāhi.
Vāghataḥ—Mūrdhnor viśvasya vāghataḥ.
Varttikā—Varttikā nīlangoḥ.
Viśvataḥ—Viśvataḥ paribhūr asi.
Viśpati—Jyeṣṭho viśpatiḥ.
Enā viśpatinā.
Vācyāyana—Hemanto vācyāyanaḥ.
Viśva—Viśvaṃ ca me.
Amṛtāni viśvā.
Vīta—Vītaṃ ghṛtasya.

Suśrūṣeṇyāṃ śiśriyāṇaḥ śaravyāḥ śabdau śag¹māṃ śāradaśruc chavartān / Śrāyantīyaṃ śiṃśumāraś ²śamīvāñ śabdaś śundhyūś śambarasya śvitingāḥ // 63//

Sakuntikā sayaṇḍakas śravasyavas ca śuśruvān /
Śikhaṇḍaśaiśiraśrutiś śacīpatiś ca śitpuṭaḥ //64//
Śunaśś paṃ śunāsīrā śīrṣaṇyā śuṣmiṇaśrutiḥ /
Śaulbāyanas śamayitoś śārdūlāya ca śuṣmayam //65//
Śauceyas śośucānas ca śiśānas ³śāradaśrutiḥ /
Śubhitaṃ śarabhaṃ śryaiṣṭhyaṃ śreṣṭhaśyāmākaśabdavat //66//

Svitānas sūrathas<sup>4</sup> svātrā<sup>5</sup> samitre sāk varasrutih / Saņdāya

> Suśrūsenyam — Śuśrūsenyam manusyebbya h. Siśriyanah — Kakubhi siśriyanah. Siśriyanam vane vane

Saravya—Sivā śaravyāya.

Tasya tisraḥ śaravyāḥ.

Śagmām—Śagmām no vācam.
Śārada—Śāradāv ṛtū.

Pṛśnayas trayaś śāradāḥ.
Śavartta—Śavarttānūvaddhyena.
Śrāyantīyam—Śrāyantīyam brāhmasāma.
Śiṃśumāraḥ—Sindhoś śiṃśumāraḥ.

B 'gmam'

4 B 'surudhah

5 B C trassami'

Samīvān-Dhuņis samīvān. Samīvato bhāminah, Sundhyūh-Uvasvām cchundhyūh. Sambarasya-Damhitās1 sambarasya. Śvitinga-Saumyās trayas svitingāh. Sakuntikā-Iyam yakā sakuntikā. Sayandaka-Sa² jaya sayandakah. Śravasyavah-Śravasyavo ghrtasya. Suśruvan-Śuśruvan gramanih. Sikhanda-Indragnī sikhandābhyām. Sikhandebhyas svāhā.

Saisira-Saisirav rtū. Śacīpati-Krtvā śacīpatih. Sitpuța-Brhaspataye sitpuțah. Sunahsepam - Sunahsepam ājīgarttih.3 Sunāsīrā-Sunāsīrāsunam, Sīrsanyā - Sīrsanyā rasanā. Sīrsanyā nispatah. Śuṣmiṇaḥ—Anamīvasya śuṣmiṇaḥ. Saulbāyana—Udankas saulbāyanah. Samayitoh - Yajamānasya samayitoh. Sārdūlāya—Sārdūlāya rājñe. Susmayam-Madam ca susmayam. Śauceyah-Sārvaseniś śauceyah. Sosucanah-Prthuna sosucanah. Siśanah-Siśano vrsabhah. Śiśāno'gnih.

Sarada - Saradam rtunam. Sarada tvartuna.

Subhitam-Subhitam ugraviram. Sarabham-Sarabham aranyam. Sryaisthyam - Sryaisthyam samananam. Srestha-Yac chrestho bhavati.

Śvāmāka—Yac chyāmākah.

Syāmākam carum.

Svitānah-Sa svitānas tanyatah. Sūrathah - Sūra thas candragrah. Svātrā - Svātrāstha.

Samitre—Samitre samitā. Sākvara—Saptapadā sākvarī. Vad indrāya sākvarāya. Saņdāya—Saņdāya tvā.

șodasasruc ca

Şodaşa—Vajras şodasah. Indrāya tvā şodasine. Na vai şodasi.

suṣāva samayā svariḥ //67//
Svasrīyas svaraṇaṃ¹ sagdhis svasāraśrut sasasti ca /
Sanutas sanitā sakhyam sakhāyas salilaśrutiḥ //68//
Saceran sūkaras sūcyā sutānāṃ sumnayāśrutiḥ /
Salāvṛkī sinīvālī sāmānyasthāvaraśrutiḥ² //69//
Samanā samane samyak somendraṃ sānagas suvānaśrut³ /
Sṛñjayān sṛmaras saṅge sāyujyam sādhuyā siṣāsantīḥ //70//
Suṣupuṣas suṣuvāṇasamāvatī svarusadasyasamudriyaśabdavat /

Svadayitā ca sanemisavīmanisthavimatas sarirasya sanişyavah //71//

Satrasyardhyā sagarasuşirasvārasārangasabdās sabdas subdhān sanavatha sakṛt svāṃkṛtas<sup>4</sup> saṃskṛtaṃ ca/

Snāvanyābhyām savanasadanasvādusabdās sanīyān sarnīkāya<sup>5</sup> svaditasuvitasvastisabdās svapantam //72//

Sādhāraņam sardigrdim <sup>6</sup> saheyas sālāvrkebhyas ca sarīsrpebhyah /

Samskrtya sutyā stanayitnusabdās svāttam samānatra samasya sankāh //73//

Sāhantyasāvitrasapatnasūnṛtāśruto7

Suṣāva—Yam te suṣāva. Samayā—Samayā vipṛktah.

- 1 C 'nam sindhuh'
- 3 C 'srutih'
- B C 'sarpi'

- 6 'B C 'sabhe'
- 2 B C 'rasru
- 4 B 'vakr'
- 7 . Cas sabda sruto.

Svarih—Svarur amatrah.
S vasrīyah—Svasrīyo surāņām.
Svaraņam—Somānam svaraņam.
¹Sagdhi—Sagdhiś ca me.¹
Svasā—Devānām asi svasā.

Trimsat svasārah.

Sasasti-Sasastyaśvakah.

Sanutah-Sanutar yuyotu.

Sanitā-Sanitāsi saneyam.

Sakhyam-Marto vṛṇita sakhyam.

Sakhāyaḥ-Avase sakhāyaḥ.

Sakhāyam parisasvajā.

Salilam - Salilam chandah.

Saceran-Rakṣāmsi saceran.

Sūkarah—Indrāya rājne sūkarah.

Sūcyā-Sūcyā chidyamānayā.

Sutānām-Pradivas sutānām.

Sumnayā-Dhīrā deveşu sumnayā.

Salāvrkī-Sa Indras salāvrkī.

Sinīvāli-Sinīvālī paurņamāsī.

Sinīvālyai carum.

Sāmānya-Sāmānya rco bhavanti.

Sthāvara—Varuņagrhītā vai sthāvarā.

Yas thāvarāṇām.

Samanā-Te ācarantī samanā.

Samane-Jyā iyam samane.

Samyak-Amrtam amrtena samyak.

Somendram-Etam somendram.

Sānaga—Sānaga ṛṣiḥ.

Suvāna-Suvānas somah.

Sṛñjayān-Yat sṛñjayān.

Srmarah-Aranyāya srmarah.

Sange-Samatsu vrtrahā(?).

Sāyujyam - Devatānām sāyujyam gacchati.

Sādhuyā-Rūpam kṛṇotu sādhuyā.

Siṣāsantī-Srigāni siṣāsantī.

Suşupula-Suşupuşa indriyam.

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Susuvāņa— Varuņam susuvāņam. Disas susuvāņena. Samāvati— Tathān samāvatī.

Svaru-Svarum yūpasya.

Svarum ayajñavesasāya.

Sadasya—Yāvanto vai sadasyāḥ. Sadasyān eva tat prīnāti.

Samudriyam—Balam asi samudriyam.

Svadayitā - Pavayitā svadayitā.

Sarnemi-Sarnemy asmat.

Sa vimani-Savīmani hiraņyapāņih.

Sthavimatah-Sthavimato bahih.2

Sarirasya-Vi bhrājamānas sarirasya.

Sanişyavah-Medhasā tā sanişyavah.

Satrasyardhyā-Satrasyardhyāhavanīyasya.

Sagara-Sagaras sumekah.

Sagaro vajriņo nāmastha.

Suṣira—Yad veṇos suṣiram. Suṣirābhir bhavati.

Svāra-Svāram svārāt,

Sāranga-Sārangās trayah.

Sabda-Sabdas sagarah.

Subdha-Tan subdhan yat.

Sanavatha—Sanavatha pūruṣam,

Sakṛt-Sakṛdyatvā manasā.

Svāmkṛta-Svāmkṛto'si.

Samskrtam-Tan nas samskrtam.

Snāvanyābhyām-Santatim snāvanyābhyām.

Savana-Mādhyandinam savanam.

Mādhyandine savane.

Sadana-Sadanāni kṛtvā.

Arnave sadane sida.

Svādu-Svādoh.

Svādīyah.

Svādunā.

Saniyān-Pracetā amutas saniyān.

Sarnīkāya—Sarnīkāya tvā.

C 'ta'hainan'

2 C Barbih

Svadita—Svaditāni vaksat.
Suvita—Suvitan no astu.
Svasti—Rayim nasate svasti.

Spadyas svastih.
Pramuñcā svastaye (?).

Svapantam-Svapantam vai dīksitam.

Sādhāraņam—Sādhāraņam kurute.

Sardigrdim-Sardigrdim paravadhīt.

Sabheyah-Sabheyo yuvā.

Sālāvrkebhyah-Indro yatīn sālāvrkebhyah.

Sarīsrpebhyah—Sarīsrpebhyas svāhā.

Samskrtya-Sarīram eva samskrtya.

Sutyā-Sutyā sampadyate.

Sutyām sampādayati.

Stanayitnu-Arvan tena stanayitnunā.

Svātta - Svāttam citsadevam.

Samānatra-Tasmāt samānatra.

Samasya-Manas samasya ūdhyah.

Sankāh-Isudhis sankāh,

Sāhantya-Agnim eva sāhantyam,

Agnaye sāhantyāya. Visvajitsāhantyah.

Savitrah-Savitram agrayanat.

Sāvitrāņi juhoti.

Sapatna-Sapatnam durmarāyum.

Praņudānas sapatnān.

Sūngtā-Yajño vai sūngtā.

Yo vai sūnṛtāyai.

havişyam ca halīkṣṇaśabdaḥ¹/
<sup>2</sup>Hemantahotrīyahiraṇmayaśruto³ haimantikaśruc ca
hikaṃ hiraṇmayam⁴ //73//

Havişyam—Yad dhavişyam rtuşah, Halikşnah—Ülo halikşnan, Halikşnan papavatena,

B C 'devat'

2 B 'haima'

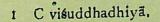
4 B 'nyayasrutam'

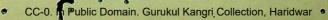
Hemanta—Grismo hemantah.
Hotriya—Hotriyo mārjālīyah.
Hiranmaya—Hiranmayena savitā.
Yonir hiranmayī.
Haimantika—Haimantikāv rtū.
Haimantikā avaliptāh,
Hika—Rājāhikam bhuvanānām.
Hiranmayam—Hiranmayam dāma daksinā.

- Prapañcatvād aningyānām dinmātram iha darsitam / Ato'nuktam ca yatkincid unneyam tan manīṣibhiḥ //75/
  - \*Note—After this the following is written in A and C: 'Eṣāniṅgyapadānām padavī sandarśitā 'subhagadhiyā/ Devamanīṣisutena śrīvatsānkena taittirīyānām// After this C. reads:

Bindudurlipivisargavīcikāpaṅktibhedapadabhedadūṣaṇam/
Hastavegajam abuddhiprūvakaṃ
kṣantum arhatha samīkṣya sajjanāḥ//

Śri gurubhyo namah.



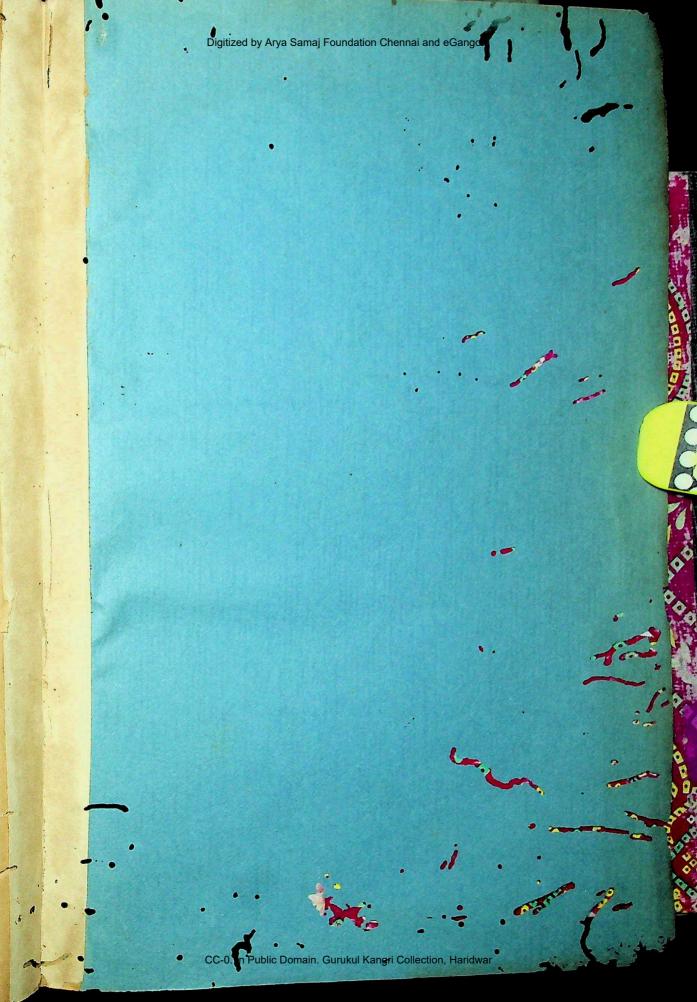


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